Maariel Needham

30.00
23
55

Labor Program

TITLE VII: Pub

THE CONFERENCE IS PRESENTED
BY

THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL
ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

THE NEW ORLEANS AREA
OFFICE OF THE U.S.
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
COMMISSION

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

THE BATON ROUGE COUNCIL
ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY: A CONFERENCE ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1970

LaSALLE INDUSTRIAL ROOM
PRINCE MURAT INN
1480 NICHOLSON DRIVE
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

PRESENTED BY

THE LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN
RELATIONS
AND THE NEW ORLEANS AREA OFFICE
U. S. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
COMMISSION

1 p.m. CALL TO ORDER
INTRODUCTIONS
Attorney Murphy W. Bell

1:10 GREETINGS Owen Lange
~~Glenn P. Clasen, Director,~~
New Orleans Area Office,
EEOC
Needham — What is discrimination

1:20 KEYNOTE ADDRESS
State Senator J. D.
Deblieux

1:45 MECHANICS OF THE CONFERENCE
Attorney Bell

1:50 COFFEE BREAK

2:00 PANEL DISCUSSIONS

PANEL I: "AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN THE CRAFT & BUILDING TRADES - LaSalle Industrial Room - Mr. Carey Hodges, Presiding

PANELISTS:

Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Southern Area Director AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Paul Moncarz, Department of Economics & Finance - LSUNO

Maurice Needham

PANEL II: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES - Senate Room Geo. Rice
~~James A. Smith,~~ Esq.,
~~Deputy Director,~~ New Orleans Area Office EEOC Presiding

PANELISTS:

Mr. W. P. Williams, Head Personnel Administration Department, Humble Oil & Refining Company

Mr. A. G. Schroeck, Ind. Relations Superintendent, Kaiser Aluminum Corp.

Mr. Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta Georgia

PANEL III: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN RETAIL STORES AND THE FINANCIAL COMMUNITY - House Room Martin Broussard
Mr. ~~Glenn P. Clasen,~~
Director New Orleans Area Office, EEOC Presiding

PANELISTS:

Mr. Emmit Douglas, Pres. of State NAACP

Mr. Joseph Delpit, City Councilman

Mr. Merlin Broussard, Staff New Orleans Office EEOC

3:50 COFFEE BREAK

4:00 RECONVENE IN GENERAL SESSION

PANEL REPORTS
Panel I - Mr. Carey Hodges
Panel II - Mr. James Smith
Panel III - Mr. Glenn P. Clasen

COMMENT, QUESTIONS, & DISCUSSION FROM THE FLOOR

5:00 ADJOURNMENT

2-8-70

Ex-SNCC Chief To Head Project

2/8/70 Richmond Times-Dispatch

ATLANTA, (AP) — John Lewis, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee , has been named director of the Voter Education Project for the Southern Regional Council, it was announced yesterday.

Also announced was the appointment of Emory F. Via as director of SRC's new Center for Resources Development.

Lewis, 30, replaces Vernon E. Jordan, who resigned to become executive director of the United Negro College Fund, effective March 1.

He is a native of Troy, Ala., and a graduate of the i- can Baptist Theological Seminary and Fisk University.

PRESS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO AM'S
SUNDAY, February 8, 1970

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8764

ATLANTA -- The Southern Regional Council today announced the appointment of directors for its voter education program and a new center dealing primarily with economic and human resources development.

John Lewis, 30, widely known in the civil rights field since his work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in its early days, was named director of the council's Voter Education Project.

Emory F. Via, 45, who has been in charge of the council's work in labor education and with problems of discrimination in employment, was named director of the new Center for Resources Development.

The appointments were announced by Paul Anthony, executive director of the council.

Mr. Lewis will succeed Vernon E. Jordan, director of the Voter Education Project for the past four years. Mr. Jordan will move to New York to become executive director of the United Negro College Fund on March 1. The Voter Education Project has administered grants to local voter registration programs throughout the South. It engages in citizenship education

programs and provides research and educational services to elected officials in the region.

A native of Troy, Ala., Mr. Lewis is a graduate of the American Baptist Theological Seminary and of Fisk University. He was a participant in numerous early events of the civil rights movement, including the Nashville sit-ins and the first "freedom rides" of 1961, and he was a leader in the 1963 March on Washington and the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery. He was national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from 1963 until 1966. Subsequently he was associate director of the Field Foundation. Since 1967 he has been director of the Southern Regional Council's Community Organization Project.

Mr. Lewis is married to the former Lillian Miles, who is curator of the Negro Collection of the Atlanta University Library.

Mr. Via, a native of Lynchburg, Va., is a graduate of Emory University and holds a doctor of philosophy degree in political science from the University of Chicago. He has been on the staff of labor education programs in Philadelphia, Chicago and Atlanta. He was director of Southern Regional Council's Labor Project in 1966-1967 when on leave from the University of Wisconsin. He resigned as a professor of Labor

Education from the University's School for Workers to return to head the council's Labor Project in 1968.

He and his wife, the former Margaret Johnson, have a son, David.

The new Center for Resources Development will encompass existing Southern Regional Council programs related to housing and planning, manpower and labor education, community organization, and leadership. The center supports research and information projects in regional economic and social affairs.

The Southern Regional Council, a research and information agency founded in 1944, has a staff of 38 and is governed by a council of 100 Southerners. It deals primarily with problems of race and poverty. Its funds are derived principally from foundations.

-END-

REGISTRATION

LABOR RELATIONS IN PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

April 3-4, 1970

Name _____

Street Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Affiliation _____

If you want room reservations at the Memorial Union Building, please complete the following form.

Type of Room	1 person	2 persons
Single	____$ 9.00	xx
Double (1 bed)	____$ 9.00	____$12.00
Twin (2 beds)	____$10.50	____$14.00
Twin (2 beds)	____$11.50	____$16.00

COST AND REGISTRATION

The registration fee is $35.00 per person, which covers the cost of two lunches, dinner and all coffee breaks, but does not include lodging. The fee should be sent with your registration. Room charges should not be paid in advance. Registration fee checks should be made payable to Indiana University, and mailed to the Labor Education and Research Center, 201 Owen Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

LODGING

We will be happy to make room reservations for you at the Indiana Memorial Union Building, or you may wish to arrange yourself for lodging at a local hotel or motel. All regular sessions of the conference will be held in the Memorial Union Building.

Labor Prog - Publicity

Conference Information

This is the first conference sponsored by the Labor Education and Research Center on the increasingly important subject of public employee bargaining. The Center has been fortunate in recruiting speakers and panelists who are nationally recognized experts in public employee relations. Their extensive experience and research should contribute substantially to a better understanding of the problems and issues in this area.

Except for the luncheon and dinner speeches, the sessions will be organized around a panel discussion of the points raised by the principal speaker. All sessions will be structured to allow questions from the conferees. Space limitations prevent listing panel members on this announcement. In each case, however, employee and employer representatives have been asked to participate.

The topics listed below are not the speakers' chosen titles, but simply an indication of the subject to be discussed.

PROGRAM

Friday, April 3, 1970.

9:30 - 11:30 a.m., Registration.
11:30 - 12:00 noon, Welcome and Orientation.
12:00 - 2:00 p.m., Opening luncheon. "A Management View of Labor-Management Relations in the Public Sector," Kenneth O. Warner, Executive Director, Public Personnel Association.
2:00 - 3:30 p.m., "Current Issues at the Federal Level," Robert Repas, Professor, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University.
3:30 - 4:00 p.m., Coffee Break.
4:00 - 5:30 p.m., "Current Issues at the Local Level," Morris Slavney, Chairman, Wisconsin Employment Relations Board.
6:00 - 7:00 p.m., Social Hour.
7:00 - 9:00 p.m., Dinner Session. "Poverty and Public Employment," Emery Via, Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Resources Development Center

Saturday, April 4, 1970.

8:30 - 10:00 a.m., "Current Issues in Public School Teacher Bargaining," Robert E. Doherty, Professor, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University.
10:00 - 10:30 a.m., Coffee Break.
10:30 - 12:00 noon, "Impasse Resolving Systems," Robert Howlett, Chairman, Michigan Employment Relations Commission.
12:00 - 2:00 p.m., Luncheon Session. "A Union View of Labor-Management Relations in the Public Sector," Jerry Wurf, President, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.
2:00 - 3:30 p.m., "Current Issues at the State Level," Ronald Donovan, Professor, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University.
3:30 - 4:00 p.m., Coffee Break.
4:00 - 5:30 p.m., "The Legal Status of Public Employee Bargaining," Julius Getman, Professor, School of Law, Indiana University.

A Conference on

LABOR RELATIONS IN PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

April 3-4, 1970

LABOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH CENTER
Indiana University / Bloomington

Labor Program Publicity

Speaker Here Says

'Surely We Have Sense To Build A Society To Reduce Complaints'

By JOHN FANCHER
H-T Civic Affairs Editor

"We ought to have sense enough to construct a society that reduces complaints. The society deserves what it gets in unrest," declared Dr. Emery F. Via Friday night at Holiday Inn where he addressed an Indiana University conference on Labor Relations in Public Employment.

Dr. Via is director of the Labor Program for the Southern Regional Council, Inc., with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga. He formerly was professor of labor education at the School for Workers, University of Wisconsin.

He asked the conferees last night:

"Who needs job security the most?"

"The man at the low end of the scale who's wiped out first in an economic recession," Dr. Via answered.

'Why should we be concerned about the poor?" he asked, citing some general reasons:

1. If you see a basic human need, that is enough to say 'let's do something about it."

2. How are things handled in the society?

3. The better off all our people are the more stable our economy will be.

4. By taking care of a segment of population considered poor, we stand a better chance of reducing social unrest.

"As a practical people we ought to think about what it will cost us not to be concerned about the poor. We haven't calculated the welfare costs, the losses in taxes, the crime costs," he said.

Dr. Via pointed out that in Atlanta "the sanitation workers are about to go into the 20th day of a strike. These are public employes who are poor."

He compared today's situation of the poor with the 1930's when many people at different levels of society were struggling financially.

"The depression was a serious challenge to ideas of economic security. We used to have a great myth that anybody who wanted to make it could. But, in 1929 we found many well-heeled people having the same problems as others.

"The banks went broke and they (the once well-heeled) couldn't find jobs either.

"People were marching in the streets and being obnoxious. This was like a revolution. Reforms were shaken out of our system. They didn't come graciously," said Dr. Via.

"As good as these reforms were, we still have much need to help the poor in society. We have good reason to change the system."

Dr. Via pointed out that for the poor, who cannot afford to put money in the bank, savings insured by the federal government mean little. Yet, this was one of the reforms growing out of the depression when many people lost life savings in bank failures.

The poor has difficulties in many ways.

Inadequate diet may produce low energy in which case the poor may appear to mope on their jobs, said Dr. Via.

With regard to mobility and seeking work where the jobs are, Via cited:

"You nver pay a poor man to go and talk about a job.

"But I don't move if I can't bargain on pay for me to move. Yet we've built that in to the system."

It's common for those in the professions to have moving expenses paid for them by their new employer.

Transportation systems in many major cities favor those who need it the least and use it the least, but they pay the brunt of the cost, Via said.

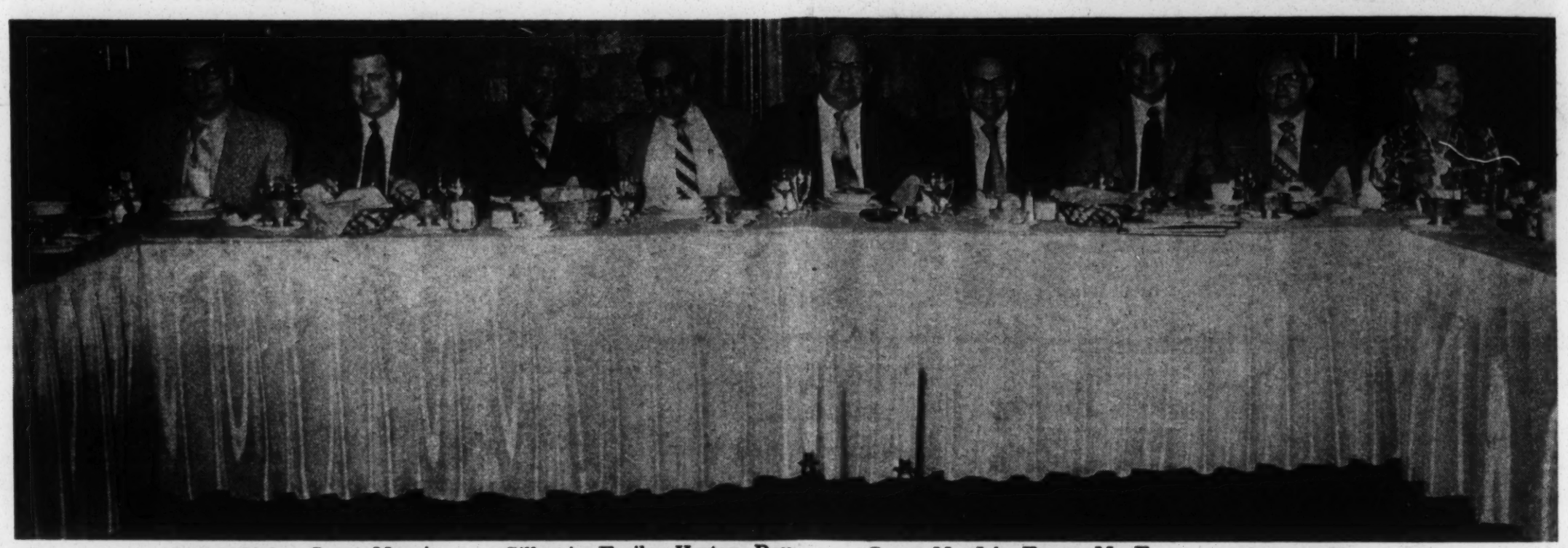
Turning to the employment situation, Via said:

"Just because a man wants to work doesn't mean there will be a job for him or a job for which he is qualified.

"If this is beyond the individual's control, then does his become a public matter?"

BLOOMINGTON HERALD-TELEPHONE
SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1970
PAGE 1

Labor Program - Publicat



Left to Right: Guest, Marvin Sacks, Gen. Council, Edwin Gillespie, Emileo Horton, Roy Svarez, Toni Smith, Ray Crase, Mr. John Fagan, Mr. E. L. Abercrombie, Mrs. Frances Abercrombie

Joint Council No. 5 In Atlanta

Left to Right: Mr. Joseph R. Greene, Mrs. Virginia B. Moore, Mr. W. T. Archer, Jr.

Joint Council No. 5, of which Local No. 218 is a part, was hosted by the Local Union at its recent meeting in Regency House on April 8, 1972.

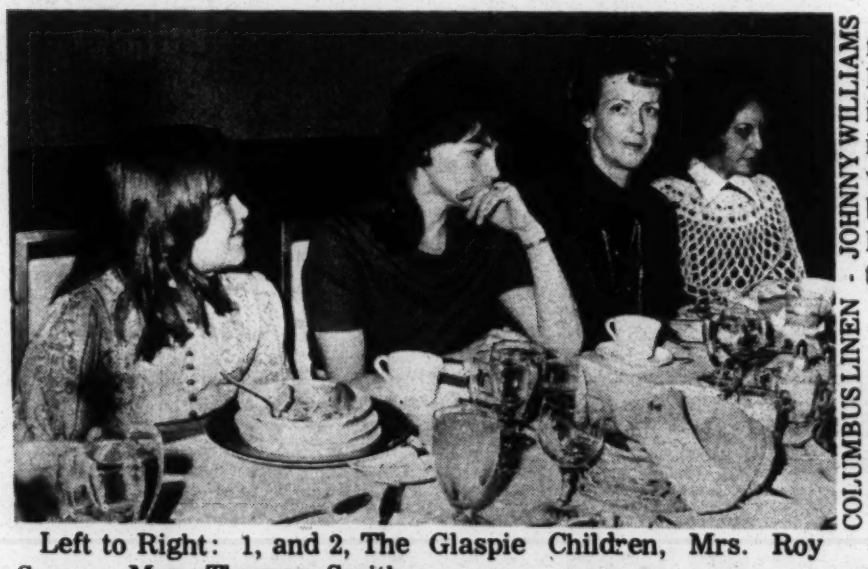
The Council developed plans for a long range development program starting with a workshop on organization methods and procedures to be held July 8, 1972 in St. Louis, Mo.

Emory Via, noted educator and teacher will set up and conduct the workshop for the Joint Council.

The Council also voiced its full support and assistance to Local No. 56 of Gary, Indiana, in its strike against employers in that city. Every assistance will be rendered Local No. 56 by both the individual member Locals and the Joint Council in this important fight.

On this page are a series of photographs which depict some of personalities and activities of the Joint Council delegates while they were in Atlanta.

Left to right: Mr. John Fagan, Mr. E. L. Abercrombie. Mrs. Frances Abercrombie.



Left to Right: 1, and 2, The Glaspie Children, Mrs. Roy Svarez, Mrs. Thomas Smith.

Left to Right: Mr. Jimmy Rowe, Mrs. Joyce S. Rowe, Mrs. Sandra B. Penn, Mr. Lamar Penn.

Left to right: Orbille Collins, Marge Furst, Mr. Lloyd C. Baggett, Mrs. Lloyd C. Baggett, Mr. Jimmy Rowe, Mrs. Joyce S. Rowe, Mrs. Sandra B. Penn, Mr. Lamar Penn

Left to right: Mrs. Eloise M. Fair, Mrs. Barbara Harris, Mrs. Irene M. Greene, Mr. Joseph R. Greene, Mrs. Virginia B. Moore.

COLUMBUS LINEN - JOHNNY WILLIAMS - 256-76-4607

Laundry Workers Institute

Local 218 Members get Moneys Worth, And Know It!

The members of Local No. 218 overwhelmingly voted their support of the policies and activities of its officers and staff by voting by a margin of 5 to 1 to increase Local Union dues $1.50 on April 1, 1972 and another $1.50 on January 1, 1973!

Officers of the Union had pointed out the hazards facing Local 218 members in 1973 and 1974 in protecting gains won in the 1971-72 contract, and furthering those gains in future contracts, due to a substantial loss of income by the union, resulting from economic and technological changes within the industry and a resultant loss of membership.

The dues increase will enable the union to meet the increased cost of operation for organizing and service and also establish a permanent defense fund to bolster its bargaining position in future negotiations.

Commenting upon the overwhelming vote for the dues increase, Secretary-Treasurer E. L. Abercrombie said, "We were happily surprised at the tremendous vote for the increase. We had all felt our membership would give us the means of meeting the challenges facing the union, but the size of the vote was most gratifying to all of us, as it reflected the confidence our members have in their officers and staff."

The financial officer of the union stated that the increased income to the union treasury would be used wisely and only for projects which would strengthen the union numerically and contractually.

THE SOUTHERN

LAUNDRY WORKER

Volume 7 Number 2 — OFFICIAL ORGAN OF LOCAL 218 LAUNDRY, DRY CLEANING AND DYE HOUSE WORKERS UNION — Atlanta, Ga. — April-May, 1972

Affiliated Jt. Council #5

FITZSIMMONS WINS COVETED AWARD

Jones Attends A. Phillips Randolph Institute Meeting in Houston, Texas

President Carl Jones represented Local No. 218 at the April 9, 1972 meeting of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute in Houston. President Jones conveyed the support of Local No. 218, its officers and membership to Bayard Rustin, Executive Director of the Institute and pledged continued cooperation of the Local with the Institute efforts and goals.

In a stirring address Bayard called the ballot and the Union Card the key weapons in the black's struggle in America.

Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO, further ennunciated the theme of economics and politics in his address to the conference. The following summary of the conference and its highlights will advise members of Local No. 218 of the importance of this vital work.

A ballot and a union card are the most effective weapon available for blacks to gain economic democracy, a dean of the civil rights movement said in Houston Saturday.

Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, addressing the institute's national conference at the Sheraton-Lincoln Hotel said blacks' political punch should be aimed at defeating President Nixon in the November election.

"He deserves a good swift kick out of the White House" based on the President's economic program "where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer," Rustin told about 1,000 delegates.

The Randolph Institute, created in 1964, conducts voter registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns in cooperation with the NAACP and the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE). The voter drives generally are conducted by black trade unionists.

Rustin, a close associate of the late Martin Luther King, said Nixon's policies "have to destroy us because his economics are based on scarcity and as long as there is scarcity, people will fight each other for jobs, housing and medical care.

"There is no chance of blacks and whites getting along in this country until there is economic abundance," he said.

Rustin and Republicans as well as Alabama Gov. George Wallace are creating a false issue - busing - in the presidential campaign.

"The white community in the Florida primary was mighty confused to react to busing (nothing more than a form of transportation)," he said. "The focus should have been on the soaring price of food."

Lane Kirkland, No. 2 man in the AFL-CIO, continued the attack on Nixon and Wallace at a banquet Saturday night and added Treasury Secretary John Connally to the list.

"Economics is what politics is all about," said Kirkland, arguing that the Republicans have consistently supported big business at the expense of the working man.

Citing a long list of unemployment figures that have risen during the Nixon administration, Kirkland compared the plight of the working man today to that of the poor in Robin Hood's England. "The poor have been fleeced to feed the rich," and that's the stage we're at today, he said.

At the same time, the 100 largest corporations are heading toward the highest profits in history, he said.

He called Connally a new "sheriff of Nottingham," the "enforcer of King Richard's court" in economic matters.

Kirkland scoffed at Connally's jaw-boning to lower food prices.

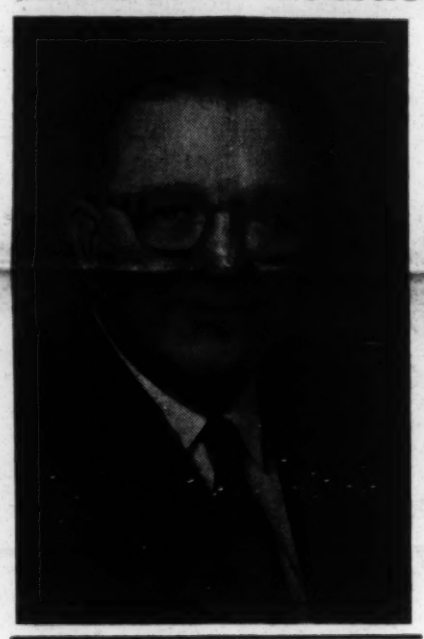
"Never before in history have so few Philistines been felled by the jaw bone of an ass," he said.

He also added Wallace to his list of politicans who have added to the economic plight of workers and the poor.

"The George Wallaces of this country were the real authors" of all the economic problems of

(Continued on Page 8)

Teamster President Honored at New York Dinner



The annual Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms award for 1972 has been given by Frank E. Fitzsimmons, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, with which the Laundry, Dry Cleaners & Dye House Workers International Union and Local No. 218 are affiliated.

Representing Local No. 218 at the award dinner was E. L. Abercrombie, Secretary-Treasurer of Local No. 218 and Vice President of the International Union.

The dinner was held April 12th, 1972 in the Grand Ball Room of the New York Hilton Hotel, New York City.

Principal speakers at the affair were Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., son of the late President, Vernon E. Jordan, Executive Director of the National Urban League; Hon. James Hodgson, Secretary of Labor; Joseph Trerotola, Labor Chairman. Presentation of the award was made by Theodore W. Kheel to President Fitzsimmons.

THE FOUR FREEDOMS

The Four Freedoms were enunciated for the first time by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt in an address to Congress, January 6, 1941 when he stated:

> "In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded by four essential human freedoms."
>
> "The first is freedom of speech and expression — everywhere in the world."
>
> "The second freedom of every person to worship God in his own way — everywhere in the world."
>
> "The third is freedom from want — which, translated into world terms, means economic understanding which will secure to every nation a healthy peaceful life for its inhabitants — everywhere in the world."
>
> "The fourth is freedom from fear — which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of aggression against any neighbor — everywhere in the world."

The Four Freedoms Foundation, Inc., a non-political, tax-exempt membership corporation, was organized in 1951 under the laws of the State of New York to implement the principles of the Four Freedoms throughout the world. The activities of the Foundation include advancing its principles and ideals, distribution of literature through the schools, essay contests, public relations in a campaign to disseminate the principles of the Four Freedoms, and other similar projects.

An award is given annually by the Foundation in recognition of distinguished service in the cause of Freedom.

Previous recipients of the Award are: Hon. Alben W. Barkley, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Gen. George C. Marshall, Hon. Harry S. Truman, Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, Hon. W. Averell Harriman, Hon. Carlos P. Romulo, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, George W. Meany, Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, Hon. John F. Kennedy, Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, Hon. Arthur J. Goldberg, Theodore W. Kheel, Whitney M. Young, and Hon. Edmund S. Muskie.

THE SOUTHERN

LAUNDRY WORKER

Volume 7 Number 2 — OFFICIAL ORGAN OF LOCAL 218 LAUNDRY, DRY CLEANING AND DYE HOUSE WORKERS UNION — Atlanta, Ga. April-May, 1972

Published in Atlanta, Georgia, Bi-monthly for the members of Local 218. Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers Union,

157 Forsyth St., S. W. Telephone 523-7646

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Associate Editor ---------- Carl A. Jones, Jr.

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Rowan Speaks the Conscience of the Nation

By
W. T. Archer, Jr.
Director of Organization

Noted black columnist Carl Rowan, who notably speaks the conscience of the nation, has directed another of his gleaming bits of reporting in exposing the "get rich" schemes of those who profit at the expense of the poor. In a column titled, "Poor Are Valuable" Rowan points out how the medical profession has profited by exploitation of the poor, and how other exploiters use Government aid to the poor to fatten their pocketbooks.

Below we reprint the content of this timely and important article.

The sweetest get-rich-quick schemes in the country these days seem to lie in "services" to the poor and the sick.

We hear a lot about money paid to chislers on welfare, but this is a pittance compared with the billions being gobbled up by affluent Americans who prey upon programs designed to provide housing, medical care and other services to the needy.

Doctors, hospitals and drug stores have found a gold mine in Medicaid, the joint Federal-city program to provide medical services for welfare recipients and the poor.

Residents of this city were amazed to learn recently that one physician received $120,060 in Medicaid payments last year while also collecting $108,000 from Blue Cross-Blue Shield for other patients.

A psychiatrist collected $106,835 from Medicaid, an amount justifiable only if he worked 13 hours a day, 365 days a year serving the poor. This was a physical impossibility since the doctor had another 20-hour a week job.

The D. C. Medical Society is investigating such payments.

Hospitals here got $13,671,170 from Medicaid during the last eight months. The head of the Medicaid program says they would have received $2 million from the same services in 1969, adding that "the hospitals love Medicaid."

The drug stores must, too, since one chain here filled $1,122,102 worth of prescriptions for poor people in 1971, making a tidy profit of about $435,000 off Medicaid.

The picture is similar all over the country. A grand jury report in New York City said "almost a billion dollars was wasted" in Medicaid there.

Nursing and "personal care" homes for elderly welfare patients also reap a sweet bonanza. This city alone made $300,000 in illegal overpayments to such homes last year for services the patients never got.

Exploitation of the poor to grab millions of federal dollars is also widespread in the housing field.

After hearing testimony for 11 months, a New York grand jury recently indicted Dun & Bradstreet, nine other corporations, and 40 individuals in an alleged multi-million-dollar housing fraud scheme. Loss to the government in this scandal has been estimated at $200 million, with millions more lost by bilked poor people.

Similar alleged frauds and schemes have been charged in

(Continued on Page 7)

Buchwald Prays And Says it All

Some things are worth repeating, and a thing worth repeating to our membership is a recent humorous prayer, written by nationally famous humourist Art Buchwald in a Washington release. With apologies to Mr. Buchwald for use of his material we repeat this prayer for our members:

...Have Mercy on Us

OUR HEAVENLY FATHER,

We beseech You in our hour of need to look down kindly on Your humble taxpaying servants to have given all we possess to the almighty Internal Revenue Service. Grant us that we have completed our Form 1040 correctly so no power will find fault with it.

We pray to God that we have added lines 12, 13C, 14 and 15 accurately, and that we have subtracted line 17 from line 16 so our adjusted gross income is computed to their divine satisfaction.

We ask you, O Lord, to protect our exemptions and bless our deductions as outlined in schedule A (Form 1040) (see Chapter 10 and 11).

Have mercy on those of us who failed to wisely estimate our payments during the year, and must now borrow from Peter to pay Paul. Blessed are those who spend more than they earned and contributed so much to the economy.

GIVE US the strength, Lord, to find losses to wipe out our net gains (see Form 4797) so that we may dwell in a lower tax bracket forever and ever (as outlined in Publication 17, the refised 1972 edition).

Pray help us find loopholes and tax shelters so we are not deemed sinners, but are looked upon as honorable businessmen who are just taking full advantage of the law.

We ask You, Almighty, to protect us from auditing by government servants who don't know the difference between a business lunch and a family picnic. Give them the wisdom to realize that none of our entertainment was for pleasure, but only to entice our acquaintances to buy our exalted products.

And if You can see Your way to doing it, provide us with legitimate reasons for taking our wives when we go on trips to Florida and California. What good is it for a man to own the world and then discover his wife is not tax deductible?

Those of Your humble servants on straight salary beg thee to withhold more than we owe, so at the end of the fiscal year we will be granted a much deserved refund. And, Dear God, make sure that which is

(Continued on Page 7)

CHARLOTTESVILLE LINEN - MYRTLE HARLOW - 230-28-0207
CENTRAL UNIFORM - FANNIE CHINN - 252-54-6372

Getting One's Moneys Worth

by E. L Abercrombie

In the last edition of the Southern Laundry Worker I wrote about the protection and gains made by our membership through the past years. I called attention to the crisis that lay ahead and the endangerment of all that we had accomplished if we became complacent and self satisfied.

Happily, as I had believed, our membership rose to the threat of these new challenges to our future security and well being by providing the capital for a new offensive against management, and a defense fund as a bulwark to protect that which we have already won.

Armed as we will be in the next few years, it is unlikely that any employer or group of employers will be able to take us on or tear us down. With the means our membership has provided the officers of the union, we should be able to launch new organizing drives, thereby bringing into the union members to replace those lost through economic and technological cutbacks in the industry.

DEFENSE, OUR GREATEST NEED

Our membership has already learned what influence a powerful defense fund can have upon management. Had we not been armed with the temporary strike fund given us last year, we would not have been capable of winning the outstanding contracts we now enjoy.

Many employers breathed a sigh of relief when the union returned the strike fund dollars to the membership. They thought the union would take it for granted such a fund was never again going to be necessary, and would go to the bargaining table in 1973, unprepared and considerably weakened.

It must have been a stunning shock and a rude awakening for those same employers to learn the membership of Local No. 218, by a margin of five to one, voted to give it's officers, not only the money to establish a strong permanent defense fund, but also the funds to get out in the field and organize the industry.

The membership of this union has always risen to any challenge. That is why we are strong, why we are respected and why we are accepted by all segments of society as a force for good in our communities.

IMPLEMENTING MEMBER ACTION

Now, we, as officers of your union, having been given the tools to do the job, must get our program on the drawing board, and carefully use the means you have provided us to do a good and effective job.

The planning is already getting under way, as every department of the union is submitting its suggestions and ideas to the Executive Board, and as these ideas and programs are evaluated, those which are worthy will rapidly be put into effect.

New targets of organization are being studied. As these also are evaluated, we shall center our activity upon those where the most effective job can be done with the minimal outlay of union money.

We must exercise every caution to see that these funds which you have provided are spent where each dollar will give our membership its greatest return. Therefore, we will scrutinize every proposed project carefully to see that our membership gets its moneys worth.

MEMBER ACTION SUSTAINS FAITH

The vote of our membership on the dues proposition, once again sustained the abiding faith we at headquarters and in the field, had in our membership. You have never let us down on any project. nor in any emergency. For this we are eternally grateful. For it is this confidence which you show in us as elected leaders which make it possible for us to give you a full measure of your moneys worth in adequate and effective representation.

As your elected officers and employees, we are ever mindful of our responsibility to you, the members of our union. You may be assured in the years ahead we shall be just as concerned and careful in fulfilling that obligation as we have in the past.

I want to personally thank each and every member of the union for the spirit of confidence and militancy demonstrated in the dues project, and to applaud your judgement and foresight in reaching your individual decision.

For we are one, your officers and you, in this right to protect that which we have already won, and to moving forward toward new goals and accomplishment in the years ahead.

Carolina Uniform Rental

Funeral services were held Sunday, February 20, 1972 at 1:00 for Mr. William Henry Dunn of 129 North Sycamore Street, Charlotte, N.C. He was a loyal and faithful member of Gethsmore Baptist Church, Member of the Deacon Board for over thirty years, Sunday School teacher, Scout Master, Chorister of the Senior Choir since 1936, Post Commander of Charlotte Camp No. 1 American Woodsmen, and was also a member of Silver Mount Masonic Lodge No. 261 Lancaster County, S.C. He is the father of Mrs. Mae Frances Pickett of Carolina Uniform Rental.

Funeral Services for Mr. Albert (Bubber) Williams, were held Thursday February 24, 1972 at 4:00 P. M. at the Nazareth Baptist Church, Rock Hill, S.C. Rev. W. M. Massey officiated. He leaves to mourn his wife, Mrs. Janie S. Williams, a son, Mr. Albert Williams, Jr., a Miss Elizabeth Williams, one sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Nelson of Charlotte, several nieces and nephews and a host of other relatives and friends. Mr. Williams is the brother-in-law of Sister Beaufort Hicks.

Obituary

Services for Miss Leak were held Sunday, February 13, 1972 at 1:30 P.M. United House of Prayer For All People - Elder C. Wilkerson, Pastor, Officiating. Miss Barbara Ann Leak, daughter of Mr. James Thomas Leak and the Mrs. Willie Mae Leak, was born in Charlotte, North Carolina on October 30, 1948. She departed this life on Friday, February 4, 1972.

She was a devoted daughter and sister, and was loved by all her friends.

She is survived by her father, Mr. James Thomas Leak, two children, Jeffrey and Latonya Leak, three sisters, Mrs. Sarah Ford, Miss Vivian Leak, and Miss Shirley Leak, all of Charlotte, three brothers, Mr. Willie Leak, Mr. Jerry Leak, and Mr. Karl Leak, all of Charlotte. One brother-in-law, Mr. Clyde Ford, grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Willie Boyd, other relatives and a host of friends.

Dallas Uniform Rental

Our prayers go out to Johnnie Lacy who has been in the hospital, and has undergone surgery. We hope she will be up very soon and back to work, we all miss her.

Mrs. Dorothy Crockett's husband has been ill for some time. We do hope he will be up soon. We are all praying for him to have a safe recovery real soon.

Montgomery Linen Service

NEWAY UNIFORM - G. M. CABRERA - 266-19-6961

We are very happy to welcome Miss Mildred Richardson back to work after being off due to illness. We are also pleased with the return of Mrs. Mary Porterfield who took time off for the birth of little Audrey Felix born Jan. 24, 1972. Mrs. Porterfield also celebrated her birthday on January 28th of this year. Others receiving belated birthday greetings are: Mrs. Mary Alice Stephens (Jan. 10th) Mrs. Ellene Nix (Jan. 17th) Mrs. Alice L. Sankey (Jan. 24th) and last but not least little Patrick Lynn, son of Mrs. Ruth Graves who was 3 years old on Feb. 14th, Happy birthday to all of you, and to those who did not give me their birthdays.

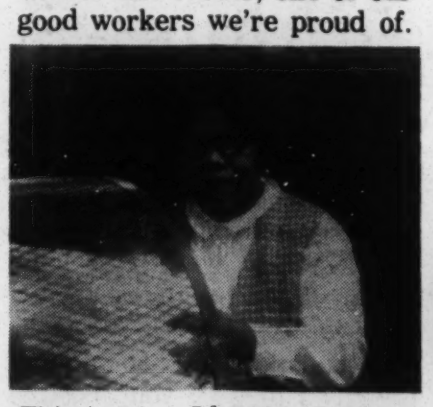
Our prayers and deepest sympathy goes out to Mrs. Pauline Gray and Family in the loss of her grandmother on March 1, 1972.

Macon Linen Service

Congratulations to two of our members who are the proud parents of a little girl born January 31, 1972. They are Mr. & Mrs. George Waters!!!

Pictured is Miss Evelyn Gresson, one of our soil Linen girls, and also Miss Gresson is the secretary of Local 218 at Macon Linen Service.

Here is Mrs. Mildred T. Simmons who works as a shaker and feeder, one of our good workers we're proud of.



This is Mrs. Ida Mae Parker, one of our good table girls who also operates the hot hopper and the tying machine on the table.

Gulf Uniform Rental

Miss Carolyn Ann Wesley, daughter of Mrs. Rose Wesley, an employee of Gulf Uniform Rental of Atlanta, Georgia, was married to Mr. David Walker February 6, 1972 at Salem Baptist Church at 2283 Baker Road, N.W. The reception was held at Paschals Motor Hotel's Matador Room. Miss Wesley is a 1971 graduate of Price High School, and is now attending Atlanta Area Tech. Mr. Walker is a 1971 graduate of Carver High School, and is employed at Atlanta Aviation Department. Good luck to the bride and groom!!!!

Indiana Linen Service

FLORIDA LINEN - CARIDAD RUZ - 265-21-7570

Here is a bit of news from the union members at Indiana Linen: Vacations were in order for December and January, they were as follows: Lula Moore, Richard Elliott, Bobbie Noe, Juanita Burton.

Donald Spurgeon, son of Dorothy Spurgeon exchanged wedding vows with Karen Sue White on Saturday, January 29, 1972, at 7:00 P..M. at the United Methodist Church. Donald was a graduate of Columbus High School in 1967 and also graduated from the Indiana State Police at Indiana University in 1969. He is assigned to the Indiana State Police Post in Indianapolis. The bride was a graduate of the Columbus High School in 1969. The couple are on honeymoon in Florida.

Here is a little item I found in a paper recently. I thought it would be nice to print in the Union paper.

WHY FIGHT UNIONS?

To the Editor:

I keep reading in the paper of incidents occuring concerning the unions trying to get into factories and-or business places. I am just interested in how far a company will go to keep a good union out. If my husband, a factory worker, wasn't in the union he wouldn't be able to make a decent wage. It looks to me like that in this day and age the people would see this for themselves.

I myself, have worked several places and there was no union, and believe me, the hours were long, they hired and fired without good reasons, the pay was low, the raises were very slow in coming, the only way you could advance in better pay was to know the boss or be a "rat" on everyone.

If there had been a union in these companies, these incidents would not have been allowed.

Texas Overall Rental

Pictured are employees of Texas Overall, reading left to right: Lona Scott, 24 years of service, Adline Dorsey, 13 years, Irene Carter, Idella Alton (Shop Steward) Back Row: left to right: Veanna Wilson, 22 yrs., Naomi McDonald, Minnie Moore, Lavada Ross, 15 yrs., Leona Henry, Birdie M. Johnson, Lillian Collins and Ella Burley 19 years or service. Congratulations!

I would also like to say we at Texas Overall were glad, and yet regreted that Sister Lizzie Morris retired on the First of January, 1972. We will miss her but wish her happiness and good health.

PAGE (s) MISSING

Local No. 218 News Briefs

The next meeting of the Local No. 218 Health and Welfare Fund trustees will explore the possibility of establishing mobile health units to travel among our member plants and furnish free physicals to the members of the Local Union. After a complete feasibility study a recommendation will be made to the trustees as to the advisability of such a service.

The Local Union Executive Board has voted to Postpone the '72 annual conference meeting in Atlanta, because it is an election year and the conservation of funds will help bear the cost of the election as well as provide more needed services to the membership.

Tellers and nominating committee members will be named shortly by President Jones and the membership will be informed of such appointments.

James O. (Jim) Moore, President of the Georgia AFL-CIO, passed on Sunday, April 16th at the Atlanta Baptist Memorial Hospital. Mr. Moore was a long time acquaintance and coworker in the Labor movement with Brothers E. L. Abercrombie and W. T. Archer, Jr.

Condolences and expressions of sympathy were sent by the Local to the family of Brother Moore and the prayers of our members are asked for the rest of his soul.

BIRMINGHAM LINEN -
BEATRICE BRITT -
247-38-3147

$$$ $$$

IT PAYS TO READ YOUR PAPER

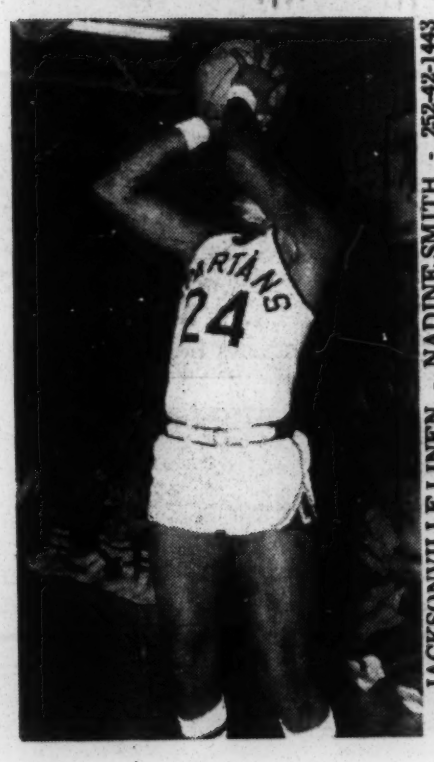
$$$ $$$

Snap Shots

Here are some of the employees at LUBBOCK LINEN SERVICE

Action shots of Carl Avery Jones "Mr. Smooth" in action !! Carl is No. 24

Son of local 218's President: Carl A. Jones Jr.



Dear Carl:
CONGRATULATIONS!

Our Tournament Selection Committee has chosen you as a participant in our first annual "One on One" double eliminatpon tournament.

Drawings for the pairings have been made and acopy is enclosed for your information. The tournamenh will be held on Wednesday and Thursday nights, March 15th and 16th. The starting time will be 7:00 P..M. each evening. Please be at the Lakewood High School gym promptly at 6:00 P.M. on Wednesday prepared to play ball. We will at that time go over all rules and answer all questions. Locker facilities will be provided. Please make your own arrangements in regard to your valuables.

In accordance with FHSAA reguljtions, no entry may wear any uniform to identify him as representing his school. It should be fully understood that you are participating in this tourney representing yourself, not your school, and no reference whatever will be made in our tournament as to what school you attend.

Forty-eight College and Jr. College coaches throughout Florida have been invited to this tournament, so come prepared to play your best. This may be your opportunity to pick up your college basketball scholarship.

Sincerely,
John M. Hedrick

JACKSONVILLE LINEN - NADINE SMITH - 252-42-1443

Carl Avery Jones Athlete of Month

Carl Jones is as graceful as a gazelle and as smooth as the gym floor. Jones is called "Mr.. Smooth" because of his grace in playing basketball. Carl makes everything look easy. When he glides up for one of his jumps, you can hear the nets singing even before he soots. Jones, recognized for his unusual jumping ability, plays most of the game about the rim. Carl, a forward, can turn a game around with his hot shooting. When asked what he likes the most, Carl jokingly replies, "Girls, food and money". Bing and Jones make 1972-73 Basketball at Lakewood look like a state championship.

Vikes Nudge Lakewood

Northeast's Vikings, the best of the rest (after Clearwater, Gibbs and St. Petersburg) of the Pinellas County Conference, held on to defeat Lakewood 68-67 Tuesday night in the Spartans' gym.

Craig Pippin led the Vikings (9-5 in the PCC and 12-7 overall) with 17 points and hit a three-point play midway through thz fourth quarter that put Northeast ahead 54-51, a lead it never lost. Andre Samuels, Dave Duquette and Keith Smith all had 13 for the Vikes. Lakewood (6-8 and 8-9) was led by Iarl Jones with 20.

NORTHEAST	G	F	T	LAKEWOOD	G	F	T
Pippin	6	5-6	17	Edwards	1	3-5	5
Samuels	5	3-7	13	Sanders	4	1-5	9
Schraeder	0	0-0	0	Mullins	4	2-2	10
Smith	3	7-10	13	Taylor	0	0-0	0
Duquette	4	5-7	13	Stubbins	2	1-2	5
M.W'liams	3	4-6	10	Bing	2	0-0	4
Woodward	1	0-0	2	Jones	9	2-5	20
				Torre	1	0-0	2
				Johnson	5	0-1	10
				Murphy	0	2-2	2
Totals	22	24-36	68	Totals	28	11-22	67

Northeast	14	18	12	24—68
Lakewood	12	19	16	20—67

Total fouls: Northeast 15, Lakewood 22
Fouled Out: Lakewood, Stubbins.

LAKEWOOD	G	F	T	CLEARWATER	G	F	T
Edwards	3	7-10	13	McK'and	3	0-1	6
Stubbins	8	1-1	17	LeFevre	13	7-8	33
Mullins	1	4-6	6	Callahan	8	11-13	27
Jones C.	11	5-7	27	Rutledge	5	8-9	18
Taylor	1	2-2	4	Meader	0	6-6	6
Sanders	10	2-5	22	Giese	5	0-0	10
Bing	0	0-2	0	Mitchell	1	2-4	4
				Moon	0	2-2	2
				Hayes	0	0-0	0
Totals	34	21-33	89	Totals	35	36-40	101

Lakewood	12	22	23	32— 89
Clearwater	16	31	25	29—101

Total Fouls—Lakewood 26, Clearwater 22.

Fouled Out—Lakewood, Stubbins, Edwards; Clearwater, McKahand, Callahan, LeFevre.

Charlotte Woman, 22 Is Murdered In Home

Police Searching For Man

By JIM MITCHELL
Observer Staff Writer

A 22-year-old Charlotte woman was in her kitchen washing some clothes when she was fatally shot at 9:45 Friday night.

She is Barbara Ann Leak of 2604 Dundeen St.

No one was arrested by late Friday night, but police were searching for a man described as a close friend of the woman's

Officers said she was shot three times, including one shot in the left side near the heart. A weapon was not recovered, but officers said they thought it was a small pistol.

Two persons were in the front room of the apartment when the murder occurred, the police said.

Miss Leak was a member of Carolina Uniform Rental and Local 218 Laundry Workers Union since August, 1968.

PRIZE MONEY

Somewhere on these next seven pages of this issue of the Laundry Worker are the names, shops and social security numbers of twelve of the members of Local No. 218.

The names are hidden in the news colums, but are clearly legible if you want to find them. If your plant name, your own name and your social security number match up, notify headquarters at once and you will receive $5.00. Look closely at every issue and join the winners!

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

ARE YOU A REGISTERED VOTER?

IF NOT TRY IT YOU'LL LIKE IT.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

News From The Jacksonville Office

Mrs. Lucinda Doris Colleton, is the new secretary for Local 218 Jacksonville Office. She is a graduate of Gillespie-Selden-Institute, Cordele, Georgia, class of 1954. She was a member of the Honor Society and was elected one of the best all around girls on campus, she attended Holsey Business School in Cordele also.

She is the wife of Mr. Willie Lee Colleton, and the mother of two sons and one daughter. Mrs. Colleton has previously served as chief steward for Duval Laundry. She is a member of the Mt. Vernon Baptist Church where she was elected Chairman for Women's Day. She also serves as President of District No. 15, and serves on Usher Board No. 2. Mrs. Colleton is a very prompt and efficient secretary and we all welcome her!

Buchwald Prays

(Continued from Page 2)

refunded by the federal government is not taken away from us by the state, and that which is refunded by the state is not taken away from us by the county, and that which is refunded to us by the county is ntt taken away by the town. Even taxpayers have to eat.

IF YOU HAVE heard us so far, O Father, you are probably wondering why we don't address our prayers to Washington instead of heaven. We have, God knows we have - but there is no one there to answer them.

Yea, though we walk through the valley of the shadow of bankruptcy (see Tax Rate Schedule X, Y, Z, or if applicable Schedule D or Schedule Gor maximum tax from Form 4726) there is no one to comfort us.

Congress have mercy on us. Treasury have mercy on us, Pentagon have mercy on us, HEW have mercy on us, HUD have mercy on us, Wilbur Mills have mercy on us.

And finally, if as you have proclaimed, the meek shall inherit the earth, all we humbly ask is that the IRS consider it a capital gain instead of ordinary income.

Amen.

HAPPY DAY LAUNDRY & CLEANERS

This is Little John Edward Potter, son of Janet Potter and John Kennedy. Born July 11, 1971. At birth his weight was 3 lbs. 1 oz. Now he is 8 months old and weights 19 lbs. 5 ozs. He is the grandson of Sister Doris Potter.

Retired after 23 years of service is Sister Alice Alexander. We wish her the best of luck.

Our deepest sympathy to Sister Elizabeth Brown with the loss of her uncle, Mr. George Perry of Nashville, Tennessee.

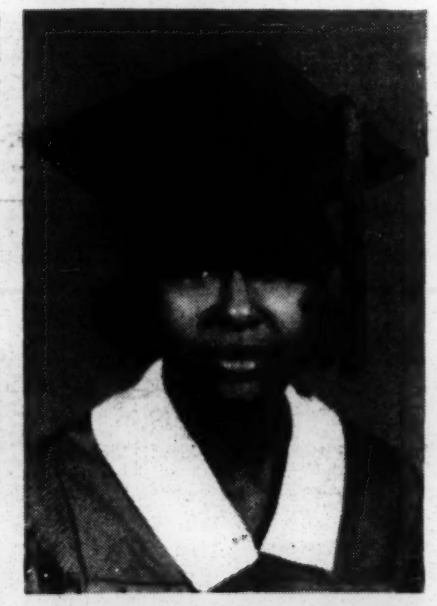
Also to Brother William Jones, who lost his sister Mrs. Emma Davis of St. Louis, Mo.

KENT CLEANERS - CARRIE LEE DIXON - 254-46-0963

Pictured is Little Wyndell Lamont Voorhies, the son of Rosalyn & Wyndell Voorhies. Born October 23, 1971, Little Wyndell is now 5 months old. (Also grandson of Sister Potter)

Sister Nannie L.. Gilbert, a member of Tabernacle Church and Choir No. 2, held their annual Installation Services March 19, 1972 at 3:30 P.M. Everyone had a wonderful time.

I am Janet Potter, a June 72 graduate of Pearl High School, Daughter of Doris Potter. Upon graduating, I plan to attend college and major in Speech Therapy.



This is Marilyn Woodruff, daughter of Mrs. Doris D. Woodruff. She is also a 72 graduate of Pearl High. After graduation, she plans to go to a business school and become an IBM Key Puncher. Miss Woodruff is the niece of Doris Potter.

Rowan Speaks

(Continued from Page 2)

Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, Miami and other cities.

Here is how a typical operation is alleged to work.

A black or Puerto Rican family moves into what has been an all-white neighborhood. Blockbusters get busy frightening other white families, causing them to sell their houses at low prices and flee.

The speculator then takes the $6,000 house and sells it to a black or Puerto Rican family at an inflated price of $20,000. He takes $700 or so from the purchaser and arranges a mortgage guaranteed by the Federal Housing Administration for the balance.

This huge mortgage is secured by providing phony information about the credit and income of the purchaser. In the New York case the grand jury accused FHA employees of being bribed into going along with the fraud.

The purchaser soon finds that the mortgage payments are far more than he can meet. The mortgage is foreclosed, he he loses his down payment and FHA becomes responsible for the huge mortgage balance.

The same speculator, or a colleague, may then buy the house again at a low price, find another black or Puerto Rican victim, and pull off his phony deal again.

In a short time the houses are in disrepair, even abandoned, and the neighborhood an eyesore. A program designed to improve the lives of poor people and minority groups has been turned into a creator of anger, despair, bitter resentment at the whole "Establishment."

The terrible truth is that the medical and housing cases cited above don't begin to tell the whole story of how programs to lift the poor are turned into bonanzas for slick operators.

SEVEN WINNERS THIS EDITION

The following members found their plant, name and social security number in our last edition, and each collected $5!

ALABAMA UNIFORM RENTAL	JEFFERSON SIMS	421-44-5711
ASHEVILLE LINEN	ROSETTA BALL	239-70-6964
MECHANICS UNIFORM (MIAMI)	JUANITA BUTLER	257-58-3569
COLUMBIA LINEN SERVICE	DAISY SPANN	250-42-2568
UNIFORM RENTAL (ATLANTA)	HULDA MAE ARNOLD	257-01-4347
KENTUCKY LINEN	JAMES E. DAVIS	294-10-9685
LUBBOCK LINEN	ELIJAH BOYD, JR.	449-38-8792

BE SURE YOU DON'T MISS YOUR NAME IN THIS EDITON! READ EVERY PAGE!

Health and Welfare Fund Sells Garage

Local No. 218 Health and Welfare Fund trustees okayed the sale of the Union owned parking garage in Atlanta to Cousns Properties affiliates for a sum of one million, one hundred thousand dollars.

The garage was purchased by the fund several years ago from the Rich's Employees Pension fund for $625,000, and has been operated under lease during the tenure of its possession by the Local 281 Fund.

Sale of the property at a substantial profit will bolster the Union Health and Welfare Fund and help to provide additional services to the members in future years.

The sale of the property will not be finalized until February 1973, however a substantial earnest payment has been made to the Fund to guarantee the sale.

A constant deterioration of property values in the area of the garage made it a greater rish investment than the Fund trustees felt was feasible to the organization.

Staff and Board Met in March

The Executive Board and Staff of Local No. 218 both had meetings in Atlanta on March 13, 14, 15, 17 and 18th. These meetings were to implement the work of the last conference, to prepare goals for the union advancement during the next year and to evaluate the resources and energies of the Union, to see that these were being best employed in behalf of the membership.

Long range planning by both bodies will be incorporated into future news in the Southern Laundry Worker, in order to keep the membership fully informed.

Shakeup Urged For Phase 2

The Joint Economic Committee of Congress, in its annual report on the economy out Thursday, called for sweeping changes in President Nixon's economic controls.

It advocated that controls be lifted from as much of the economy as possible so that the government can concentrate its efforts on those unions and corporations which have so much power they can control wages and prices regardless of marketplace pressures.

The committee's 12 Democrats, in the majority report, said the President's Phase 2 controls were "so late in being adopted, so complicated in their design, so weak in their administration and so modest and vague in their goals that we are compelled to be severely critical and to recommend an immediate sweeping revision."

It added that "given the very long time during which this administration has been purporting to 'fight' inflation, first by creating unemployment and finally in recent months by imposing controls, given the high costs we are paying, the amount of progress which has been achieved is pitiful."

The committee's eight Republicans, however, praised Nixon in their minority report. They said his policies have won substantial success "in setting the stage for healthy growth with price stability."

Throughout the 139-page report, the Democrats and Republicans agreed on only three paragraphs - calling for a quick start on negotiations for international monetary reform and opposing a quota on imports approach as a solution to the nation's trade deficit.

In a related development, the Price Commission Wednesday said it would suspend any price increase it had granted to firms who have made profits beyond its guidelines.

Commission Chairman C. Jackson Grayson said a sampling of quarterly reports indicated a number of firms may have violated the panel's profit ceiling rules.

MEMBERS - This decal may be obtained free for your automobile by contacting Atlanta office.

Phase 2 Probe Is Threatened

Rep. Wright Patman, D-Tex., has told President Nixon to shake up the wage-price stabilization program, or it will be investigated by the House Banking Committee.

Patman, chairman of the committee, wrote Nixon that it is receiving many complaints reflecting "a widespread belief that the program is being administered unfairly and that in several important respects the law has been completely ignored by those designated to carry out the responsibilities of the act . . . I am inclined to agree with this conclusion."

Turning to specifics, Patman wrote:

-Price regulations are so complex that "consumers cannot know what their rights are . . . it is impossible for (them) to police illegal price increases."

-Rents have been raised as much as 9 percent. "The tenants are very perplexed . . . because the landlords cite as justification . . . Phase 2 guidelines. As one member of Congress told me, "This is preposterous.' I agree."

-By providing that the working poor should be exempt from the ban on pay raises, Congress intended to set the line at family incomes of $6,900. The Cost of Living Council has set a standard of $1.90 an hour, or less than $4,000 a year. "This is far from what Congress had in mind."

-Congress contemplated that, if interest rates were not to be controlled, there should be a formal and documented finding that controls were not needed. The Cost of Living Council finding that no controls were needed "blatantly ignored" the requirements.

-The stabilization law called for public hearings by the control agencies, but only two have been held.

Patman declined an invitation to testify at a Price Commission hearing March 28, saying his appearance would be inappropriate in view of his letter to Nixon.

"Unless there is prompt assurance of action to conform stabilization policies to the intent of the law," he wrote, "this committee will not hesitate to convene hearings to see that act is used in accordance with the intent of Congress."

In a statement, he added:

"It is obvious that the stabilization effort is not working as Congress intended...

"Only the President can bring order out of the conflicting and inneffective regulations...

"Instead of strong enforcement . . . the stabilization authorities seem to be resorting to Madison Avenue techniques."

Pioneer Black Atlanta Leader, 86, Dies in Sacramento, California

Jesse O. Thomas, one of the founders of the Atlanta Urban League in 1920 and a moving force in the creation of the Atlanta School of Social Work, has died in Sacramento, California at the age of 86.

"Mr. Thomas was, without question, one of Atlanta's great leaders, and can be credited as much as any man in this century for advancing the cause of racial justice and equality in this community," said Lyndon A. Wade, Atlanta Urban League executive director.

Mr. Thomas also played a leading role in the establishment of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, according to Dean Genevieve Hill. "His charge to a social workers conference in New Orleans in 1919 helped spark the nucleus group which went on to becoming the first training program for black social workers in the U. S., " Dean Hill said.

As the first field director for the Atlanta Urban League he served until 1940 when he became the national field representative for the National Urban League. In 1941 he left the Atlanta Urban League to become Senior Promotion Specialist with the U. S. Treasury Department.

In 1947 he was appointed public relations consultant for the American Red Cross. In 1952 he was chosen by Mike deSalle for a position with the Office of Price Stabilization in Washington, D. C.

Mr. Thomas was noted for his commitment toward creating trade and vocational schools for blacks in Georgia, claiming in 1961 to the State Board of Education that vocational schools for blacks were "separate but not equal."

In December 1954 he was awarded a Christian Service citation from the Adelphi Club of Shaw Temple, AME Zion Church. The citation recognized his assistance in a fund raising drive for the Big Bethel AME Church, as well as for raising the salaries of workers at the Travelers Aid Society at the Terminal Station. He founded the '27 Club," which served as a forum for concerns and issues in the black community.

Mr. Thomas graduated from Tuskegee Institute and served as a field secretary for the school in 1911. He received a Doctor of Laws degree at Morris Brown College in Atlanta.

In 1917 he was appointed as a Supervisor of Negro Economics for the State of New York and shortly after became an Examiner in Charge for the U. S. Employment Service, Department of Labor.

Mr. Thomases' funeral was on Wednesday, Feb. 23 in Sacramento.

Mitchell New Legal Counsel

Robert L. Mitchell, prominent Atlanta attorney has been retained by Local No. 218 as its General Legal Counsel. Announcement of Mitchell's appointment was made by E. L. Abercrombie, Secretary-Treasurer of the Local Union after consultation relative to retaining his services were concluded between officers of the Union and Mr. Mitchell.

Mr. Mitchell has a wide experience in Labor law, having served as legal counsel for the past twenty years for such unions as the International Printing Pressmen, Chemical Workers International Union, International Association of Machinist and Teamsters Union.

Jones Attends

(Continued from Page 1)

poor blacks in northern ghettos, he said. He said Southerners like Wallace had shipped their responsibilities to the north by failing to meet their obligations to southern blacks.

Kirkland is secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO and is widely regarded as the man who will one day replace George Meany as president of that organization.

The three-day conference was called to discuss techniques and strategy on how to increase the impact of the black vote, primarily in national elections.

Rustin said blacks vote in smaller percentages than whites - a pattern black leaders should strive to change.

The institute is not endorsing a particular candidate for president but will unite behind any Democratic nominee except Wallace, he said.

STATE LINEN SERVICE · MARGIE EDWARDS · 250-68-3779 (EAST POINT, GA.)
AMERICAN LINEN · JAMES E. LEWIS · 422-50-4234 (PENSACOLA, FLA.)

Labor Roop. Publicity
[1972]

You are cordially invited to attend

HISTADRUT TESTIMONIAL DINNER-DANCE

in honor of

WILBUR HOBBY

President, North Carolina State AFL-CIO

Saturday evening, January twenty-second, Nineteen hundred and seventy-two

GRAND BALLROOM – SIR WALTER HOTEL, RALEIGH, N. C.

Reception: 5:00 P. M.
Dinner: 6:00 P. M.

Couvert: $25 per person
Dress: Optional

Contributions Tax Deductible

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2

HISTADRUT

Founded in Haifa in 1920 with a membership of 4,433, Histadrut today has more than a million members. They range from laborers to university professors, from steelworkers to nurses, from bakers to lawyers, from truckdrivers to airplane pilots.

They include not only Jews, but Druzes and Arabs as well. Some 50,000 Arabs now belong to Histadrut, including 5,000 living in East Jerusalem, recently incorporated into the State of Israel.

In 1970, Histadrut celebrated its Golden Jubilee. Throughout these years, it has carried on extensive medical, social welfare, cultural and educational programs. It has played a leading role in social pioneering activities which have changed a wilderness and desert into a productive society. Histadrut's goal is a model society based on the highest concepts of social justice and democracy.

Main Speaker of the Evening

Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
United States Senator from Minnesota

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OUR GUEST OF HONOR

Wilbur Hobby is one of the most effective and articulate labor representatives of our time. He is indefatiguable in his work, ignoring the days of the week and the hours of the day. He is of the people and for the people, speaking their language and attracting them to a cause which has brought them identity and dignity. During his first term as President of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO he was instrumental in doubling the membership of that statewide labor organization. In paying tribute to him, we honor a man who by his steadfast devotion to the cause of the common man best exemplifies the highest ideals of the American labor movement.

WILBUR HOBBY

With complete dedication and acknowledged distinction, Wilbur Hobby has been a member of the labor movement for 25 years. He joined the Tobacco Workers International Labor Union Local #183, in 1946 and is still a member of that organization. He served on the negotiating and grievance committee and was recording secretary of that local. He was President of the Durham Central Labor Union and Editor of the Durham Labor Journal. He was then appointed Southern Political Director of the Textile Workers of America and a year later became Area Director of the Committee on Political Education (AFL-CIO) covering five southern states.

Wilbur Hobby was elected President of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO in 1969 and two years later was re-elected to that high office.

He attended Duke University majoring in Political Science and Labor Economics and is a graduate of the United States Armed Forces Institute. He served in the United States Navy in World War II and Korea.

His extensive interests in public and civic affairs are clearly attested by the many organizations in whose programs he has participated. These include: March of Dimes; Heart Fund; Good Will Industries; Employ the Physical Handicapped; Durham Cancer Society; United Fund; YMCA; Governor's Committee on Comprehensive Health Care; the American Red Cross;the Manpower Development & Training Act Council; the North Carolina Consumer Council; the North Carolina Council on Economic Education and the North Carolina Council for Social Legislation.

This testimonial to Wilbur Hobby is in deserved recognition of his many years of service to the cause of the American labor movement and other humanitarian causes and of his deep sympathy with the pioneers and builders of the democratic State of Israel.

The proceeds of the dinner will go toward the establishment of the Wilbur Hobby Perpetual Histadrut Scholarship Fund. It will enable children of underprivileged families in Israel to attend High School or vocational school. Scholarships are awarded on the basis of need,

Christian, Moslem, and Jewish youngsters alike will share in the scholarships.

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Labor - Publicity

Labor Ed. In the United States

Rogin + Rachlin

As this summary shows, the NLRB has been urging greater education in labor relations law, and has been making its staff available as a resource for this purpose. However, it has not developed its own program for such education, as has the Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Civil Rights Organizations

We have already noted that the labor education programs of both the unions and the universities are paying increasing attention to the problems of minorities in the United States. This is illustrated by the special programs on minority problems and by the inclusion of civil rights issues in the more traditional labor education.

In this section we are interested in education directed toward unionists that is conducted by organizations whose primary concern is civil rights. 23/ Two kinds of education are conducted by such groups. Some is for all union activists, to acquaint them with civil rights problems. Some is for minority group union members, to help them function more effectively in their unions and in their communities. Attention will be given first to education for all unionists, and then to the special programs for minorities.

Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council is a long-established research, education, and action organization focusing attention on the problems of the south. For many years the Council's staff has been a resource for union education in the area, teaching courses or delivering lectures at schools and conferences run by national unions and state central bodies. During the period of our survey the Council expanded its work with unions by employing a labor education specialist who was on leave from the University of Wisconsin School for Workers and who had previous experience in labor education in the south.

The Labor Program, which is now concluded, increased the Southern Regional Council's involvement in existing union education, promoted some activity that would otherwise not have been conducted, drew trade unionists into broader Council conferences, developed some special materials for workers, and distributed Council literature to unionists. The general purpose of the Labor Program was to develop among unionists an understanding of the changing south, including race relations and civil rights. Sometimes this was done in direct discussion of these issues; sometimes as an appropriate part of other subjects.

The Labor Program participated in 19 educational activities involving about 1,000 unionists. Eight of these programs were sponsored by national unions, including one week-long school. Seven were programs with state central bodies (two one-week schools, four conferences, and one program at a state convention). One was the four-week southern staff school sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education and the AFL-CIO Department of Education. The other three were more general Council conferences in which unionists participated along with others.

Among the special materials developed were some concerning the federal wage and hour law because coverage was expanded and the minimum raised during the period of the project. The more general materials dealt with minority problems, the southern economy, legal rights, and voting.

Other Programs

Three other civil rights organizations do some education work with unionists. For many years the 10-person field staff of the Jewish Labor Committee has worked with AFL-CIO state and local central bodies on civil rights issues. These activities usually include annual conferences on minority problems, sponsored by the central body with much of the staff work performed by the Jewish Labor Committee representative. Civil rights issues are also discussed at a national conference of the Jewish Labor Committee that is attended by a large number of trade unionists.

Some unionists have participated in regional conferences held by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These conferences have the dual purpose of informing unionists about minority employment problems and acquainting NAACP members with union practices and structure.

The conferences run by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission were described earlier in this chapter in the section on U.S. government agencies.

Education for Minority Unionists

Labor education primarily for unionists from minority groups is a more recent development and is quite limited. Only one organization, the Urban League, has defined this as a focus for one of its programs. The League's Labor Education and Advancement Program (LEAP) has as one of its objectives the training of non-white trade unionists in organizational skills and knowledge necessary for leadership. The major thrust of the project, however, is to open job opportunities for non-whites, so there have been only a few courses with the union objective.

One of the courses, in Philadelphia, was directed almost entirely to training minority unionists for more effective union activity. This course, sponsored by the Philadelphia Urban League and conducted by the Philadelphia school district's labor education program, drew students from a number of unions.

Other LEAP courses have been given in St. Louis and Milwaukee, but they have differed from the Philadelphia course by focusing partially on general problems of minorities and drawing some white unionists as students. The St. Louis courses were run in cooperation with individual unions, ACWA, IUE, and AFSCME. One of the three courses in Milwaukee was sponsored by the Steelworkers; in the second, the Steelworkers joined a directly affiliated AFL-CIO local; while the third was run for the Milwaukee County AFL-CIO Council. The University of Wisconsin School for Workers cooperated in two of these courses.

There is one other example of special classes to prepare minority unionists for leadership. The Trade Union Leadership Council in Detroit,

2-19

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[Emory Via is 4th person from right at back of long rear table; white shirt, writing; approx. between 2 men against rear wall.]

[Rel. to Labor Prog. - L.P. Publicity]

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

UNION ADMINISTRATION

A Local Union Education Committee

I. What Kind of Education? Both union education and education about the world in which we live. Both learning to understand the contract and the civil rights struggle. Both steward training and becoming a better informed voter.

II. Official Status for Education Committee. This Committee should be officially set up by the Union, having the approval of the membership and a close tie with the Executive Board, with the Chairman of the Education Committee either a member or a non-voting member of the Union's Executive Board.

III. Define the Job of the Education Committee. If the Executive Board has not done so, the Education Committee should thoroughly discuss, then draft such a definition of its scope, taking it to the Executive Board, then to the membership meeting for approval.

IV. Where should the Education Committee Start? Where the members' interests and needs are. Find this out by interviewing them, by a questionnaire, by informal discussions. Might ask each one what they consider the three most important is ues today are, or on hat aspects of the Union's operation they would like more information.

V. Program Planning.

1. Start Small. Only try to do one thing at first, and be sure the Committee succeeds in doing that well. Then tackle another.

2. Set Up Goals for One Year. Establish priorities, starting with the ones you are ready to do first and which are most urgent.

VI. Getting More Participation.

1. Divide up the jobs among all Education Committee members. Someone may want to specialize in one field, study and know more about workmen's compensation, for example, than others.

2. Involve new people, both new members and formerly inactive members, if possible, in different committee projects. Union members who are not yet ready to serve on a committee may be interested in helping on one project.

VII. Union Building Activities.

1. Planning for better membership meetings.

2. Working with new members.

3. Taking the union to the members -- home visiting.

4. Building local union committees.

5. Union Community Services Committee (especially union counselling).

6. Classes in parliamentary procedure, speaking at meetings, union counselling, steward training, union administration, labor history, collective bargaining.

7. One-day institute on crucial union problems.

8. Send delegates to summer institutes, week end conferences.

9. Special labor film show.

10. Put out a shop paper or frequent handbills on Union subjects.

11. Keep a membership card file showing union activities, interests, hobbies.

VIII. Fun and Recreation Ideas.

1. Special film showings -- sports, recreation, travel, conservation.

2. Picnics, outings, ball games and parties for members and their families.

3. Dances and rallies. Education Committee might have a table or display even at a party or picnic.

4. Dance classes for members, hobby shows, white elephant sales.

IX. Other Education Activities.

1. Speakers or meetings on such topics as U. S. foreign policy, the war in Viet Nam, civil rights, the state legislature, how a bill becomes a law -- in our state, or in Congress.

2. Special classes or week end institutes on human relations as applied to union work, how to lead discussions, automation, politics and the Union, the changing South, community relations.

3. Promote reading on issues in cooperation with the City Library.

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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

WORKING WITH NEW MEMBERS

Today's new member is the future active member, steward, or local officer -- or just a card carrier, critic, and problem. Even in the all-union shop, there is a problem: workers must join the union but this fact does not guarantee understanding and participation. Sometimes special problems, such as a feeling of resentment, come from the fact that the worker must join the union.

New members must be made to feel that joining the union is important to them and to the union, that the union is interested in their welfare and that their welfare depends on their own activity in the union. Officers and older members must make it evident that they welcome the new members into the organization.

I. One Approach.

1. A welcoming letter sent to the worker's home -- such a letter could include a welcome, the fact that the union is responsible for the wages and conditions now in the shop, the information that the worker should bring his problems to the union, the name of the worker's steward, and the signature of the local president.

2. Have the steward take an interest in the new member -- introduce him to workers, find his interests, explain the grievance procedure, invite him to meetings and perhaps arrange to take him to one or two meetings. If there is no formal initiation ceremony, the steward can present the new member with his union card and a copy of the by-laws and contract with an explanation of what they are. This type of program could be spread over a period of time and it could be developed as standard procedure in the case of each new member.

II. A More Ambitious Program.

1. Follow the above suggestions with regard to the welcoming letter and supervision by the steward.

2. Give the new member a feeling of importance -- and of the importance of the fact of joining -- by a full-fledged initiation ceremony:

   -- have the steward or an older member pick up and deliver the new member to the meeting

   -- make sure the new member is made welcone, and not lost in the back row

   -- conduct a simple but meaningful swearing-in ceremony, with perhaps the presentation of the union card, contract, and by-laws

   -- perhaps have a short welcoming speech by a union officer or representative

   -- serve refreshments (this might bring out some older members too)

   -- such ceremonies could be held on a regular schedule, or as often as necessary, to avoid excessive conflict with the regular business of the local

3. Send union literature to the new member's home:

   -- leaflets and pamphlets discussing the work of the union and the labor movement (DUES and PROGRESS leaflets)

   -- include a covering letter with one or two pieces at a time, but several mailings at intervals are better than a lot of materials sent at one time

   -- this can be developed as a standard procedure with some effort to follow up to give the new member the impression that he is expected to read the material

4. Send individual invitations to meetings to the new members for the first three or four meetings.

5. Establish some form of "buddy system" according to which each new member is assigned to an older member who is responsible for his education in union affairs and in getting him to meetings.

6. Show union films at meetings where new members are initiated.

7. Run classes for new members at regular intervals or when there are enough new members to make a class worthwhile.

III. New Member Classes -- suggested outline for two-session class:

1st session: Introduction (welcome by local president, explanation of the sessions, stress value of questions and discussion, have each member introduce self);

The Union We Belong To: (the local -- who belongs, when and why organized, how it works, dues and how spent; the national union -- why have one, size, number of locals, how it works, history and accomplishments, main job ahead; how related to parent federation).

2nd session: How the Union Protects You In the Shop (steward system, grievance procedure);

Your Rights Under the Contract (wages, hours, transfers, senority, vacations, holidays, insurance, etc.);

The Union Outside the Shop (meetings, recreation and education program, political action, community service);

There's A Place For You (how the new member can fit into' the union program);

Conclusion (democratic nature of the union, need for participation).

Printed and mimeographed leaflets and summaries can be distributed as they fit in during both sessions. (DUES, PROGRESS, By-Laws, Contract, diagram of grievance procedure, etc.)

A union film could be shown and discussed at each session.

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SUGGESTIONS FOR BECOMING A GOOD LEADER

1. Be well informed about your work.

2. Accept criticism cheerfully.

3. Encourage those working under or with you to give suggestions; accept as many of these suggestions as possible.

4. Delegate responsibility widely and wisely. When you give someone a job to do, take time to make very clear what the job it and why it is important to the union.

5. Practice evaluating people.

6. Be tolerant and unprejudiced.

7. Give praise generously where it is deserved for effort and/or accomplishment; avoid flattery.

8. Assume responsibility for your own mistakes; avoid alibis and excuses. Be willing to learn from your mistakes.

9. Give to the other person the intelligent, undivided attention which you want to receive from him. Become a good listener.

10. Make people feel at ease when you are talking with them.

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5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

TIPS ON DISCUSSION LEADING

I. Types of Discussion Groups.

This is a simple breakdown of discussion groups based on the role of the leader. There are a lot of other ways discussion groups could be classified. And the three main classifications below might well overlap each other -- indeed, it would be easy for a group to go through phases of all three in one discussion.

A. Leader Oriented -- The discussion leader provides information, directs questions, gives the appearance of being "in charge," may well be in front of the group. The leader combines the role of expert and being the mechanic that keeps the discussion going. Many teaching situations are of this sort.

B. Resource Oriented -- The discussion is built around the information, experience, or even opinion of an expert resource person. The resource person may help conduct the discussion, or the mechanics of the discussion may be left to a chairman or leader. Panel discussions are of this type. In steward training you might wish to use this form when discussing rate grievances or legal problems.

C. Group Oriented -- Naturally, in each of these types of groups we are concerned about the whole group. But in this form of discussion the leader attempts to take as little active part as possible. He doesn't pose as an expert. He attempts to get information and help in running the discussion from the group participants. The leader becomes a kind of human relations mechanic. This can be a useful device in many groups. Sometimes, the nature of the group and the problem is such that this is the best method. It is recommended that you try this approach occasionally for some of the following reasons: (1) to see how it works; (2) to break the routine; (3) to get greater participation from the group; and (4) to improve your observation of what is happening in the group -- understanding both the group and individuals.

II. Some Points Regarding Leaders.

A. The leader is very important -- even when keeping his own expertness (and authority) in check in order to get participation, thought, and the exchange of experiences; his role is the key to successful discussion.

B. Attitude of Discussion Leader

1. Towards People -- friendly, feel that they are important and so their ideas and experiences are important. Similarly, the members of your group are important enough that you want to help them through their problems and over the hurdles of mis-information.

2. Towards Learning -- really appreciate what new knowledge can mean in helping the individual grow; in building a better organization; and in solving problems. Perhaps we should underscore the importance of thinking as a part of learning. The leader should be interested in encouraging thought.

3. Towards Himself -- to understand that you don't lose by getting others to learn, that you may have to back down on being "the authority" in order to get thoughtful participation. You may have to shift from being the specialist and authority to being an educator while leading a discussion. Just remember that both roles are extremely useful.

C. How ~~Does the Leader Handle Himself~~ -- the simple rules of friendliness, courtesy and attentiveness all apply. Few things are more helpful than really learning how to listen so you truly grasp what the other person is saying, or where members of the group are actually disagreeing.

D. Some Things for the Discussion Leader to Do:

1. Prepare the place where you are meeting; make sure that you have the lighting and venilation you need and enough comfortable seats. Arrange the group informally, but so that everyone gets a chance to take part and hear and see what's going on.

2. Prepare the group for the discussion method itself; for your own changed role to discussion leader; for the topic of that session or for a whole series of sessions.

3. Prepare any resource people you use -- Tell them what kind of people are in your group, what they should talk about, that you will have discussion, to limit speech-making to about twenty minutes, what role you will play.

III. Techniques Which Help the Discussion Method Work.

A. Clearly state the problem or topic for discussion.

B. Provide some information or orientation to the problem:

1. From the leader
2. From a resource.
3. From the group
4. From materials given to the group.

C. Make use of questions -- keep in mind that you are more interested in learning and thinking than getting "pat" answers.

1. A question can be asked of the whole group -- make it clear that you want an answer.

2. You can rephrase a question and ask it again if at first you get no response.

3. Suggest a specific application of the question (or point). For example: "Would it work ..."

4. Use a directed question:

a. To a person with special experience or knowledge.
b. To someone who looks as if he is "ready" to answer.
c. And with a great deal of care, to someone who has not been taking part -- perhaps very off-hand: "What do you think of it?"

5. Use written prepared questions -- have some questions to distribute to the group -- let them read, think about it, then discuss.

D. When a question is asked you.

1. Re-direct the question to either the whole group, the person who asked it, or some other person.

2. Or sometimes, of course, answer the question.

E. Sometimes favorable comment, on someone's participation or the whole group, is helpful.

F. From time to time summarize what has been said, agreed to, areas of disagreement.

G. State the still unanswered problems -- you might ask: "Have we discussed ..."

H. Keep the discussion on the topic -- but be free enough to move to a related topic if this is the best way to make use of the group's interest.

I. Introduce new information -- or ask for it.

J. Be aware of when to move to the next point.

K. Make sure that the leader is prepared.

L. Don't let one person monopolize -- apply the "rules of the game"; be tactful, but firm.

M. Remember you can frequently take time to wait for an answer -- not all pauses are awkward. Sometimes it means a group is thinking or trying to get a problem in focus.

N. Make all "speeches" short -- perhaps limit to 10 minutes.

O. Summarize each session.

P. Prepare the group for the next discussion.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR RECOMMENDED STANDARDS FOR A GOOD WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW

Comparison with Recommended Standards 1/

MINIMUM STANDARDS

1. Compulsory Coverage
2. No Numerical Exemptions
3. Coverage of Agricultural Workers
4. Full Coverage of Occupational Disease
5. A Rehabilitation Division Within the Workmen's Compensation Agency
6. Maintenance Benefits During Rehabilitation
7. Full Medical Benefits for Accidents
8. Full Medical Benefits for Occupational Diseases
9. Supervision of Medical Care by State Agency
10. Free Selection of Qualified Physician
11. Coverage under a Broad Second or Subsequent Injury Fund
12. Flexible Period for Filing Claim
13. Waiting Period of Not More than 3 Days with Retroactive Benefits After Two Weeks or Less
14. Benefits to Widow during Widowhood
15. Benefits for Permanent Total Disability for Life or Period of Disability
16. Double Benefits to Illegally Employed Minors
17. Maximum Weekly Benefits Should Be Equal to at Least 66 2/3% of the State's Average Weekly Wage
18. Administration of the Workmen's Compensation Law by a State Agency
19. Judicial Review Limited to Questions of Law

1/ A checkmark indicates the state workmen's compensation law contains such a provision.

T E N N E S S E E

Appropriate State Offices

Unemployment Compensation

Unemployment Compensation Division
Emmett L. Conner, Director
536 Cordell Hull Bldg.
Nashville, Tennessee 37219
615-741-3718

Workmen's Compensation

Workmen's Compensation Division
Dewey Whittle, Director
C1-130 Cordell Hull Bldg.
Nashville, Tennessee 37219
615-741-2397

Appropriate Regional Office of the United States Department of Labor

For information on Workmen's Compensation, Safety, and State Minimum Wage Laws

Bureau of Labor Standards
Harold L. Smith, Regional Director
1371 Peachtree Street, N.E. Room 622
Atlanta, Georgia
404-526-5883

For information on unemployment compensation

Bureau of Employment Security
Ernest L. Marbury, Regional Director
1371 Peachtree St., N.E. Room 636
Atlanta, Georgia
404-526-5411

[1967?]

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, GOALS, AND COMMITMENTS
EMERGENCY CONVOCATION: THE URBAN COALITION

We are experiencing our third summer of widespread civil disorder. In 1965, it was Harlem, and the disaster of Watts. In 1966, it was the Hough area of Cleveland, Omaha, Atlanta, Dayton, San Francisco and 24 other cities. This summer, Newark and Detroit were only the most tragic of 80 explosions of violence in the streets.

Confronted by these catastrophic events, we, as representatives of business, labor, religion, civil rights, and local government, have joined in this Convocation to create a sense of national urgency on the need for positive action for all the people of our cities.

We are united in the following convictions:

We believe the tangible effects of the urban riots in terms of death, injury, and property damage, horrifying though they are, are less to be feared than the intangible damage to men's minds.

We believe it is the government's duty to maintain law and order.

We believe that our thoughts and actions should be directed to the deep-rooted and historic problems of the cities.

We believe that we, as a nation, must clearly and positively demonstrate our belief that justice, social progress, and equality of opportunity are rights of every citizen.

We believe the American people and the Congress must reorder national priorities, with a commitment of resources equal to the magnitude of the problems we face. The crisis requires a new dimension of effort in both the public and private sectors, working together to provide jobs, housing,

education , and the other needs of our cities.

We believe the Congress must move without delay on urban programs. The country can wait no longer for measures that have too long been denied the people of the cities and the nation as a whole--additional civil rights legislation, adequately funded model cities, anti-poverty, housing, education, and job-training programs, and a host of others.

We believe the private sector of America must directly and vigorously involve itself in the crisis of the cities by a commitment to investment, job-training, and hiring, and all that is necessary to the full enjoyment of the free enterprise system--and also to its survival.

We believe the sickness of the cities, including civic disorder within them, is the responsibility of the whole of America. Therefore, it is the responsibility of every American to join in the creation of a new political, social, economic, and moral climate that will make possible the breaking of the vicious cycle of the ghetto. Efforts must be made to insure the broadest possible opportunity for all citizens and groups, including those in the ghetto, to participate fully in shaping and directing the society of which they are a part.

This Convocation calls upon the nation to end once and for all the shame of poverty amid general affluence. Government and business must accept responsibility to provide all Americans with opportunity to earn an adequate income. Private industry must greatly accelerate its efforts to

recruit, train, and hire the hard-core unemployed. When the private sector is unable to provide employment to those who are both able and willing to work, then in a free society the government must of necessity assume the responsibility and act as the employer of last resort or must assure adequate income levels for those who are unable to work.

Emergency Work Program

This Convocation calls upon the Federal Government to develop an emergency work program to provide jobs and new training opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed consistent with the following principles:

--The Federal Government must enlist the cooperation of government at all levels and of private industry to assure that meaningful, productive work is available to everyone willing and able to work.

--To create socially useful jobs, the emergency work program should concentrate on the huge backlog of employment needs in parks, streets, slums, countryside, schools, colleges, libraries, and hospitals. To this end an emergency work program should be initiated and should have as its first goal putting at least one million of the presently unemployed into productive work at the earliest possible moment.

--The program must provide meaningful jobs--not dead-end, make work projects--so that the employment experience gained adds to the capabilities and broadens the opportunities of the employees to become productive members of the permanent work force of our nation.

--Basic education, training, and counseling must be an integral part of the program to assure extended opportunities for upward job mobility and to improve employee productivity. Funds for training, education, and counseling should be made available to private industry as well as to public and private nonprofit agencies.

--Funds for employment should be made available to local and state governments, nonprofit institutions, and Federal agencies able to demonstrate their ability to use labor productively without reducing existing levels of employment or undercutting existing labor standards or wages which prevail for comparable work or services in the area but are not less than the Federal minimum wage.

--Such a program should seek to qualify new employees to become part of the regular work force and that normal performance standards are met.

--The operation of the program should be keyed to specific, localized unemployment problems and focused initially on those areas where the need is most apparent.

Private Employment Assistance and Investment

All representatives of the private sector in this Urban Coalition decisively commit themselves to assist the deprived among us to achieve full participation in the economy as self-supporting citizens. We pledge full-scale private endeavor through creative job-training and employment,

managerial assistance, and basic investment in all phases of urban development.

The alternatives to a massive and concerted drive by the private sector are clear. They include the burden of wasted human and physical potential, the deterioration of the healthy environment basic to the successful operation of any business, and the dangers of permanent alienation from our society of millions of citizens.

We propose to initiate an all-out attack on the unemployment problem through the following steps:

--In cooperation with government, to move systematically and directly into the ghettos and barrios to seek out the unemployed and underemployed and enlist them in basic and positive private training and employment programs. We will re-evaluate our current testing procedures and employment standards so as to modify or eliminate those practices and requirements that unnecessarily bar many persons from gainful employment by business or access to union membership.

--To create a closer relationship between private employers and public training and emergency employment programs to widen career opportunities for our disadvantaged citizens. To this end, we will proceed immediately to promote "Earn and Learn Centers" in depressed urban areas that might well be the joint venture of business, labor and local government.

--To develop new training and related programs to facilitate the early entry of under-qualified persons into industrial and commercial employment.

--To develop large-scale programs to motivate the young to continue their education. Working closely with educators, we will redouble our efforts to provide part-time employment, training, and other incentives for young men and women. We also pledge our active support to making quality education readily accessible to deprived as well as advantaged young people.

--To expand on-the-job training programs to enhance the career advancement prospects of all employees, with particular emphasis on those who now must work at the lowest level of job classifications because of educational and skill deficiencies.

We pledge to mobilize the managerial resources and experience of the private sector in every way possible. We will expand part-time and full-time assistance to small business development. We will strive to help residents of these areas both to raise their level of managerial know-how and to obtain private and public investment funds for development. We will work more closely with public agencies to assist in the management of public projects. We will encourage more leaders in the private sector to get directly and personally involved in urban problems so that they may gain a deeper understanding of these problems and be of greater assistance.

We pledge our best efforts to develop means by which major private investment may be attracted to the renovation of deteriorating neighborhoods in our cities. We will explore and encourage governmental incentives to expedite private investment. We will develop new methods of combining

investment and managerial assistance so that the residents may achieve a leadership position in the development of their areas.

Housing, Reconstruction, and Education

This Convocation calls upon the nation to take bold and immediate action to fulfill the national need to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" with guarantees of equal access to all housing, new and existing. The Urban Coalition shall, as its next order of business, address itself to the development of a broad program of urban reconstruction and advocacy of appropriate public and private action to move toward these objectives, including the goal of rehabilitation and construction of at least a million housing units for lower-income families annually.

This Convocation calls upon the nation to create educational programs that will equip all young Americans for full and productive participation in our society to the full potential of their abilities. This will require concentrated compensatory programs to equalize opportunities for achievement. Early childhood education must be made universal. Work and study programs must be greatly expanded to enlist those young people who now drop out of school. Financial barriers that now deny to youngsters from low-income families the opportunity for higher education must be eliminated. Current programs must be increased sufficiently to wipe out adult illiteracy within five years.

This Convocation calls upon local government, business, labor, religions, and civil rights groups to create counterpart local coalitions where they do not exist to support and supplement this declaration of principles.

This Convocation calls upon all Americans to apply the same determination to these programs that they have to past emergencies. We are confident that, given this commitment, our society has the ingenuity to allocate its resources and devise the techniques necessary to rebuild cities and still meet our other national obligations without impairing our financial integrity. Out of past emergencies, we have drawn strength and progress. Out of the present urban crisis we can build cities that are places, not of disorder and despair, but of hope and opportunity. The task we set for outselves will not be easy, but the needs are massive and urgent, and the hour is late. We pledge ourselves to this goal for as long as it takes to accomplish it. We ask the help of the Congress and the Nation.

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This statement was unanimously adopted by members of the Steering Committee and their representatives at a meeting Wednesday, August 23, 1967. Mr. Roy Ash and Mr. Theodore Schlesinger were unable to attend or to be represented.

(Midwest Research Institute)

MRI Quarterly
Fall, 1968

Urban coalition

the renewal of organizations

Organizations often run down. But their decay isn't inevitable—if they follow nine rules governing the life cycle

By Dr. John W. Gardner

Some years ago I became interested in the question of why organizations lose their vitality. Why do they run down? Can anything be done about it?

I discovered that if you start with a curiosity about the rise and fall of organizations, you soon develop a curiosity about the rise and fall of societies. Why do societies decay? Why do civilizations fall?

At the same time, I found my curiosity turning to the processes of growth and decay as they occur in individuals. Why do some people go to seed? Why do some men grow old before their time? All of us know men who are old at the age of 30—a friend of mine calls them young fogies. And all of us know men who remain "young in spirit" to the end of their days. How can we account for such differences?

I became so interested in these questions that I wrote a book to try to answer them, a book entitled *Self-Renewal.* I'm going to limit myself to only one of the topics covered in the book—"The Renewal of Organizations."

Organizations Possess Life Cycle

Like people and plants, organizations have a life cycle. They have a green and supple youth, a time of flourishing strength and a gnarled old age. I could show you business firms or government agencies or university departments that are at each stage of that cycle. Or you could show me. These are things everyone has observed.

Organizations differ from people and plants in that their cycle isn't even approximately predictable. An organization may go from youth to old age in two or three decades or it may last for centuries. More important, an organization may go through a period of stagnation and then revive and go into a wholly new cycle. In short, for organizations, decline is not inevitable. It is common, to be sure, but that is because the art of organizational renewal is not yet widely understood. Organizations need not stagnate. They need not go to seed. They can renew themselves continuously. That fact has, I believe, the most profound and far-reaching implications for our future.

As all of you will readily understand, this is not unrelated to the problem of creativity—a problem that is certain to engage the curiosity of every research man sooner or later. I am convinced that the conditions favoring creativity are the same as the conditions that favor organizational renewal. And this is relevant because most creative research today takes place in an organizational setting. If the organization is rigid or decaying, the research may suffer.

Spirit of Creativity Necessary

Most corporate presidents today understand that they must sponsor creative research on the technology underlying their products or services. But not many of them understand that the spirit of creativity and innovation so necessary in the research program is just as necessary in the rest of the organization. Thus you observe a corporate president buying himself a brilliant research team and installing it in the midst of an organization that has never practiced the arts of renewal. Then he wonders why the research unit fails to get cooperation from the rest of the organization, and ultimately fails to prosper.

As I discuss organizational renewal, it will be natural for you to think chiefly of the organizations of which you are a part. But you will understand me better if you also keep in mind other kinds of organizations you have had the opportunity to observe—industrial companies, government agencies, military services, universities, research laboratories, and so on. I have had an unusual opportunity to observe the processes of growth and decay in all of those settings, and I can assure you

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Dr. Gardner, former Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is now the chairman of the Urban Coalition. This article is a reprint of his address delivered at MRI's 1965 Annual Meeting when he received the Board of Trustee's Citation for distinguished public leadership.

that the principles governing organizational renewal are basically the same in all of them.

Let's proceed by listing some rules for organizational renewal.

Rules for Organizational Renewal

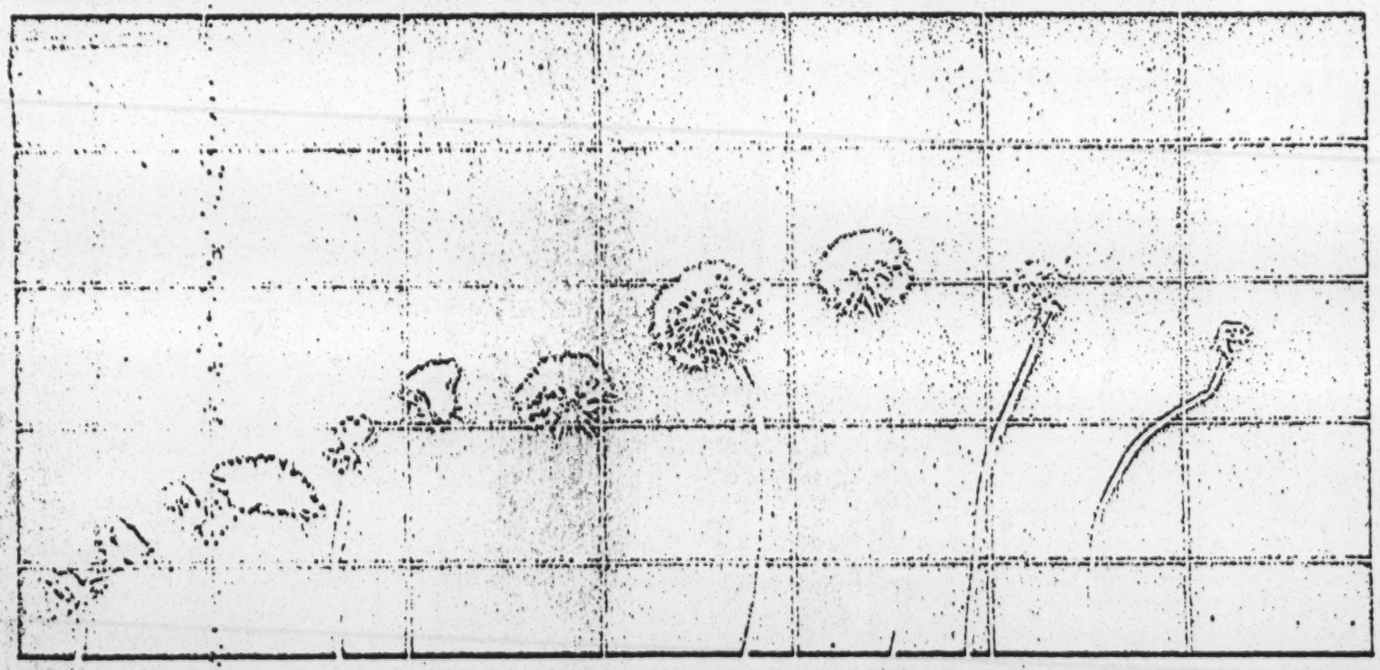
The first rule is that the organization must have a hard-hitting program for the recruitment and development of talent. People are the ultimate source of renewal. The shortage of able, highly trained, highly motivated men will be a permanent feature of our kind of society; and every organization that wants its share of the short supply is going to have to get out and fight for it. It must have the kind of recruitment policy that will bring in a steady flow of able and highly motivated individuals. And it cannot afford to let those men go to seed, or get sidetracked or boxed in. In other words, there must be positive, constructive programs of career development.

The second rule for the organization capable of continuous renewal is that it must be a hospitable environment for the individual. Organizations that have killed the spark of individuality in their members will have greatly diminished their capacity for change. Individuals who have been made to feel like cogs in the machine will behave like cogs in the machine. They will not produce ideas for change. On the contrary, they will resist such ideas when produced by others.

Danger of Self-Deception

The third rule is that the organization must have built-in provisions for self-criticism. It must have an atmosphere in which uncomfortable questions can be asked. I would lay it down as a fundamental rule of human organization that the individuals who hold the reins of power in any enterprise cannot trust themselves to be adequately self-critical. Speaking as one who holds the reins of power in a couple of enterprises, I'm sure that that is true of me, though I usually get a couple of hundred miles away from home before I say it. For those in power the danger of self-deception is very great; the danger of failing to see the problems or refusing to see them is ever-present. The most enlightened top executives are well aware of this. But I don't need to tell those of you who are below the loftiest level of management that even with enlightened executives a certain amount of prudence is useful. The Turks have a proverb that says, "The man who tells the truth should have one foot in the stirrup." It depends on the individual executive, of course. Some welcome criticism, others don't. As Louis Armstrong once said: "There are some people

Like people and plants, organizations have a life cycle. More important, an organization may go through a period of stagnation and then revive and go into a wholly new cycle. They can renew themselves continually.



that if they don't know, you can't tell them."

The fourth requirement for the organization that seeks continuous renewal is fluidity of internal structure. Obviously, no complex modern organization can exist without the structural arrangements of divisions, branches, departments and so forth, and I'm not one of those people who imagine that the modern world can get away from specialization. In this connection I always recall a Marx Brothers movie in which Groucho played a shyster lawyer. When a client commented on the dozens of flies buzzing around his broken-down office, Groucho said, "We have a working agreement with them. They don't practice law and we don't climb the walls."

Specialization and division of labor are at the heart of modern organization. But we all know that jurisdictional lines tend to get set in concrete. Pretty soon no solution to a problem is seriously considered if there is any danger that it will threaten those sacred jurisdictional lines. But those lines aren't sacred. They were established in some past time to achieve certain objectives. Perhaps the objectives are still valid, perhaps not. Most organizations have a structure that was designed to solve problems that no longer exist.

The fifth rule is that the organization must have an adequate system of internal communication. If I may make a rather reckless generalization, I'd say that renewal is a little like creativity in this respect —that it depends on the existence of a large number of diverse elements in a situation that permits an infinite variety of combinations and recombinations. The enormous potentialities of the human brain are in part explainable in terms of such possibilities for combination and recombination. Obviously such recombination is facilitated by easy communication, impeded by poor communication.

Prisoners of Procedures

The sixth rule is that the organization must have some means of combatting the process by which men become prisoners of their procedures. The rule book grows fatter as the ideas grow fewer. Thus almost every well-established organization is a coral reef of rules and procedures that were laid down to achieve some long-forgotten objective.

The extent to which an organization may actually frustrate the attainment of objectives is suggested by an experience a friend of mine had in Germany in the last days of World War II. He was in Aachen, which had only recently been occupied by the American forces, when he received a message instructing him to proceed to London immediately. He went directly to Army headquarters, and showed the message to a sergeant in the adjutant's office.

The sergeant said that the only plane for London within the next few days was leaving from the nearest airfield in 30 minutes. He added that the airfield was 25 minutes away.

It was discouraging news. My friend knew that he could not proceed to London without written orders, and that was a process which took from an hour to a couple of days in a well-established and smoothly-functioning headquarters. The present headquarters had been opened the day before, and was in a totally unorganized state.

My friend explained his dilemma to the sergeant and handed over his papers. The sergeant scratched his head and left the room. Four minutes later he returned and said, "Here are your orders, sir."

My friend said he had never been in such an efficient headquarters. The sergeant looked at him with a twinkle in his eye and said, "Sir, it's just lucky for you we weren't organized!"

Combatting Vested Interests

The seventh rule is that the organization capable of continuous renewal will have found some means of combatting the vested interests that grow up in every human institution. We commonly associate the term vested interests with people of wealth and power, but you and I know that in an organization vested interests occur at every level. The lowest employees have their vested interests, every foreman has his, and every department head has his. Every change threatens someone's privileges, someone's authority, someone's status. What wise managers try to do, of course, is to sell the idea that in the long run everyone's overriding vested interest is in the continuing vitality of the organization itself. If that fails, everyone loses. But it's a tough message to get across.

The eighth rule is that the organization capable of continuous renewal is interested in what it is going to become and not what it has been. It is interested in the evolving future and not in the glorious past. The need to look to the future is the reason that so many corporations today have

research and development programs. But you and I know that an organization cannot guarantee its future by ritualistic spending on research. The organization must understand the uses of research and development, and its R and D program must be be an outgrowth of a philosphy of innovation that guides the company in everything it does. The research program, which is a way of looking forward, cannot thrive if the rest of the organization has a habit of looking backward.

The ninth rule is an obvious one, but a very difficult one. An organization runs on motivation, on conviction, on morale. Men have to believe that it really makes a difference whether they do well or badly. They have to care. They have to believe that there is a chance of accomplishing something. They have to believe that their efforts as individuals will mean something for the whole organization, and will be recognized by the whole organization.

Change is always risky, usually uncomfortable, often painful. It isn't accomplished by apathetic men and women. It requires high motivation to break through the rigidities of the aging organization.

So much for the rules. Since the publication of my book on *Self-Renewal*, I have had occasion to test these rules on many organizations. And that experience has impressed me more than ever with one aspect of the problem of renewal that I would now like to describe to you.

Warning Signals are Plentiful

I have collected a great many examples of organizations that have experienced serious crises as a result of their failure to renew themselves. In the great majority of these cases, certainly nine out of ten, the trouble was not difficult to diagnose and there was ample warning of the coming catastrophe, sometimes years in advance. I know of one research organization in which the problems that led to trouble were diagnosed with great clarity by an outside consultant two years before the crisis came. In another case, involving an industrial company, a published article outlined every essential difficulty that later led to disaster.

But if warning signals are plentiful, why doesn't the ailing organization take heed? The answer is obvious: Most ailing organizations have developed a functional blindness to their own defects. They are not suffering because they can't solve their problems but because they won't see their problems. They can look straight at their faults and rationalize them as virtues or necessities.

Their blindness is traceable to any or all of three conditions: (1) Most people in the organization share the same comfortable assumptions, the same habitual ways of appraising reality, the same rationalizations and self-deceptions; (2) most people in the organization have a vested interest in keeping things the way they are; (3) criticism is discouraged (so that the few who are not blind are unwilling to speak out).

When I am discussing these matters with the head of an organization, a corporation president, let us say, or the head of a research laboratory, he is likely to say, sooner or later, "How do I know that I am not one of the blind ones? What do I do to find out? And if I am what do I do about it?" There are several ways to proceed.

One way is to bring in an outside consultant who is not subject to the conditions that create functional blindness inside the organization.

A somewhat more difficult way is to bring new blood into at least a few of the key positions in the organization. If the top level of the organization is salted with vigorous individuals who are not familiar with all the established ways of doing and thinking, they can be a source of fresh insights for the whole organization.

Speaking Out

A more direct approach, but one that is surrounded by subtle difficulties, is for the organization to encourage its internal critics. Every organization, no matter how far deteriorated, has a few stubbornly honest individuals who are not blinded by their own self-interest and have never quite accepted the rationalizations and self-deceptions shared by others in the organization. If they are encouraged to speak up they probably will.

Still another means of getting fresh insights is rotation of personnel between parts of the organization. Not only is the individual broadened by the experience, but he brings a fresh point of view to his new post. I think it is pretty well recognized that even in an organization as sophisticated and open-minded as a research team, men are likely to get so used to one another after a year or so of working together that the stimulus of intellectual conflict drops considerably. A fresh combination of individuals enlivens the atmosphere.

In the last analysis, however, everything depends on the sensitivity of the top executive to the problem of renewal. If he is conscious of the problem

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the renewal of organizations

(continued from page 7)

and understands it, the battle is already half won.

So much for the specifics of organizational renewal. Before I close I want to say just a word or two about the larger implications of these matters.

A New Kind of World

We are moving into a new kind of world. There are lots of people today who don't like what they can see of that world. They hate science and technology and bigness and organization. Without quite realizing it, they long for the world of the nineteenth century. There's an old saying that it isn't safe to be nostalgic about something until you're absolutely sure there's no chance of its coming back. In that case it's perfectly safe to be nostalgic about the world we left behind us. It's gone forever. We have no choice but to try to make the world of the future into the kind of world we want, the kind of world we think is worth living in. Our capacity to do that, our capacity to shape our future, depends on a considerable degree on our national capacity for self-renewal. And in the matter of renewal we face a great opportunity and a great danger.

First, consider the opportunity. Americans have always been exceptionally gifted at organizational innovation and invention. In fact, some observers have said that this is the true American inventiveness. I believe, thanks to that inventiveness, we now stand on the threshold of new solutions to some of the problems that have destroyed the vitality of human institutions since the beginning of time. We have already made progress in discovering how we may keep our institutions vital and creative, and we could make much more.

Decline Not Inevitable

Weighed against that is the danger created by our unprecedented affluence. I said once that our problem as a nation was how to stay awake on a full stomach. It will be incredibly easy for us to develop the somnolence and complacency that have traditionally accompanied an easy life. I doubt that there is a man who hasn't on some occasion wondered whether the American nation is losing its grip on the future. I do not intend to explore that subject with you, but I can assure you of one thing. If we go into a decline, it will not be inevitable. It will be an avoidable failure of the mind and heart and spirit of the American people.

What we do with our affluence will determine our chances for survival. Tommy Henrich once said, "Catching a fly ball is a pleasure, but knowing what to do with it after you catch it is a business." We had better know what to do with our affluence now that we have it.

And the chief thing we should turn our minds to, in my opinion, is the continuous renewal of our society. We have a better chance than any people in the history of the world to build a society that won't run down, a society that will not lose its vitality and dynamism, a society that continuously renews itself economically, politically, morally and in every other dimension. I propose that we get on with the job. ▪

Wall St. Journal Dec. 10, 1969

Urban Coalition Head Raps Nixon Leadership On Social Action Front

Gardner, Former HEW Chief, Appeals for Sense of Urgency, More Effort From President

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — John W. Gardner, chairman of the Urban Coalition Action Council, assailed President Nixon's leadership for the first time.

"He must do more to set a tone of urgency to which we can all respond," Mr. Gardner said in a speech to the National Press Club, "and more to exemplify in his own actions a determination to solve our pressing problems."

It was the first direct attack on the President's leadership by Mr. Gardner, a Republican who served as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare during the Johnson Administration and has continued as a leading liberal spokesman in his current nongovernment post. Heretofore, Mr. Gardner the chairman of both the Urban Coalition and the Urban Coalition Action Council, in calling for national action, has refrained from singling out Mr. Nixon. But in his press club speech Mr. Gardner declared:

"The President must say more explicitly, and with greater urgency, what he conceives to be an appropriate strategy for dealing with the dilemmas of the cities, with equality of opportunity, with the environment and with other problems that are wracking the nation.

"Not only must we propose social programs adequate to our need, but when the legislation goes to Congress he must fight as hard for it as he fought for the ABM and Judge Haynsworth."

The Urban Coalition is a private, nonprofit corporation comprising leaders from Government, business, religious and labor groups. Formed in the wake of the 1967 urban riots, the coalition seeks better jobs, educational opportunities, housing, health and other services for residents of the inner cities. The action council is its legislative lobbying arm.

Mr. Gardner also called on Congress to end its "lethargy" by passing needed legislation and enacting "genuinely meaningful Congressional reform." Declaring that "few institutions in our national life are as gravely in need of renewal as is the Congress," he proposed that the House and Senate take steps "to abolish the seniority system and to curb the abuse of power by entrenched committee chairmen."

Mr. Gardner also proposed that other institutions—including industry, labor unions, the professions, Government agencies and private nonprofit organizations—undertake a "jolting reappraisal and overhaul" as part of an effort to "alter both our mood and our state of inactivity."

Specifically, he suggested:

—That industry "make an unqualified commitment to equality of opportunity for minority groups," "commit itself to end pollution," and take constructive measures to "meet the rising tide of consumerism."

—That labor unions "eliminate restrictive membership practices that deny the opportunity to work or to advance beyond menial work."

—That the health professions act to redesign the system of health services, which he termed "outworn, expensive and outrageously inefficient," and that educators seek ways to change "a system that isn't working."

—That Government agencies and private nonprofit organizations subject themselves to a "no-holds-barred reappraisal of what they are doing" and "honestly appraise the extent to which (each) has built an empire rather than service the public."

The National Urban Coalition **Second Annual Report 1969**

File - Urban Coalition

File: Urban Coalition

National Urban Coalition
Report

March 1970

The Urban Coalition and Urban America Merge

The early March merger of the Urban Coalition and Urban America Inc. into the National Urban Coalition "gives us one body better able to define and clarify the highest priority problems of urban areas," said John W. Gardner, chairman of the combined organization. "It will help us in our effort to make the nation aware of those problems and to initiate significant action on them," he added.

Urban America Inc. was formed in January, 1965, as a continuation of the American Planning and Civic Association, and in December of that year merged with the Action Council for Better Cities. Its major programs have been in the areas of information gathering and dissemination, technical assistance in housing, and urban design and planning. Last year it adopted an organizationwide focus on the subject of urban growth policy.

Urban America was one of the groups which stimulated formation of the Urban Coalition, along with the U.S. Conference of Mayors, National League of Cities, and Potomac Institute. Organized in the summer of 1967, while smoke still hung over the streets of Detroit and Newark, the Coalition represented a coming together of national leaders in business, labor, religion, local government, and civil rights both to ask and to offer a greater commitment to improving the conditions of urban life which had bred civil disorder.

The Coalition at first focused its attention on immediate remedies to these conditions (in such areas as employment, housing, and health.) More recently it has broadened its concern to encompass changes in the national attitudes, priorities, and institutions; the systems of urban government and development, by which these conditions are created and perpetuated.

The merger represents a continuation of this broadening process, Gardner said. It means that the Coalition will be more involved in problems of urban development and environment—*in addition to* its root concern with problems of urban life, not *instead of* this concern, he emphasized.

In particular, he said that the National Urban Coalition would continue Urban America's major program in the field of urban growth policy.

The need for such a policy has risen rapidly on the national consciousness, Gardner said. It has become increasingly clear that America must take a positive hand in shaping its future.

William D. Eberle, former chairman of Urban America, is one of the four co-chairmen of the combined organization. He and Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, join Andrew Heiskell, chairman of Time Inc., and A. Philip Randolph, who have been co-chairmen of the Urban Coalition. Heiskell has been chairman of the board of Urban America and Young is on the board. These four men also serve on the executive committee, which determines policy for the new organization.

Peter Libassi, executive vice president of the Urban Coalition, retains the same title under the new formation. He is responsible to Gardner for the direction and supervision of the merged staffs of the two organizations.

City magazine, the bi-monthly review of Urban America, will continue publication in expanded form under the direction of its present

The National Urban Coalition

Weekly Monitor

Summary of urban-affairs articles from current magazines and journals

The Weekly Monitor
July 2 and 9, 1971

JUL 9 1971

ENGINEERING NEWS-RECORD, July 1

"Minority Contractors Reassured Government Supports Their Efforts." Volpe says his department is aware of problems and promises that full share of contracts will go to black and Spanish-surnamed contractors. (p. 12)

NEW REPUBLIC, July 3

"Soul City" by Geoffrey Gould. Floyd McKessick waits for pending loan guarantee from HUD to start his new city on 2000 acres of farm land in an economically depressed area of North Carolina. (p. 9)

"Work and Welfare" by Melville J. Ulmer. H. R. 1, Social Security Amendments of 1971, seems certain of enactment by the end of summer. Represents a giant stop forward with special contributions in the controversial area of "family assistance". (p. 12)

NEW REPUBLIC, July 10

"Showdown with Reagan" by John Osborne. Nixon seems to have surrendered to Reagan's arrogant demands for the waiver of welfare standards but it is just possible that Reagan is in for a disappointment. A review of the CRLA controversy. (p. 9)

SMITHSONIAN, July

"France's Planners Draw Blueprints of an Urban Dream" by Joseph Berry. New city, Vandreuil, being planned in Normandy will have built-in pollution controls, a separation of automobile roads and a network of service streets by which people will walk to work, to school, to shop. (p. 40)

SATURDAY REVIEW, July 3

"No Energy to Waste" by John Lear. Last summer's dimming of lights and loss of electrical efficiency brought some action but the energy crisis is still with us. A unique garbage collection system is available which would not only energize its own recycling process but provide hot water in summer and lower heating bills in winter. Converting garbage into energy has the interest of EPA and such enterprises as Monsanto, Union Carbide, Battelle, etc. (p. 37)

(MORE)

"Whisking the Garbage" by Bertram B. Johansson. A report on a town in Sweden where the new system mentioned above is in use. (p. 40)

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, July

"The Census of 1970." Early figures indicate a reduced rate of population growth, large migrations to the West and South and a continuing movement of whites to the suburbs and blacks to the cities. (p. 17)

NEWSWEEK, July 5

"Twilight of the Booster," column by Joseph Morgenstern on Newburgh, New York's planning plight. (p. 9)

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, July 12

"Any End to Poverty?" Along with mounting costs for helping the needy comes a growing frustration. Experts wonder whether poverty is a problem that has no solution. (p. 52)

NATIONAL JOURNAL, July 3

"Urban Report: Both parties ready to scrap grant programs in favor of 'city strategy' package of aid," by William Lilley III. (p. 1393)

"Nixon's Offensive on Drugs Treads on Diverse Interests," by Dom Bonafede. (p. 1417)

SPECIAL REPORTS

"Proceedings of the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics," first plenary session, June 15, 1970.

Gallup Opinion Index, June 1971.

The National Urban Coalition
Report
July 1971

Coalition Brokering

A grant of approximately $250,000 has been made to the Urban Coalition in South Bend, Indiana, by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The grant was made possible through the brokering efforts of the National Coalition. Similar efforts are underway to benefit other local organizations.

The grant is for the development of a complex program under the area's Youth Coalition, an organization supported by the South Bend Coalition. The purpose of the program is to provide young people with access to all the key institutions in the community—in education, drug abuse, community action, model neighborhoods, recreation, city government, the family and children's center, and the police department. Representatives responsive to youth will be stationed with each of these institutions to serve as liaisons with young people.

The program is an effort to broaden the role of youth in the growth of the community. It will enable the area's youth to advocate more effectively the participation of young people in the planning and implementation of socio-economic programs within the system.

The Youth Coalition is composed of representatives of 60 youth groups from the St. Joseph County area. Part of the grant funds will go to a center for the coalition's paid staff and professional and technical assistants. The Youth Coalition and the community agencies will be responsible for hiring all liaison personnel to work with the community. Each agency will share the salary of the liaison with the Youth Coalition.

One of the purposes of the program is to identify, assess, and alter those features of community institutions which impede favorable youth development.

The National Coalition's role in the project has been that of a broker. Staff contacts with HEW, identification of funds not yet committed, and constant contact with key individuals responsible for making the grants have made the grant to the South Bend Coalition possible. The Coalition is working with HEW officials to obtain similar grants for local programs in New Orleans and Portland.

From the Locals

■ The **Westchester County** Coalition issued the first of nine reports in areas of major coalition concern. The reports, which are being prepared by 30 businessmen and women on loan from major Westchester County corporations, form the basis upon which the coalition will set its priorities for future action. The first report, on solid waste disposal, recommended county-wide approaches to the problem, recycling, and the creation of a county Environmental Conservation Department and a citizens' Environmental Management Council.

■ The **Miami** Coalition, with the Chamber of Commerce, organized a task force of 11 organizations to study the housing crisis in the Miami area. Their recommendations urge a firm county-wide commitment to meet local housing needs by building 10,000 units of public housing in Dade County in the next two years. Land banking, state and county government commitments, zoning reevaluations, and federal fund commitments were also part of the task force's recommendations. The study was presented to the Metro Miami Commission for action.

■ A proposed new police complaint procedure was recommended by the **Wilmington** Coalition's Police-Community Relations Task Force. The task force found that under the present system, complaint procedures lacked credibility among the area's residents.

The new procedure would bring complaints not to the city government but to the state's Human Relations Commission. The recommendation calls for a close relationship between the Human Relations Commission and the city's Commissioner of Public Safety.

■ A neighborhood improvement program to combat blockbusting and white migration to the suburbs is being organized by the **Pontiac** Coalition. The four-part program begins with the goal of setting up as many block clubs as possible which will be used as the organizational focal point. The next step of the program, "Light the Night" campaign, will be initiated. All members of the block will be asked to turn on their porch lights from dusk to dawn to discourage crime. A third component is unarmed civilian patrols with two-way radios to alert police to any problems in the neighborhood.

The most significant element of the plan will be to prevent real estate solicitation through the block club solidarity. Thus, blockbusting by unscrupulous real estate agents can be eliminated.

Ximenes Named Vice President

Vincente T. Ximenes, a Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, has been named Vice President for Field Operations by Chairman Sol M. Linowitz and President Jack H. Vaughn. Ximenes, a Commissioner with the EEOC since 1967, served as Chairman of the President's Cabinet Committee on Mexican-American Affairs from 1967 to 1969. From 1966 to 1967, he served as Deputy Director of U.S. AID in Panama.

Ximenes began his career as a teacher in his native Texas and went on to become an economics instructor. He is the author of a number of economics research publications.

Ximenes will join the Coalition on July 6.

Welfare Laws

The National Urban Coalition has advised the Attorneys General of the 50 states of the inherent unconstitutionality of new state laws which impose a one-year residency requirement for welfare recipients.

In response to a June 7 decision by the Supreme Court reaffirming any citizen's right to travel, President Jack Vaughn, in a letter to each Attorney General, noted the inevitability of suits should states continue to pass such legislation. Several states have passed laws to ease the increasing burden of welfare payments by imposing residency requirements. Vaughn urged the Attorneys General to rule any attempts at such legislation null and of no effect.

Said Vaughn in a statement announcing the action, "The new legislation reflects a greater concern with states' pocketbooks than with individual rights."

Land-use Session

The fourth in a series of strategy sessions on exclusionary land use was held on June 24 at the Coalition. The meeting brought together 40 public and private professionals concerned with the problem.

The all-day conference centered on a discussion of President Nixon's June 11 statement on equal housing opportunity and HUD's implementation of it.

Following a critical analysis of the implications of the President's statement, the group discussed the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's June 14-17 hearings on the question of urban growth. Herbert M. Franklin, executive associate of the Coalition's Urban Growth Division, testified at the Commission hearings. Franklin made clear the Coalition's position on exclusionary land use:

"Once the false dichotomy between economic and racial discrimination is accepted, the door is open to 'sophisticated' efforts to exclude because of race. . . There is always a racial effect, even though it may be difficult at times to prove a racial motivation."

Affiliate Programs

■ The **Nonprofit Housing Center** has been asked by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and HUD to examine housing programs which can and have been implemented by local tribal housing authorities. The study will be used to provide information to local tribal housing authorities for the development of effective housing programs for Indian reservations.

■ The **Minority Contractors Assistance Program,** a Coalition affiliate, received a $600,000 grant from the Opportunity Funding Corporation in mid-June. The grant is earmarked to assist minority contractors in obtaining bid, payment, and performance bonds through letters of credit and through long-term loan guarantees.

HMDP Ends First Year

A total of $1,314,759 has been allocated to various organizations during the first year of the Coalition's Health Manpower Development Program (HMDP). The funds have been allocated to health manpower development consortiums through four universities, community health fellowships, paraprofessional programs, and college and high school programs.

A key element of the HMDP plan is specific recruitment activities for community health centers. Three newsletters have been produced to publicize the recruitment efforts. To date, 142 individuals have been recruited: 57 physicians, 11 nurses, 27 hospital administrators, and 47 allied health and other professionals. These individuals will be placed in OEO community health centers where they are most needed.

Speaking Out

The City Club Forum of Cleveland heard an address by Coalition President Jack H. Vaughn on June 18.

Vaughn devoted his talk to the question of options for a city today—and to the coalition concept:

"You hear the phrase, 'an uneasy coalition,' and there could not really be any other kind. The job of coalition is to keep trying to bring people together, people who often have great difficulty in recognizing their common concerns. It begins with the idea that people and their immediate interests may be different but that their long-term interests are very similar. It means more than just getting people to sit across a table and nod at each other—that is not coalition—but to agree to work with each other come hell or high water. In short, it means some gut commitment and a dedication beyond the signing of a deductible contribution.

"Nobody says the job of coalition is easy. In fact it gets tougher day by day. And nobody claims that coalition is going to solve all our society's ills. It won't. But somebody has to start someplace."

July 1971

Report

The National Urban Coalition
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VOLUME 1, No. 2

FALL ISSUE/1971

TRAINING CONFERENCE ATTENDED BY OVER 135

More than 165 LEAP staffers and guests convened in Detroit for the Third Annual Apprenticeship and Journeyman Training Conference, July 21-24.

Labor Undersecretary, Michael Moskow, the opening speaker, reviewed internal problems within the construction industry which directly affect the success of present and future outreach programs. Among the problems and issues he cited are:

- unemployment in the construction industry has reached a national level of 10%.
- spiraling wage demands by the crafts might price the trades out of the market.
- the productivity rate has risen an average of only 3% per year for the past eight years, much lower than comparable dollar industries.
- Federal construction should span regular and off-season.
- the Federal government should provide incentives to encourage more off-season construction in the private sector.
- greater linkages should be established between the schools and industry.

Harold Sims, Acting Executive Director, National Urban League, led the line of dignitaries who addressed participants. Other participants included: Adolph Holmes, Director Department of Program Operations, National Urban League, Archie Moore, Office of National Projects; Tom Hall, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training; Bob McGlotten, Human Resources Development Institute, AFL-CIO; Bill Oliver, Anti-Discrimination Department, UAW, AFL-CIO; Attorney William Gould, visiting professor, Harvard University School of Law; John Wilkes, Director, Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U.S. Department of Labor; Ray Brown, Mideastern Regional Director, Alexander J. Allen, Eastern Regional Director, National Urban League.

Staff and guests participated in five rotating workshops on Contract Per-

Continued on page 2

LEWIS J. CARTER, Field Representative of the Southern Region, was a discussion leader for the workshop on "Contract Performance" at the Third Annual Apprenticeship and Journeyman Training Conference in Detroit.

F. RAY MARSHALL KEYNOTES LABOR SYMPOSIUM

The Labor Affairs Program held its Annual Labor Symposium at the National Urban League Conference with Paul B. Jennings, International President IUE and chairman of the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the National Urban League, presiding. This year's theme, "The Recession and the Black Worker", was keynoted by F. Ray Marshall, Director, Human Resources Development Institute, University of Texas.

Interesting points brought out in Marshall's address and subsequent addresses by reacting panelists stimulated a high level of interest that prompted a deviation from the planned format which originally called for dividing guests into workshop groups. Instead, following reacting panelists, a question and answer forum was substituted.

Marshall stated that the problems of urban and rural blacks are substantially different.

"More attention must be focused upon rural blacks particularly since they lack national representation," he said

Contrary to public opinion, he later added, greater economic strides are made by blacks when there exists a tight labor market.

Other facts cited by Marshall are:

- in urban areas, female heads of households are increasing; the reverse is true in non-metropolitan areas;
- the relative wage gap between black and white workers is closing; the actual dollar gap is growing;
- one-fourth of all urban blacks lie below the poverty line ($3,500). Of these, more than one-third are among the working poor.

LaMond Godwin, Senior Research Associate for New York's Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC), responding from the community's perspective, stated that the local minority community is being flagrantly short-changed because the agency that was specifically created (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) to protect and oversee its immediate interests has limited funds. EEOC is short-staffed and its powers are too limited to be effective.

Continued on page 2

Copy to Beaufort on BASF file

Copy to J.W, B.F, B.W.
Copies Copy to John Gaston, Paul Mathis, Chuck Bergeron

The showdown at Hilton Head

The state seeks more industry, while land developers want co-op farms and fisheries

Small farmers in South Carolina are pawns in a fight between industrial developers and spa owners who want to retain the pastoral look by expanding farming and fishing.

Weather-bleached shacks built on stilts to protect them from marshland tides line the two-lane road that runs through Beaufort County, S. C., from Charleston to Savannah, Ga. The rusting shells of abandoned cars and other flotsam of poverty litter the land between them. Beaufort has a population of 49,729, and neighboring Jasper, 11,900. More than half are blacks, and an estimated 70% are unemployed.

For more than a year, they have been caught in the middle of a battle over what sort of work they will do. The chief antagonists are South Carolina's Development Board and resort owners on Hilton Head Island, a plush spa lying just off the mainland. The development board wants to bring heavy industry into the area to create new jobs. The resort owners want to keep industry out and create new jobs in farming and fishing. At one point, the state seemed to have won.

In 1969, in a move that would have brought in about 650 jobs, South Carolina offered tax breaks and other inducements to the German BASF Corp., if it would build a $200-million petrochemical plant at Port Victoria, 8 mi. from Hilton Head. Then, with Interior Dept. help, the resort owners and shrimp fishermen who work the rich coastal waters blocked the project on the ground that pollution from the plant might well destroy existing industries and jobs. Now, resort owners Orion and Fred Hack are pushing a job plan of their own—the establishment of farming and fishing cooperatives that those now jobless would run for a share of the profits.

Land-use plan. The cooperative idea is the result of a comprehensive land-use study for Beaufort and Jasper prepared for the Hacks by the architectural firm of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill at a cost of $30,000 to $40,000. The 178-page report concludes that the proposed cooperatives could produce enough to provide the people working on them with a living wage. Orion Hack says that the state should set up the cooperatives by renting, at "a very reasonable fee," parts of tracts that are now owned by "several large landowners for hunting preserves."

The Hacks themselves own 11,000 acres on Hilton Head and say they would be willing to lease some of it. "Every day I see stuff coming in here that could have been grown here," says Orion Hack. "We should be exporting, not importing." He adds that a current harvest of 300 lb. to 400 lb. from existing fishing cooperatives could be boosted four-fold with state assistance. Of funds that South Carolina had planned to spend on enticements to BASF, Hack asks: "Why not redirect the money? Why not put these funds into cooperatives?"

The SOM report also recommends that the state strive harder to exploit the area's tourist and recreation potential. It urges the resort owners themselves to make every effort to hire residents of Beaufort and Jasper.

Cheap labor. An SOM recommendation that especially irks South Carolina officials is that industry should avoid the Hilton Head area and locate instead in Savannah, in the neighboring state of Georgia, which has been competing with South Carolina to attract industry. Asserts SOM's John Galston, who worked on the study, "The state is pushing cheap labor [to get industry], and, in reality, it is not cheap. Industry must train them, and then unions come in." Development Board Director J. Bonner Manly flings the charge back at the resort owners by accusing them, in proposing farming and fishing, of trying to maintain a cheap labor supply themselves.

"When I look at the hungry parents and the starving kids, I just don't believe they want to wait for the cooperatives," says Manly. "From a cold dollars-and-cents standpoint, these aren't the types of jobs that pay well. What we need are manufacturing jobs that pay $4 to $5 per hour." The outspoken industry hunter claims that BASF was frightened off with "distortions, untruths, and scare tactics," and adds: "I am trying to find one that will be even bigger than BASF. We are now talking to several prospects."

BASF's decision not to settle at Port Victoria left South Carolina the unwilling owner of a 1,500-acre site, which Manly vows will neither go to waste nor be tilled by farmers. Although Manly has not named the prospects he is talking with, he says that the board plans to dredge a channel to make Port Victoria a deep-water harbor. Orion Hack counters that this could wipe out the shrimp and oyster fishing for miles. "Manly is continuing to be horrible," complains Hack, adding that he hopes to establish better relations with other state officials.

Bleaker days. But the dispute continues to boil even though the area's economy faces the possibility of further deterioration. Nearly half of Beaufort's residents work at federal military installations, many at the Marine boot camp at Parris Island. The military payroll is on the downswing, and the SOM report predicts that 5,600 people will lose jobs by 1980. However, Manly who seems to have completely dismissed the cooperative idea, snaps: "You're not going to solve any poverty problems with more maids, waiters, bartenders, and groundskeepers. Seventy-five cents an hour plus tips isn't what I would call a living wage." ■

PAGINATION INCORRECT

BASF Report

Marshall Frady

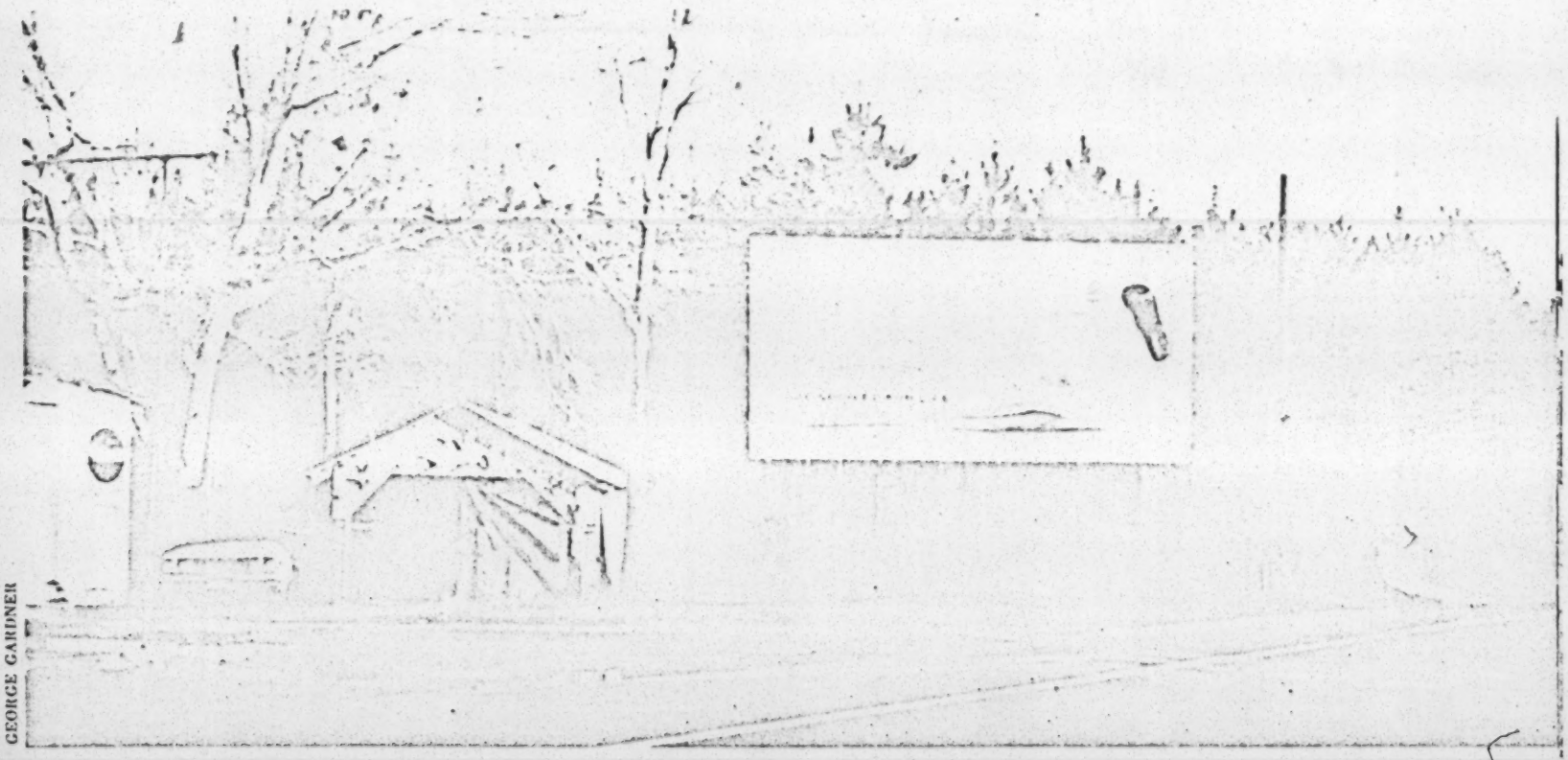
THE VIEW FROM HILTON HEAD

It is one of the few untainted estuarine landscapes left along the Southeastern coast . . . but for how long?

In the South, the land of Canaan consists of a horizon of smokestacks. Industrialization—the devout acquisition of factories—has been a kind of second religion there: the secular fundamentalism. Faulkner's Flem Snopes was more than a literary invention: he was a historical, cultural species in the South, and his heirs are those eager, sharp-eyed, checker-coated, rawly barbered, ruthlessly enthusiastic young men in the Jaycee chapters of all dowdy little Southern towns, with faint sniffs of wilt along their quiet main streets, which pursue with a poignant indefatigability their own factory as a sort of golden fleece, a Holy Grail, a deus-ex-machina deliverance from impending exhaustion and extinction. In this desperation, they seem willing to suffer the loss of any elegancy. When a paper mill was constructed in a little Alabama town some twenty miles from Montgomery, it tinged even the Capitol's corridors, on especially muggy mornings, with a vague reek: Wallace, who was then Governor, would note on such mornings, "Yeah, that's the smell of prosperity. She does smell sweet, don't it?" What has happened is that the Snopesian mind in the South, in the course of its sedulous exertion to transmogrify itself from an earth culture into an urban civilization, has evolved into a hard bright glinting neo-Babbittry. Several years ago, a newspaper in Georgia's old river city of Augusta glumly pointed out that, while a new state anthem just offered by Johnny Mercer "abounds with the sights and sounds of baying hound dogs, cawing crows, watermelons lying ripe in the field, and summer lightning in the sky . . . some of us might have hoped for a song more suitable to the new Georgia than to what to most of us is the old. But it's doubtful that even the great Johnny Mercer could create memorable lyrics about the booming of industry and the soaring of sales, and such. . . ."

Probably no other Southern state has been quite so evangelistic about industrialization as South Carolina. One reason may be that it has been a state which was more or less a company town anyway, presided over by an informal consortium of business interests, predominantly textile, with the fierce orderly privacy of a mill village—all civic irregularities and crises briskly attended to in a

Marshall Frady, a contributing editor of Harper's, *lived on Hilton Head while writing his book on George Wallace (1968). He is a native of Augusta, Georgia, a former* Newsweek *reporter, and lives in Chamblee.*



GEORGE GARDNER

Marshall Frady

THE VIEW FROM HILTON HEAD

tidy circumspect corporate manner, as matters of personnel relations. Probably as a result, South Carolina has long persevered as one of the most conscientiously innocuous states in the Union: without the dark glamour of Mississippi or even the hot hasty dingy meanness of Alabama, throughout most of the classic Southern decade of the Negro Awakening she seemed merely to lack the vitality for any serious viciousness. It was as if her defense were a colossal dullness. With occasional visitations by Billy Graham and fracases over Blue Laws, the central obsession has been, in the words of one Columbia legislator, "our program of industrial solicitation. We've brought in a half-billion in new industry each year since about 1959, and we now have a five-hundred-seven-million annual budget. But we haven't reached the point where we can relax this effort. Nosiree."

The conventional celebration, then, was orchestrated—the Governor, the local legislative delegation, assorted chambers of commerce, newspapers like the *Columbia State*—when a German chemical empire, Badische Anilin- & Soda-Fabrik, announced it was establishing a formidable outpost along the South Carolina coastline: a $200-million facility for the production of dyes and plastics which would be the third bulkiest industrial presence in the state. The site was a sprawl of 1,800 acres along Victoria Bluff in Beaufort County—property consisting then of little more than a few scattered thin dirt roads passing like tunnels through the grave muffled grieving of moss, ending at the wide expanse of the Colleton River into which, BASF projected, 2.5 million gallons of treated waste would be discharged daily, emptying finally into Port Royal Sound. Eventually, it was also mentioned, a railroad spur would be laid to the site, docks constructed, and, with federal designation of the area as a free-trade zone and grant of an oil-import quota, a channel dredged for 200-foot-long tankers bringing in 40,000 barrels of naphtha a day.

There were instant assurances that the complex would comply with the state's pollution regulations—which, along with its corporate tax expectations, happen to be among the most indulgent in the nation, devised as they were in the Fifties when the lust for industry was in a high heat. These assurances were particularly facilitated by the industrious attentiveness of the *Columbia State*, including one assiduously solicitous marathon interview with the company's American overseer, Dr. Hans Lautenschlager. (Q: "As of this moment BASF has complied or has signified intention to comply with every requirement that South Carolina has yet presented officially to you?" A: "That is right, yes.") Actually, the headlong enthusiasm seemed to startle somewhat even BASF's officials. "We had a reporter from the *State* simply walk into our office in New York and tell us, 'Now, show me how you aren't going to pollute,' " reported one BASF executive cheerfully. "It's very unusual to have that sort of attitude in a newsman, you know." But there were, from the first, certain uneasy murmurs in the county, principally from former industrialists who had retired there from the North. "I've lived in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit," remarked one. "I know the price of industrialization. The threat of pollution is so much easier to prove *after* the fact than before it."

The South Carolina coastline around Port Royal Sound is an uncertain and capricious play between land and water, still arrested at that moment in the history of the earth when the sea was just beginning, reluctantly and tentatively, indecisively, to relinquish the land, a slight release and hesitation and change of mind still enacted every day. Grassy marshes yawn off level and limitless, past solitary marooned islands of palm and pine, into cold red sunsets—one of those plots on the planet where man is still incidental to nature, instead of nature being incidental to man, which seems to work some subtle mystic dislocation in the species. Specifically, its tidal creeks—a myriad and ceaseless discreet ebbing, with the occasional tiny idle flapping of a seabird across bright open roofless glittering spaces—is one of the few untainted estuarine landscapes left along the Southeastern coast. But it's not so much nature as man's commerce which abhors a vacuum: Dr. Lautenschlager, a badger-like and altogether genial man with bristling close-clipped hair and horn-rim glasses, agreeably explains, "We always felt that the U. S. as compared to Germany was somewhat underdeveloped—excuse me that expression—in the use of plastics. Because you wouldn't believe it, but from, I would say, Philadelphia to Miami, there is nothing. Really—no plastics plant."

The fact is, Beaufort County is underdeveloped not only in plastics, but in most other respects, including economically and politically. (A local legend has it that the squire of a remote plantation in the county, a man not accustomed to company, who is prone to blast his telephone periodically with his shotgun, once invited a neighbor, in a moment of restlessness, to engage in a duel—"You can take the ground if you want, and I'll take the air"—and presently appeared over his neighbor's house in a plane, making several passes and bombing roof, trees, steps with flour sacks while his neighbor furiously slammed away at him from the front yard with a rifle.) Altogether, the county is probably one of the most abject and squalid crannies of the country, with perhaps up to 40 per cent of the 20,000 Negroes there—about half the total county population—illiterate. Some 900 families are eligible for food stamps, and the ministry of Dr. Donald Gatch, who came to be regarded as an unmentionable indecency by the county's white gentility, had a great deal in common with Schweitzer's ministry in Gabon. Not long ago, South Carolina's Senator Fritz Hollings—a tall, glossy, tanned, silvered figure who speaks with the steamy organ-tone rhetoric of the primeval summertime palm-fan South but is eccentrically given to certain liberal impulses—took a stroll about the county, peering in the doors of Negro shacks, and came away eloquently aghast.

Some 6,000 jobs of the 11,000 in the county—about half of this total employing Negroes—are involved with fishing and tourism, enterprises largely focusing on one of the county's offshore islands, Hilton Head. The recent resort developments there are, indeed, sanctuaries for retired executives and industrialists who have fled lands they have laid waste behind them in the North, along with retired military officers, admirals with flushed tomato-faces and frosty moustaches, gathering in madras jackets at dusk at the club bars. Autumn is a lyrical weather of winy dawns and musing warm days and chill sundowns, fine for bicycle riding. At Sea Pines Plantation, on the furthermost tip of the island, Rolls-Royces and Mercedes-Benzes twinkle leisurely along the quiet private roads through groves of high pines and gum and palms and live oaks with moss like downstreaming smoke in which the long late-afternoon sun lingers like a soft amber dream—beyond, there are glimpses of fairways, as sleek as the flank of a fawn, in which golfers occasionally appear, distant, miniature, trivial, and soundless, walking and stooping and then moving on, figures materializing briefly in time out of nothing and then, after a moment, gone again, idly and tracelessly vanished back into nothing.

On the whole, confesses a local political manager, "We are almost like India or China down here. We got the very, very rich, and then we got the very, very poor, but there's hardly anything in between there. Close to 40 per cent of our people make less than $2,500 per year per household." The county is in the Congressional district of House Armed Forces chairman L. Mendel Rivers, whose two simple solicitudes for the thirty years he has been in Washington—the military and the folks back home—have had a way of enhancing each other over the decades, and one official with the Beaufort County Development Commission wistfully allows, "About 75 per cent of our gross wages come from federally oriented sources—namely, the bases Mendel's put down here. So every time there's a war, business picks up real good. After World War II, everything fell off until the Korean war, when there was an upswing again. Same thing now with Vietnam. I hate to say it, but war—people gettin' killed—means prosperity around here, it's as simple as that. So who can fuss?"

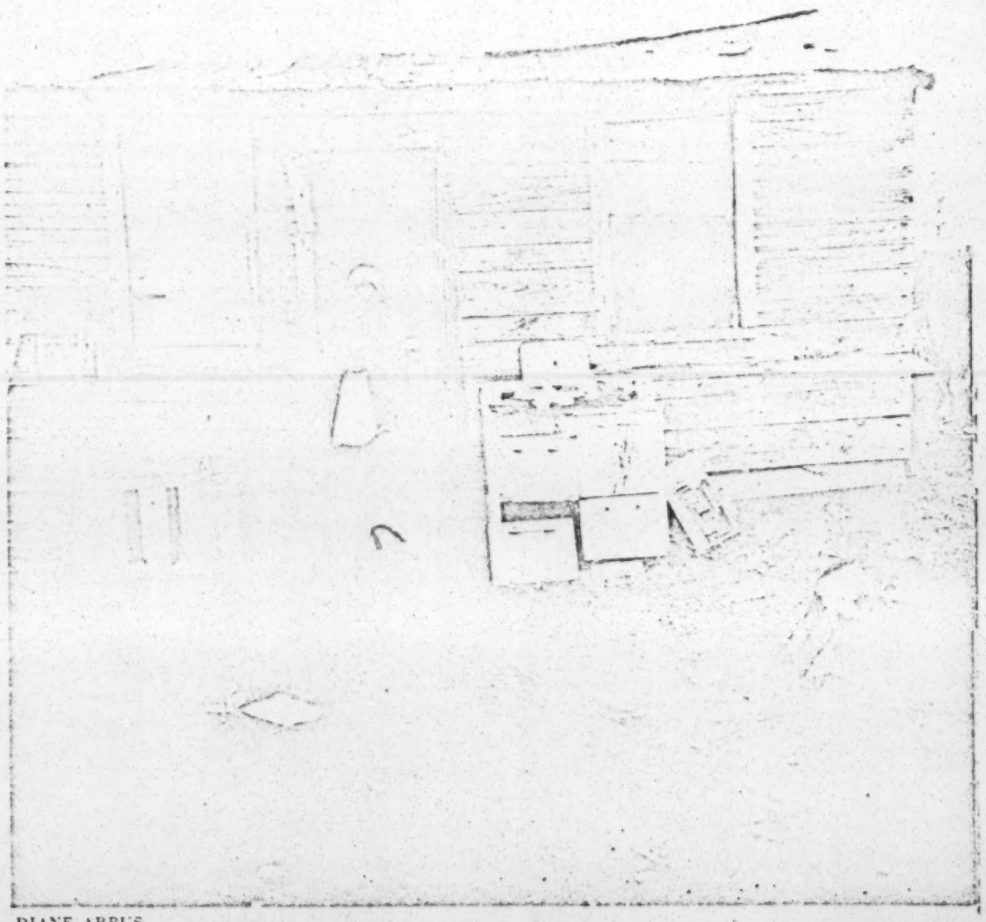
The first giddiness after BASF announced its intentions was that the plant would pass a magic wand over the economy of the area, but more sober souls recognized that most of the sparkle would fall on the fortunes of real-estate brokers, insurance agents, town merchants, without really sifting on down appreciably into the lower zones of destitution in the county. In one official state study some years before citing the kinds of high-intensity employment industries needed in coastal counties like Beaufort, sophisticated chemical operations like BASF's were not even listed. Before long, it was more or less tacitly acknowledged all around that BASF would only be the inception, the genesis of a vaster industrial complex in the area. But to the north of Beaufort County is North Charleston, and closer to the south is Savannah, both of them with doomsday manufacturing wastelands of smudged bleary skies, slag heaps, rank winds, and vile waters. With these unnerving specters on both sides, Dr. Lautenschlager has been a bit delicate about projecting visions of Beaufort County as an industrial complex, but he recently admitted privately, "Of course, we will expect that new industries will come in, mostly in the polymers field. Plastics lend themselves to the creation of other plants, and we will encourage these along, set up an entrepreneurial young fellow and train the people for him, perhaps even finance him to a degree. We also hope to attract down here some of the bigger plastics users."

One young local politician frankly declares, "This is gonna be a disaster area if we don't turn it around. What BASF will mean ultimately is that we won't be a sleepy village any longer, with a lot of open spaces and untromped-on places. This just has to be. Change is inevitable, you know."

Perhaps, but for the matter of only months, that would have been the case.

"The county is probably one of the most abject and squalid crannies of the country."

Years ago, on a warm summer night musky with magnolia blossoms in a small Georgia city, three young boys slipped out of their respective bedroom windows and, working in a peculiar wordless savage ecstasy, systematically wrecked the ground piping in a lot that had just been razed for the first filling station to intrude into their leafy



DIANE ARBUS

Marshall Frady

THE VIEW FROM HILTON HEAD

and innocent neighborhood. Some weeks later, they would be drinking Nehi oranges and passing around the air hose for their bike tires at the same station after it was finished, only half-remembering that furtive night of abrupt furious trivial unavailing sabotage, repudiation. But it has been more than a spasm of simple vandalism. There persist, whatever one's age, those small dull interior concussions of despair, exasperation, at abruptly discovering jaunty new jiffy curb markets or jumbo variety stores, glad and glittering with pennants, apparently clapped together in an eye-blink out of glass and chrome and plastic and asphalt along a roadside where the last time there had only been an empty cleanness of earth and sky. But such occasions—noticing trees and grass peeled from hillsides for freeway ramps, a dragonfly-wing iridescence from industrial excretion over rivers with Indian names, oddly drab unbright shadowless mornings with a fainting ghost of the sun—had been, in the past, totally private moments of discontent, like the brief prick of a rock in the shoe. At the most, there were sporadic flares of civic querulousness at zoning hearings.

But suddenly, it seems, all those random moments of dim elusive private discomfort have gathered into a massive popular outrage, their electricities have swiftly accumulated into a general voltage, an Issue. It has not quite found its tongue, its definition yet: the matter is still approximated as one of environment, ecology, pollution. But it is conceivable a new popular sensibility is emerging—an extraordinary moment. A new conscience and consciousness threaten to accost an old profound ethic, the dogmas and perspectives and rationales of an abruptly suspect mythology are now harried by perverse heresies from unexpected quarters: in the bright jubilant rampant advance of prosperity and convenience—ground clearings, ribbon cuttings, plant dedications, drive-in openings—a certain barbarism is now being sensed. A new and elemental Crime is being perceived.

Mailer proposed long ago that the prophetic disease of the age is cancer: that the cancer principle characterizes the times: robust, ravenous, unabating growth for growth's sake, a mortal process disguised as vitality and energy, health—Shakespeare's tragic trick: "Fair is foul, and foul is fair." At a meeting recently of the Beaufort County Retirees' Association, one man finally arose and began in a voice like the slow crackling of paper, his fingertips faintly fluttering on the back of his chair, "Well, I'm from up North—places where they brought in a lot of industry. I've been hearing all my life, since I was a young man, I guess—you get industry in here, get industry in here, and life's gonna be smoother. Everything's gonna improve, life's gonna be brighter. Well, I've never seen it yet. All my life, I waited for it to happen, but I never saw it. Things didn't get smoother, they just changed. Oh, there was a lot more money, but it seemed things just got messier at the same time. So I got tired of waiting, and I moved down here. Now they're saying bring this big industry in here too, everything's gonna be brighter—what I want to know is, when's it supposed to happen?"

What has now appeared on Hilton Head is the kind of spontaneous conglomerate popular resistance, the makeshift hasty collaboration of disparate interests that is one curiosity of the ecological passion. Not long ago, the man appointed to be manager of the plant, Dr. Herbert Ende, concluded a conference with a young attorney involved in the resistance by cautioning him, "Now, I don't want to ever see this in print—but we are a two-billion-dollar organization. We can flush all of you down the drain. We can wipe you out." But Ende still finds improbably ranged against him, pressing an offensive of lawsuits and petitions and demonstrations, an eclectic assortment of housewives, professional men, retirees of both opulent and modest circumstances, black fishermen, tense lank-haired rumpled young circuit-riders from the Audubon Society and Friends of the Earth, and certain local nabobs, including Charles Fraser, the brisk cherubic young developer of Sea Pines, and Fred Hack, an older and somewhat more weathered squire who owns much of the island, and who, with his Port Royal Plantation, has been gamely and doggedly battling to keep pace with Fraser.

A gangling, somewhat gawky figure with stray tufts of graying hair like an osprey's feathers, Hack has remained fairly plain and homespun in manner and conversation (he is given to that immemorial feint, disavowal of his slow sly kind, "I'm just an ole country boy") since he arrived as the island's first developer, coming over on a barge with his family twenty years ago to set up a timber operation. "I finally got a bridge built," he drones, "and then Charlie Fraser came over it." He still has a certain feudal sense of proprietorship about the island and its affairs. When one Negro storekeeper erected a sign along the main road which Hack regarded as a bit large and conspicuous, Hack simply approached him one afternoon and gently inquired, "Abe, how much is that sign gonna cost me? . . ." The construction of a motel recently along the beach seemed to be threatening a forked palm toward which Hack had taken a fancy, so he had the tree dug up, transported out to his Port Royal Inn, and replanted there with an elaborate arrangement of wires and ropes, but chatting at the Inn with someone recently, he suddenly paused and then murmured, "Look at my tree. I think it's dyin'." He still lives in the antique house in the interior of the island where he originally settled with his family, a white wooden edifice with mammoth fireplaces and long polished halls and a huge iron cooking-range in the kitchen. In his generous living room one evening recently, he dismounted from a ladder where he had been hanging new curtains (he had forgotten to open the vents in the fireplace several nights before after starting a booming fire for a party) and sat to talk with a pair of visitors regarding the advent of BASF six miles up from his island, gulping occasionally from a kitchen

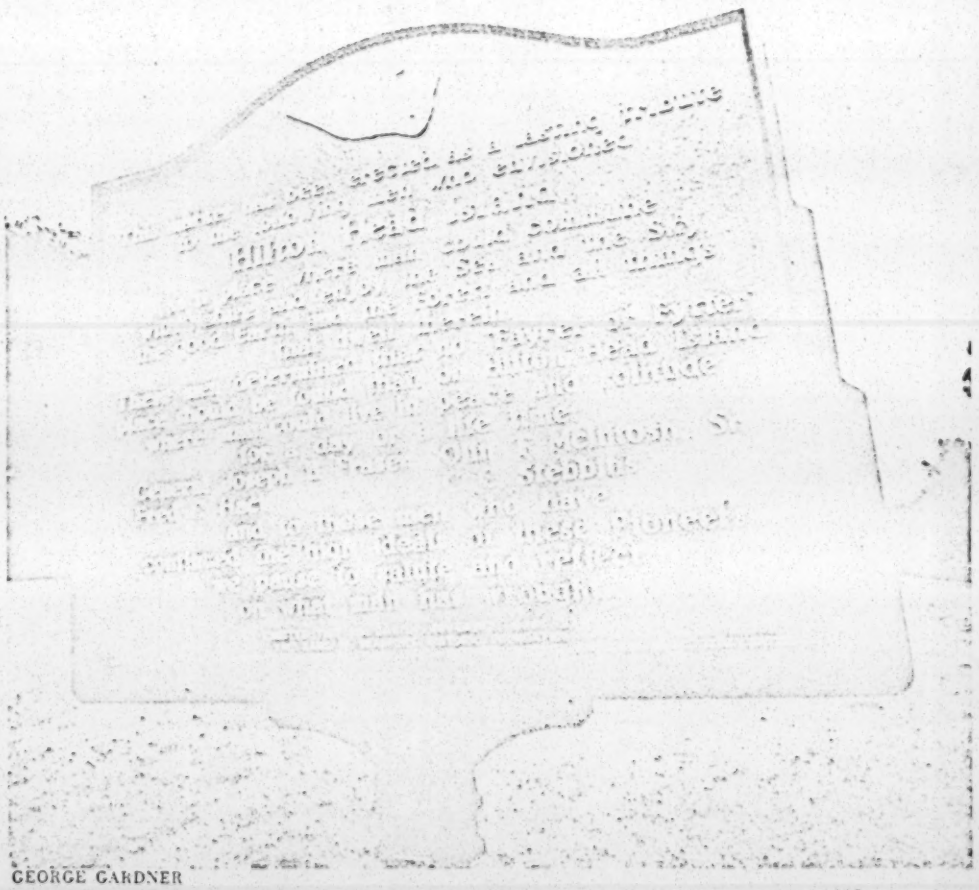
glass filled with Sprite and vodka. "That plant's not comin' in," he peacefully allowed, with an almost childlike simplicity in his voice. "Nothin' like this can happen to *me*—I just know that. I survived diphtheria when I was five years old, so I can sho survive this thing."

One gentle evening recently, a large number of islanders gathered at Fraser's Hilton Head Inn from their supper tables, a freshly showered and tanned assembly in citrus-colored liquid golfing sweaters and blazers and canvas shoes, sitting in metal folding chairs in a chamber of powder blue walls with potted plants where they were to be addressed by a young Audubon Society activist named Joe Browder ("He's their number-one scrapper," a local gentryman advertised happily) and a state legislator from Columbia named Alex Sanders. An ample cheerful bearish thirty-one-year-old attorney with somewhat shaggy hair and a relish for the droll aspects of life, Sanders is a probably premature occurrence in South Carolina of the phenomenon of the New Politics, and has come to be regarded a bit askance, as a faintly dangerous aberration, by most of his colleagues in the House: he introduced a resolution (and passed it) which provided that at no time would the total membership of all legislative committees studying agriculture in the state exceed the number of farmers in the state—offering this after briefly contemplating another measure which would have stipulated that at no time would the membership of any state subversives-control board exceed the total number of subversives, including Communists, in the state. One bone-cold night last February in Columbia, at a parlor gathering of state political brokers swishing tumblers of bourbon before a quietly rustling fireplace, Sanders was dismissed as "too inclined to take on these—uh—*quixotic* kind of causes, and just a little too *amused* by the serious business of politics." In the context of the evening, it was an endearing dismissal. He is, actually, a refreshing mutation in the state's politics. Sitting in the audience at Hilton Head Inn before he spoke, he muttered, after a glance around, "Lot of pretty people here tonight, ain't there?" A moment later, behind the lectern, he announced, "I wish I could tell you I have come to save you from this noxious threat to your well-bein' and peace of mind. But the candor of the hour requires me to tell you I am not concerned with you assembled here tonight—" A rather delicate hush settled over the floor. "—I have looked beyond your beautiful homes and unpolluted golf courses. It's possible to replace those—but it's not possible to replace this beautiful Port Royal Sound and the fragile life-balance of these estuaries." At this, there was a relaxing release of luxurious approving applause. "The reason I bring you this message," Sanders continued, "is not to insult you. It's just that this issue won't be decided on preserving these homes and golf courses, but on a larger national scale . . . and in the course of this fight, you are likely to come into contact with those beyond your normal personal relationships."

And they did, right after Sanders. Browder—a slight modest figure with a somewhat finch-like face and fine-spun sandy hair, wearing horn-rim glasses and a pinstriped ginger-colored suit with scuffed suede boots—had just landed on the island vibrant from a rally in Miami addressed by Abbie Hoffman, and he informed the gathering, "I heard some industrial-type people talking on the plane coming up here who said they hoped the response to this BASF thing wasn't one of bailing out Hilton Head Island. I really get the feeling there isn't anyone in Washington terribly interested in bailing out the people here." He talked to them in a casual free-form easy monologue that was the style of SNCC organizers during the old days in Alabama and Mississippi, his manner wry and half-abashed and anti-rhetorical, bemused, his voice small and almost toneless. Whimsical frequencies were in the air at this occasion: Browder imparted to his audience the emotionally mixed piece of news that, when the construction of an airport in the Everglades was frustrated in Florida, "the fellow who had been the baron of the state, the czar of the state until a few years ago, was told to go to hell. . . ."

Indeed, a number of those directing the front against BASF are not accustomed to having been particularly on the sunny side of any recent national issue, and they seem not quite able to trust the fact that, at least in terms of the national press and the liberal community—the conventional conscience of the country—they are uncannily on the side of righteousness for a change, and so they are proceeding with a certain awkwardness, a high

"What has now appeared on Hilton Head is . . . a makeshift hasty collaboration of disparate interests."



GEORGE GARDNER

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nervousness, with somewhat the same instinctive furtiveness and conspiratorial mentality of their long wilderness guerrilla warfare against the general massive marches of history since, for some of them, Roosevelt. The head of one citizens' association, a pastured industrialist, warned his colleagues about a visiting newsman from a national magazine, "We haven't checked that fella out yet," and when a young painter on the island began trying to assemble demonstrations at the plant site, it was suggested by a few residents that such a dramatic extravagance might be "undignified." Other parties have been engaged in some of the more Byzantine of the old procedures—private and elemental persuasions in certain strategic places—and one young conservation activist, who cultivates hopes of the BASF fight evolving eventually into participatory-democracy politics in the county, emerged from one session with this faction and hissed, "I feel like I ought to take a bath." But the resistance promised to survive such uneasy associations. Demonstrations were continuing through March at the plant site and the BASF suite of offices on the island—motley ecumenical processions of Junior League matrons and black fishermen, long-maned college students and retired colonels in long-billed mesh fishing caps and khaki trousers. While a recent march was breaking up, one young mother with a sign was asked if she had ever done anything like this before, and she chirped, "Why, Lord, *no*!"

Actually, the black fishermen, who after five years of struggle have finally begun operating successfully as a cooperative, are caught in special complications. As Tom Barnwell, one of the co-op officials, explains it, "How the hell am I gonna be able to get out there picketing against BASF without also picketing against the welfare system and the political system and all the other pollution like that in this county?" Whatever, they regard themselves as menaced by the plant more critically and immediately than is anyone else. "More meetin's I 'tended, listenin' to those plant people talk," remarks the co-op's president, David Jones, a looming mild soft-spoken man, "the less comfortable I felt. He kept tellin' us we didn't have nuthin' to worry about, but that was just a man talkin'—you know what I mean? A man can say anything. Anyway, even if we get BASF to fight pollution, we got to go through this same mess with every one of these other plants when they come in?" The co-op finally sued for a moratorium on the plant's construction until extensive laboratory tests could confirm it posed no danger, but BASF—whiffing intimations of disaster should it be temporarily stalled—has been particularly implacable and brittle on this point. "A moratorium is completely out of the question," maintains Lautenschlager. "If we postpone our plant, the whole thing loses momentum—see?" Commenting on this matter another time, he snapped, "We reject it. And everybody else rejects it. . . . The Governor has said it is un-American and unjustified, and there is no legal possibility for it as far as I know. I say it is unnecessary and unjustified."

The fact is, the confrontation at Hilton Head—and, for that matter, the whole national confrontation over ecology—is still taking shape in a kind of uncertain moral twilight. John Gadsen is a young black who directs Penn Center out from Beaufort, which functions in part as a job-placement agency for the black community, and as he coldly eyes the issue, "BASF isn't going to mean that much to my people around here. I know that. There'll be a little bit for a little while, and then even less after that. They aren't really going to do much more than just touch the problem. It's the industry they'll bring in after them, which will transform the whole economy of this area. That's the choice we've got to make—are we going to industrialize, or do we stay this quiet little peaceful area. It can't be both ways, I'm not fooled by that either. These waters are going to be polluted, no doubt about that—rivers here around Beaufort are *already* off-limits just with the regular sewage from the people living here, and it doesn't take that much pollution to place oyster beds off-limits. Of course, they're saying now, if BASF doesn't come in, they'll open up other jobs without pollution. Well, one of our girls we sent out the other day on a waitress job was offered twenty-two cents an hour plus tips—if that's the kind of thing they're talking about, forget it. No, when it comes to a choice between the people I know who have to make it here on food stamps, who're still living like they've been living for the past hundred years, or whether we're gonna keep all these pure waterways and beautiful marshes and wildlife, all this wonderful scenery—I got to go with the people. If I got to put the oyster beds up against people—the oyster beds have got to go."

That is a rather cheerless set of alternatives—the kind of desperate and understandably impatient vision which, it has been suggested, could end in the subtle treachery of merely exchanging a rural ghetto for an urban one which, to the degree such things can be measured, is probably more desolate. As a number of those who mistrust the ecological issue point out, what's happening to trees a hundred miles away does not have a great deal of relevancy for people pent in a ghetto who've never been in a forest. But it is more than a matter of aesthetics. What is being recognized is that simple emptiness—an adjacency of open and trackless spaces—is actually a human value, and the absence of that visits a vague abasement, brutalization on the human spirit. Whatever, developers on Hilton Head—however belated and accidentally induced their interest (actually, Sea Pines has in the past ventured some educational projects in the island's interior)—have begun plotting programs committed to more black enterprises like the co-op. As Gadsen concedes, "I do sympathize with the co-op, that problem. They labored through the most unbelievable difficulties over there to get that thing started. You can't know how important it is now to them—just those some one hundred jobs mean more to the black people of this county than any thousands of jobs with the tourist industry as waitresses or bellmen or ground-keepers."

A few black leaders on the island regard the advent of the plant with a special foreboding. With South Carolina a society whose politics have always been precipitously susceptible to the influence of the business estate, the enormous presence of a firm like BASF has sobering implications. Barnwell, who is executive secretary of the co-op, says flatly, with an angry crackle in his eyes, "We've just begun to work up a little bit in the politics of this county and this state, but this deal—the power you talkin' about here—will put us right back into slavery."

All the clamor has caused considerable dismay among the county's Establishment; as one of its spokesmen philosophizes, "We just want all this damn fuss to die down. We'd be all right, if it weren't for all this damn fuss. It's just damn stubbornness, that's what it is." The executive director of the county development commission, Eddie Boyer, a man of slightly dusty and crumpled appearance with an expression of drowsy amiability, laments, "Old ladies come into my office cryin', I tell you—chins quiverin'—and commence to tell me, 'Eddie Boyer, I'm gonna take up a collection in this town and erect a statue to you as the man who ruined Beaufort County.' I been here for thirty years, and have tried my best never to make an enemy, to get along with everybody—wasn't any home in this county I didn't feel I couldn't go into and be welcome. But now, people don't like me. I been in the hospital three times over this thing."

In the face of this unaccountable popular ambush, all the conventional rationales, the conventional exuberances are being lustily and diligently invoked. "Land has got to be used for the greatest good of the people," insists one Beaufort business promoter. "Over there on Hilton Head, these naturalists and so on, they worried about roostin' places for their birds. Well, hell, we can't leave this country to wilderness just because of their birds." The director of the local Office of Economic Opportunity, a white fortyish chipper erstwhile Baptist preacher with a sun-kissed face tanned like a dye tint and a small cherry bulb of a nose, attired in a snappy black-and-white-check sport coat, drove a recent visitor along on a road on the outskirts of Beaufort with hamburger drive-ins and trailer parks and billboards and power lines under tatterings of moss: "Wadn't anything out here before, and now we got a nice new li'l shoppin' center along here, it's grown up real nice out here. I don't understand all this hollerin' about BASF. Why, I've seen estimates it'll mean probably one thousand more automobiles in the county alone. . . . I've said from my pulpit a million times, Beaufort is the virgin territory between Miami and New York." One Beaufort booster burbles, "They talk about alterin' the *look* of the place, the environment. If you want to know the truth, lot of plant grounds you see now are actually prettier than country-club grounds."

The notion is being offered, as one local business figure put it, "If man is smart enough to mess it up, he's smart enough to clean it up." This particular perspective is heard most often when the melancholy case of the Tenneco plant is mentioned—a similar facility established some years ago along a tidal creek on nearby Dafuskie Island with the most hearty and ruddy and unequivocal assurances that there would be no contamination. Not quite two years later, a landowner with property along the creek noted that the marsh grass was withering away, and when he called in two scientists to investigate, it was discovered that vast concentrations of acid had been flushed into the waters there, corroding oyster shells and exterminating all mussels in the stream. The state, after a time, finally dealt some minimal wrist-rapping to Tenneco, which then went about tidying up its operation.

Somehow, the breezy assurances that are being produced to answer the alarm tend to be not enormously reassuring. "Tenneco?" asserts the OEO director. "They say that area over there at Tenneco is ruined? That ain't ruined—there's green grass growin' up to twenty-five yards of where they say the ruin is." One state legislator from the county, who has been maintaining that industrialization will not violate the nature of area ("You can swim in water that you can't farm oysters from, you know"), was asked if there were any other spot in the county that occurred to him where such a novel cohabitation had been managed—if such a compatability, in fact, would not be a first for the world. After a pause, he allowed, "Yes, I suppose so. No, I don't guess it's ever been brought off before. But —well, that's the challenge of this whole thing, see?" BASF officials have cited their scrupulous compliance with the anti-pollution standards in New Jersey, which has not spectacularly comforted the refugees from New Jersey in the area, nor others who have simply made the drive from the Newark airport into New York, one of the most obscene landscapes on the face of the earth. (At the same time, BASF has declared natural de-industrialized zones will be left along both the riverfront of its property and the road front; but when a local political apologist promised a civic meeting recently, "I'm sure that what goes on two or three miles back there from the highway will be virtually unknown and unobservable," it only deepened the frowns, momentarily narrowed the squints of those in the audience.)

At a recent hearing before a legislative committee in Columbia, local proponents of the plant—with the awkwardness of old mentalities still stoutly impervious to deep shifts in the popular mood—unwittingly added extra savor to all the misgivings. The president of the county's chamber of commerce, a lank and weathered man who stood rigidly straight with his hands shoved deep in his pockets, clipped, "We're missin' the whole picture—other companies, other industries will be involved in this. You fiddlin' with an opportunity that may be gone forevermore. . . . As far as this pollution is concerned, I don't think it's a problem—" At this, there was a tide of laughter from the galleries which spilled even over the floor. Undaunted, with only a short dangling uncertain hesitation, he went on, "We've gotten assurances from the Governor on

"All the clamor has caused considerable dismay among the county's establishment."

Marshall Frady

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down there won't be any pollution—" Again, the chamber was splashed with laughter, and the fellow plunged on back to his seat, followed presently by a somewhat more dapper, nattily groomed, resolutely casual and grinning chap who introduced himself as the next mayor of Beaufort and, "in an attempt to calm the waters a little bit," proceeded to smilingly dismiss the issue of pollution as a matter of any real grimness: "Why, some of the best bass fishin' you'll find down there is right at the mouth of the Savannah River, which is the most polluted river in the state. . . ."

For that matter, virtually the whole political structure of South Carolina—from the impending mayor of Beaufort all the way up to the Governor, Robert McNair, a much beleaguered man these days on several fronts—is committed to the plant and the immutable doctrine of "industrial solicitation." Senator Hollings, one figure of some heft who might have been expected to intervene at least on behalf of a construction moratorium, is not only cramped by the posture of his party's hierarchy, but somewhat more seriously compromised by the fact that "industrial solicitation" was never a more feverish obsession than during his own term as Governor. At an informal convocation of assorted political technicians in Columbia recently, he advanced the rather improbable speculation that all the dismay over BASF, the signatures of protest from all over the state, even the national notice the incident was attracting, had all been engineered by Charles Fraser.

At a meeting not long ago of retirees in the Beaufort area, held in a country club with mint-green cement-block walls, one young local legislator rummaged forth all the customary enthusiasms while, here and there, elderly ladies savagely scribbled questions on the back of paper place mats with ball-point pens, couples glanced at each other and shook their heads—they had already begun to take him on with impatient incredulous snortings and brief high hums. "The concern over pollution now," he forged on, "it's certainly the sensible thing, and certainly now the *popular* thing, and the thing that's in the headlines. . . . But we have laws to protect us on this, and have had them on the books since the nineteen-fifties." When he was finished, a tall bony crew-cut man lunged to his feet and fairly blared, "Yes, and just a few years ago we had the same assurances on the Tenneco dye plant. They said they absolutely would *not* pollute the area. It was crammed down our throats, and they built their multi-million-dollar dye plant. So what happened? What I want to know is, why is BASF being brought in here the same way?" The young legislator wanly proposed, "Well, you can't say absolutely-positively nothing's gonna happen. I mean, you can't get out here and drive to Columbia and say absolutely-positively nothing's gonna happen. . . ."

While BASF, with all the fanfare, has actually attained, even before the plant has been physically assembled, a state of high righteousness probably unprecedented in anti-pollution projections, Dr. Lautenschlager himself has acknowledged, "We can't guarantee against accidental spillage from our plant. We can't guarantee against accidental spillage from tankers, because we are not in control of them." That is the anxiety of a number of thoughtful people in Beaufort County and over the state, including Representative Sanders—whether an accident can actually be afforded. Speaking not long ago to a House committee after introducing a bill calling for a moratorium on the plant's construction, Sanders intoned, "Gentlemen, there are four estuaries in South Carolina—bodies of water uniquely constituted on this planet, with a sensitive balance of life there crucial in the biological chain of existence. Two of those estuaries have already been destroyed now by pollution. Port Royal Sound is one of the two left. No one knows without the facts at hand what the results of the location of that plant will be—but those who would ignore history are condemned to repeat it. It is a matter of historical fact that when the process of industrialization . . . devolves itself upon the underdeveloped people of this earth, those people lacking the sophistication of urban societies can be depended on to become so enamored of the shiny machines and the gold and silver it promises as to ignore sophisticated concepts of an undisturbed ecology. The Southern European peasant with a newly acquired automobile will stand in the street and fondle his machine while goats defecate in his house. And make no mistake about it, as compared to the highly industrialized society of Western Germany—the fatherland of BASF—the coast of South Carolina with its poverty and great expanse of virgin land is viewed by many as nothing more than another emerging nation whose people are for exploitation and—more important—for sale. But gentlemen, you and I know South Carolina is different. We are not Southern Europe—" (Despite that, the word was spread by the plant's advocates back in Beaufort that Sanders had testified their county was populated by peasants who stroked their cars while livestock leisurely puddled their front parlors.) "—we have steadfastly demonstrated that our birthright is not for sale for a mess of pottage. . . ."

The fact is, with all the unanticipated high attentiveness to the affair, some members of Beaufort County's local legislative delegation have found themselves caught in certain rather specific positions of intimacy with the plant—quiet arrangements which, in the past, have been more or less a matter of course in the discreet customary incest between the state's political and business interests, and which in almost any less feudal context would be politically mortal. A member of the state House, W. Brantley Harvey Jr., a lean spare pale young attorney with a taut jaw and cottony ashen hair, with a quality of sober earnestness about him, has, it turns out, been acting as counsel for BASF, clearing the way legally for its arrival in his district, which will amount to something like $25,000 for the first year of his service. "I expect to represent them in those matters in the future," he admits, "and

charge them the usual rate." (He also has as clients the South Carolina Gas and Electric Company and Tenneco Chemicals Inc.)

Another member of the House, Representative Wilton Graves, a reedy man with thinning hair who often holes up in his motel on Hilton Head, twice renewed an option he enjoyed on one third of the property adjacent to the plant site, and then, after BASF made its decision to locate there, exercised the option. Actually, the pattern of symbiotic understandings already struck on the island approaches the arabesque—a new resort development. Palmetto Dunes, a project largely cultivated by the island's Jaycee chapter, and another of Harvey's clients, has been quietly but studiously congenial to the plant's progress: Graves' son, it happens, is president of the Jaycees there. Actually, after the co-op filed its suit to enjoin BASF from proceeding with construction, Graves had the lurching artlessness to announce he would introduce a resolution in Columbia to enforce a moratorium against the fishermen, forbidding them from working closer than a mile from shore. Co-op members, he explained were "lost in a legal fog—if there is to be a moratorium enforced against BASF under any circumstances, then I will insist that the same moratorium be enforced concurrently on all shellfish grounds, rivers, and sounds, and to crab pots and trawling for crab or shrimp." It was a move which seemed to embarrass about everybody except Graves.

Not long after BASF declared it would locate in Beaufort County, there was a deer hunt on the property site, the party including Dr. Ende, who would be the plant's manager, and the district's state Senator, James M. Waddell, whose occupation in addition to legislation is selling insurance. Before they set out one frosty morning, Waddell, already a bit flushed and effusive despite the fresh hour, turned to Ende, draped his arms around his neck, and boomed, "Herbie, I love yuh! I just love yuh!"

As for the Germans themselves, they seem, more than anything else, profoundly befuddled by the popular combustion of opposition. They had proceeded in all innocence on the natural assumption that the old mystique still prevailed, the old combinations were still viable; all the proprieties and mechanics had been attended to. "I was led to believe everyone had accepted the idea," said Dr. Lautenschlager recently. "It is always good to be welcomed all over, but I don't understand this. It is completely under control. I mean, everyone we talked to seemed to accept the idea." According to one of the firm's public-relations figures, a hulking robust blond apple-cheeked Berliner named Dietrich Rogala, it is all simply a question of "Facts! If everybody would just keep to the facts, there would be no trouble. Facts. But all this emotion—My God! What can you do!"

They have installed themselves in a corner suite of offices in a newly erected one-story building near the island's main shopping area; a recent visitor there found Dietrich, his colleague—an older, darker and somewhat quieter man in a gray tweed suit named Fred Jacobson—and their secretary, the three of them rather awesomely alone in large rooms scantily furnished with only a few desks and chairs, the expansive walls around them blank and still smelling wetly of plaster: looking a trifle alien and stranded and possibly surrounded, they maintained a certain hectic doughtiness. "Why is all this trouble, hunh?" demanded Dietrich pleasantly. "Do you think maybe it is we are foreigners? A little bit of that, hunh?" (Actually, BASF is one of the remnants of I. G. Farben, which was dismantled by the Allies after World War II, but officials now hastily point out, "Every one of those businesses that came from Farben is now larger than Farben was—every one of them.") Dietrich rumbled, while Jacobson smiled thinly and politely from behind a desk. "In Germany, we welcome foreign investment with open arms. So why should there be all this here? We maybe finally take this up between Bonn and Washington, hunh? The American companies there, the bases—they will have to go back home. Hunh?" It was as if a Teutonic bunker psychology were already beginning to set in. "We *will* build our plant," Dietrich boomed. "It doesn't matter."

Later that afternoon, they drove out with the visitor to the plant site, confessing, "Maybe you could show us where it is. We haven't seen it ourselves, actually." (Earlier, when Dietrich had driven over to the island from Beaufort, he had been stopped for speeding by a highway patrolman, and as he reported with considerable gusto and relish afterward, "I showed him my license—what is this, *Berlin, Germany?* With—what? Badi—Badische—what? I told him, perhaps you can work for BASF, hunh? I left him very friendly, but I was something quite new for him, I am sure.") As the car pulled off the highway down a dirt aisle beneath languid spectral taperings of moss, Dietrich breathed, "Fantastic! Unbelievable! Jacobson, I believe I like our property we have bought." When the car reached a cable strung across the road, Dietrich heaved out and began struggling to wrench up a post to which it was fastened, and Jacobson, watching him, still with his quiet flat little smile on his face, mused, "He is from Berlin. He is very enthusiastic, no?" The road ended at the far shimmering sprawl of the Colleton River, at a bluff of dead gaunt trees from which there drooped rags of moss, under a cold sky uneasy with the low steady vast flight of sunless clouds, a solitary hawk hanging in taut weightless suspension overhead. After standing at the edge of the bluff in the sharp wind for a few minutes, during which the apple-stain in his cheeks paled away, Dietrich—shuddering, his hands deep in his pockets—abruptly blurted, "Well, gentlemen, it all looks wonderful. Excuse me. I believe I will go back to the car now—" and strode off. Returning to the highway, Jacobson slewed the car with small deft turns of the wheel through low bogs in the road left by a recent rain, and Dietrich lunged forward from the back seat to announce, "Jacobson, the way you are handling that wheel—I think you must have driven a tank, no?" Jacobson, with only a barely perceptible tension in his jaw, replied quietly, "No. Oh, no. I merely did a lot of walking," and Dietrich

"What is being recognized is that simple emptiness is actually a human value."

Marshall Frady

THE VIEW FROM HILTON HEAD

chortled. "Ah, I think maybe you drove a tank, too." Jacobson finally murmured, "Well, I did ride one once," and Dietrich boomed, "Yes, they called those Panzers, did they not? Panzers, yes?" Jacobson, his head only slightly thrown back, his mouth open, uttered a light soft laugh, more like coughing, and kept his eyes on the road. His knuckles merely whitened briefly on the rim of the wheel.

The truth is, as his company now undertakes to steer its plant through the unexpected bogs of recent and still brooding rains ahead of them, knuckles are whitening on wheels all the way up to New York, their American headquarters. They have decided to jump up initial construction, and by March there could already be heard a distant clank and whining of bulldozers deep in the pines of their property. And in a recent state promotional supplement in newspapers over the country, there was a full-page announcement by BASF that:

> *...BASF Corporation is coming to Beaufort County, South Carolina...*
>
> *We...look forward to South Carolina becoming the major plastics center of the Southeast. We look forward to increased job opportunities for everyone. We anticipate success in showing the world, with the help of our neighbors, that man and nature can live in productive harmony....*
>
> *We salute the Palmetto State for its past 300 years, and eagerly look forward to the next 300.*

But the crisis in Beaufort County has encountered what is a central complication in the issue over the nation: unlike the Negro Awakening in the South, or even Vietnam, which was personalized by Johnson and Rusk, the issue of pollution seems to lack a dramatic and palpable demonology, the element of recognizable personal villainy. The effects, the mutilations and outrages are plain enough, but trying to confront those responsible for it, answerable for it—corporations, county zoning boards, bureaucracies, with all their glib pieties and postures of agreement—is somewhat like trying to engage a vaguely malign fog. They lack the simple passionate palpability of a Bull Connor or George Wallace or Lyndon Johnson. The question is whether the issue—in its theatrical dynamics, which are essential to any popular issue in this time—can survive this diffusion of responsibility, of the identity of the guilty. If so, then it may also mean, by extension, a general perception eventually past *all* glib pieties, all nimble dissembling, all medicine-man rhetoric—that syntactic game which is the refuge of an entire galaxy of interests in our society, including not only officialdom and corporate apologists and the Pentagon but Madison Avenue, those there who recommend titanic excitements over such cretinous trivia as toothpaste ("Daddy! The dentist said I had no cavities!"), underarm sprays, laundry soaps, soda-pops ("You've got a lot to live! And this one's got a lot to give!")—all those who can only survive in a nihilistic void between word and reality. The danger is that they would draw us all into that void. By fanciful extension, perhaps the pollution, the devastation of the language is secretly and ultimately involved. A wry incidental service it would be if the passion over ecology—in which honesty is elementally concerned—began to fuse again language and meaning.

Of course, it would be a tragic diversion if ecology deflected the national will and attention from its racial desperation—and, increasingly, there are those who dread that it is such a distraction, that at the least it will result in a kind of cross-eyed national view of needs ahead, each issue muddling the other. But, as has been hinted at Hilton Head, in the effort against pollution parties are getting together who have never been elbow to elbow before: a peculiar, erratic, and still faltering communion is gathering between equally assertive interests that have seemed up to now implacably alienated from each other—a conglomerate and still clumsy constituency of radical activists and Establishment princes, students, and the aged, all of whom now will at least have a new understanding of each other's impulses, despairs, visions, languages, since they have, on the issue of ecology, worked with them on common terms, in a common urgency. (One Hilton Head resort dweller in his middle years phoned Browder and ventured, "Uh—listen, are there any more outside agitators down there that you suppose you could bring up here to help us with this thing?") On the whole, the issue is likely to have a modestly radicalizing effect. As a California state Senator pointed out sometime ago, "You can't have people getting concerned about Lake Erie without them starting to ask pretty soon who killed it. How the hell did it happen? Who let them do it, and why?" Indeed, implicit in the issue are certain final questions about our entire system, our habits of managing ourselves, and certain implicit prospects of an unprecedented regulation of matters impinging importantly on the public condition: there is the possibility that the conduct of large business, even if left in private hands, will thoroughly, even in its most trivial transactions, and particularly in its intercourse with all echelons of government, have to be under public scrutiny. Also in this experience we are encountering a number of ghosts from our origins—in particular, we are likely to sense the portions of glandular greed and rapacity that were actually at play in the romance of the frontier, the pioneer, the expansion into the West, and this in turn could introduce a new realism and maturity into Americans' still essentially adolescent understanding of themselves and their past.

Whatever, it would not be the least of this issue's gifts if, in the possibly brief Noah's Ark union of all the disparate elements in our nation who wish to survive this peril, certain illusions and suspicions and assumptions about each other will have been modified, if not vanished. And, supposing that Americans on the whole are still incorrigibly people of good will, in that familiarity and fellowship could lie the inception of the new community of vision and compassion that is necessary for the true civilizing of this land. □

I. INTRODUCTION

When short, stocky Cesar Chavez rose during a labor meeting in the Mexican-American community center in Delano, California, to shout "Huelga!" he had no idea what would come of those first, seemingly puny efforts to organize the town's grape pickers. In September of 1965, Chavez's goal loomed large and difficult to reach but it was one which was limited only to Delano. In the three and a half years since the strike began in Delano, it has spread from the narrow confines of one small town into a nearly world-wide movement. And, since the early days of the strike, one fact has been made clear: for the first time, efforts to organize a union for farm laborers have been successful; therefore if the grape pickers are able to realize their objective, the doors to organizing farm labor all over the United States are swung wide open. The import of this is also clear, since farm labor is the last great bloc of American working people which has not been unionized.

PLACE ! OUTSIDE QUOTE

This paper will trace the history of the grape pickers' strike from its inception: how and why it began, and how it has progressed. The subject will be presented in three parts. First, the causes of the movement and its first six months of operation; second, what has happened since the first breakthrough in the strike in the spring of 1966; and third, what it portends for the future. Although

much space is given to describing the movement itself, particular emphasis is placed on its implications. We must know why the movement has been successful and why it may attain complete success, in order to understand its meaning. The Huelga (Spanish for "strike") is not an isolated event in time; it is the first link in a great chain.

It must be noted here that published material on the subject is quite inadequate in light of its magnitude. No major news magazine has had a running account of the movement. Articles published in periodicals have been scattered and unconnected, usually related only to isolated events in the strike. It would seem that the public press, for the most part, either does not realize, or has ignored, the importance of the movement. Two books have been written on the subject; but for the sake of time, the one reportedly presenting the most objective account was chosen. Other sources of information had to be foregone due to the limits of time. Among these are various newspapers published by the Delano grape pickers themselves, by other labor unions, and by smaller organizations sympathetic to labor.

Taking into consideration first the lack of thorough information, and second the limitation of time, this paper will seek to present a condensed, overall view of the movement rather than a highly detailed account.

II. THE MOVEMENT BEGINS

The Grapes of Wrath

Agriculture is California's largest industry, and grape growing is no small part of the state's total crop income. The state's grape industry gleans some $175 million per year,[1] producing 95 per cent of all table grapes grown in the United States[2] and a large amount of the country's wine grapes.

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California's agriculture provides the most number of jobs in the state as well. Average employment on the state's farms in 1965 was 305,110; of these, 91,000 were farm owners and their families; 92,000 were hired annual workers; and 119,000 were hired seasonal workers. This compares to the national farm employment average in 1965 of 3,780,000.[3]

These healthy statistics, however, cloud the facts of wretched working conditions to which many thousands of the state's farm laborers are subjected. While agriculture is its biggest industry, California, like many other farm states, is one that "pays its workers about

1 "Viva la Huelga!" Newsweek, April 18, 1966, p. 42-44 PP. 42-44

2 Ibid.

3 "Farm Union Reaps First California Victory," Business Week, April 16, 1966, p. 158-160

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one-sixth the yearly income of other industrial workers, that recognizes no minimum wage, that offers no holidays, vacation, sick leave, unemployment insurance or pension plan; that grants no overtime, that regularly violates the child labor laws, and that denies the right to bargain collectively." [4]

California farm workers, in a state whose median income is $6,726 per year, have a median family income of $2,000 per year, and like many poor families, often have eight or ten children. [5]

These facts apply as well to grape pickers, who do not have even a pleasant job for compensation. The fields are always hot and steamy, and workers must crouch in a wearying and straining position for hours on end to pick the grapes.

"The workers hunch under the vines like ducks. There is no air, making the intense heat all but unbearable. Gnats and bugs swarm out from under the leaves." [6]

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In addition to these conditions, the workers are seldom provided with field sanitation facilities, although state law requires that they be. Workers must often bring their own water with them, as none is provided in the field; and in some cases where water is provided, growers have

4 "Monopoly In the Vineyards: Grapes of Wrath Strike," James P. Degnan, Nation, Feb. 7, 1966, p. 151-154.

5 "Grape Pickers' Strike: War in California," Andrew Kopkind, New Republic, Jan. 29, 1966, p. 12-15.

6 John Gregory Dunne, Delano, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, 1967, p. 16.

been known to charge the pickers 25 cents for a cup.[7] Poor enforcement of the state's field labor protection has resulted in much of the bitterness of the Delano grape strike.

"California has good laws covering working conditions in the fields, such as sanitation, but these have been poorly enforced. It is felt that the only way to stop the conditions is to have a union."[8]

NO QUOTES

Attempts to organize unions among California's farm laborers were not new. During the 1930's, when unions were being organized all over the country in most non-farm industries, there were sporadic and violent attempts to organize segments of California's—and other states'—farm laborers. But these attempts never achieved any success, their failure usually being attributed to resistance against their reputedly communist leadership.[9]

Aside from actual attempts to form unions, the state's farm laborers have often tried to better their conditions and get higher wages through non-union-sponsored strikes.

"Over the years, California's migrant and semiresident peasantry has waged stormy strikes against the cotton, lettuce and citrus growers, winning some wage increases, but never really reforming their dreary working conditions or gaining acceptance of a labor union. Organized only for the purpose of striking, the workers lacked the

7 Ibid.

8 Dr. Don Smith, Pesticides Research Department of the National Public Health Service, an organizer of the Atlanta grape boycott; in an interview Feb. 16, 1969.

9 Delano, op. cit. P. ?

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resources for a long walkout. The huelga was different." [10]

It was different in part because it was backed by the AFL-CIO, albeit loosely.

In Delano, in 1962, a group of Filipino grape pickers (the farm workers of California, even when on the same farm, are segregated by race and nationality; the growers explain that this is because they eat different things [11]) organized the National Farm Workers Association, [12] which was to be the beginning of a long-range attempt to organize farm labor everywhere. The NFWA was backed by the AFL-CIO, but the larger union virtually ignored the farm workers, ostensibly waiting to see what they could do. [13]

But why should a full-fledged union organizing attempt begin on the grape farms? Dunne cited reasons for this.

> "...table grapes presented a greater opportunity for union organizers than any other seasonal crops. Unlike lettuce or asparagus, grapes require attention for some ten months a year...As a result, the labor force is relatively stable. There are few migrants, except during the harvest, and since the residents can put in nearly a full year's work, their income levels are accordingly higher. As the richest of the poor, they are less apathetic than migrants whose overriding considerations are the next job, the next meal, and hence more susceptible to an organizing effort." [14]

[10] Newsweek, op. cit.

[11] Delano, op. cit.

[12] Business Week, op. cit.

[13] Delano, op. cit.

[14] Ibid, p. 14.

The Filipinos of the NFWA had tried since 1962 to effect reforms in their working conditions on the farms of Delano. They had petitioned and tried to talk sensibly with the growers. But since the growers refused the group's right to bargain, the NFWA had met with no success. Finally, in September, 1965, the NFWA decided to show its power by calling a strike.

Meanwhile, Cesar Chavez had succeeded in organizing the Mexican-American grape pickers of Delano. It had long been Chavez's dream to have a union for the pickers, but he had begun by organizing the community for betterment projects, including citizenship classes, voter registration, a credit union, and cooking, sewing and hygiene classes for women. Chavez envisioned a labor union some day, and knew that it would have to come via strike methods, but he felt it was several years away, possibly in 1968.[15]

When the NFWA decided to call the strike, its members felt they needed more support. The leaders approached Chavez and asked if the Mexican-Americans would join the strike. Chavez was reluctant. He felt that his group was not ready to go into union organizing or striking. But he agreed to ask the members. Although he explained that he didn't believe they were ready, the members voted unanimously to join the Filipinos, and were so enthusiastic that Chavez

15 Ibid.

for a moment lost his fears. He stood up, threw out his arms, and shouted "Huelga!" That night, there was a joyous celebration in the Mexican-American community center. The worrying could wait for tomorrow.

Huelga: Trampling Out the Vintage

The next day, the Filipinos and Mexican-Americans did not show up for work, and picket lines were thrown up at the gates to the farms of Delano and along the roads where pickers were expected to be at work. Meanwhile, leaders of the two groups tried to meet with the growers, but they were rebuffed. Growers simply refused to talk with the leaders, and as the days wore on, the growers even refused to admit that there was a strike in progress. They had a simple way of handling the problem.

Very early in the strike, the strikers ran against one of their biggest barriers, the bracero law. This law allowed farmers to import foreign laborers, usually Mexicans, for as long as they were needed. The law had lapsed in late 1964, and the NFWA strikers felt that they had good chances for an early success in the strike since the growers could not bring in foreign labor. But they did not count on the U.S. government's sympathetic ear toward the large farm lobby

of California, and to the power of California's growers. Ten months after the much-hated bracero law had been allowed to lapse, Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, despite the strike, ordered a temporary lifting of the injunction against importing foreign labor for the grape growers of California. Some 20,000 Mexicans were promptly brought in to replace the strikers.[16]

The NFWA was furious, but virtually helpless. The coming of the Mexicans, however, had the effect of bringing almost all of the Filipino and Mexican-American grape pickers who had been skeptical of NFWA into its fold.

With so many people striking, Chavez, who was by this time the prime leader of NFWA, was desperate to find means to see that everyone was fed. He set up communal dining halls where donated food was served, and a store to hand out donated clothing and other goods. The strikers were enthusiastic enough, but some were underfed, and Chavez's attempts to get real support from the AFL-CIO and other organizations were frustrating. Equally frustrating were attempts to talk with the growers, who were still refusing to recognize the NFWA or to admit that a strike was under way.

Nor was the strike well received among the non-grower citizens of Delano. Chavez at first got much of his food and

16. New Republic, op. cit.

other goods from churches and their governing bodies. But the growers pressured the churches into cutting much of this aid off, and many churches complied with the growers' requests for fear of losing the large contributions the wealthiest planters regularly provided.[17]

Strikers were harassed by growers and their employees along the roads that bordered the fields. Growers even sprayed the picketers with insecticides, fertilizers, or rode up and down the roads on tractors to stir up choking dust clouds. Growers tried to keep secret from the strikers where picking would be done each day, and strikers would spend whole mornings driving around the farms of Delano looking for fields that were being worked. Growers also adopted the habit of moving pickers to the center of the fields when picketers arrived so the strikebreakers could not hear the NFWA workers.

One grower was able to obtain an injunction prohibiting the strikers from shouting at the Mexican pickers, but the NFWA appealed, and a higher court struck down the injunction.[18]

Delano had not at first totally rejected the NFWA's demands. When the group was merely trying to bargain for

17 Delano, op. cit.

18 Ibid.

higher wages and enforcement of the laws, most townspeople were sympathetic. The complaints of low pay and poor or non-existent sanitation facilities were "grievances that some quarters in Delano were willing to consider legitimate—until Chavez also demanded that the growers recognize the NFWA as bargaining agent for all the field workers in the area." [19]

Cries of "communism" began to be heard from the residents, but the NFWA was at least successful in convincing the people of the town quite early that the union was not communist-led or inspired.

> "Unlike earlier attempts to arouse California farm laborers, this one has succeeded in avoiding accusation of communist infiltration." [20]

But if the NFWA was spared that accusation, it was spared little else. Besides the harassment of picketers, growers and other unsympathetic townspeople did everything in their power to prevent any outside help to the strikers, while continuing to maintain publicly that there was no strike. Catholic clergymen who came to Delano to help the predominantly Catholic strikers were in many cases reprimanded by their superiors, who had been threatened with loss of the growers' contributions.

19 Ibid, pp. 22-23

20 Business Week, op. cit.

One of the priests, Victor Salandini, a local resident who tried to help the strikers, was sharply reprimanded by his bishop. Others were told to cease trying to help the NFWA or risk being sent to unpleasant posts. A writer in a large-circulation Catholic magazine cited this oppression of clergymen who wanted to help the strikers as one reason the NFWA was forced to turn to outsiders, and were in turn accused of bringing in "outside agitators."

> "When moderate critics such as Salandini...are effectively silenced and prevented from playing the role of local opposition, it appears specious at best when the growers cry 'outside agitation.' When, as happened in the Imperial Valley in 1961, hundreds of growers and their allies were deputized and roamed the area with shotguns across their arms, it should not be surprising that the local people asked support from outside." [21]

It did not seem that the pickers were asking so much, the growers and townspeople claimed. What aroused their ire was the idea that the growers, along with granting higher wages to the pickers, should also recognize a union. Besides enforcement of the state's field labor laws, the pickers were at first asking a rather small pay raise which would grant them a minimum of $1.40 per hour plus 25 cents per basket. The pre-strike rate was $1.10 per hour plus 10 cents per basket. [22]

21 "The Church and Delano," Jerome Wolf, Commonweal, April 29, 1966, p. 168-169.

22 New Republic, op. cit.

Why should the growers so stubbornly fight organization of their pickers? Although labor has historically had difficulty organizing unions, James P. Degnan feels there is more to it than that.

> "The most vehement opposition to unions comes from the richest and biggest growers...Many of the smaller growers are actually in favor of the union; and a few have quietly helped Chavez and the NFWA." [23]

Degnan presents an interesting reason why the biggest growers should fight the hardest against the NFWA, and it is not the reason that they would have to pay out more wage money. Quoting Dr. Paul Taylor, emeritus professor of economics at the University of California, Degnan explains that the largest growers have a monopoly on the land, and they fear that organized unions with lobbies in Congress might bring about Congressional investigations of the land monopolies in California. [24]

This is not a publicly-stated argument, naturally. What the growers say publicly about their reasons for not recognizing the union include the same groundless arguments used by factory owners in the 1930's.

> "The growers argue that unionizing workers is senseless in the face of increasing mechanization on the farms and, in fact, unions will only encourage automation. Cesar Chavez... recalls that the same arguments were used in the 30's by automobile companies to discourage Walter Reuther's efforts to organize the auto workers." [25]

23 Nation, op. cit.

24 Ibid.

25 "Squeezing California's Grape Growers," Joseph F. Gagen, Commonweal, June 14, 1968, p. 374.

Outside help at first, aside from the clergy, came mostly from civil rights workers, including members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and from Berkely radicals.

> "With its ethnic-minority flavor, grass-roots origins and seemingly clear-cut moral stance, the strike quickly captured the fancy of middle-aged, middle-class liberals in California and young activists of the New Left; it also won the support of church and labor groups." [26]

Hence the accusations of "outside agitation." But Chavez, finally recognizing that outside help was not enough so far, and that government help as well as national attention was needed, decided on a dramatic move pattered after the 1964 Selma march. Strikers would march to the capitol at Sacramento, arrive on Easter Sunday, 1966, and hopefully would have the governor and other top state officials to speak along with labor union and church leaders.

Also, shortly before he hit on the idea of the Sacramento march, Chavez had decided that some of the growers must be boycotted. Strikers were sent to large cities around the country to get support for a boycott of Schenley's liquor to begin with, the company farm at Delano being one of the largest. The Schenley boycott was the initiation of boycott tactics which continue to the present in the grape strike.

Several hundred strikers set out for Sacramento three weeks before Easter Sunday, accompanied by the press and filmed by network television cameras. Along the way, they picked up

26 Newsweek, op. cit.

sympathizers and more press. The march was joyous and had a distinctly religious flavor, again similar to the Selma march.

Three days before the marchers reached Sacramento, Schenley's capitulated. The arrival in the capital was ecstatic, although Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown had refused to come, stating he had a prior commitment to spend the holidays with his family at Frank Sinatra's house.

The march was hailed as a definite success and huge moral victory. The nation had viewed the strikers at the capitol rally on television and had read of the march in newspapers and magazines. And the march gained for the NFWA more members; the post-march membership rose to 3,000 families.[27]

And Walter Reuther, who had been at Sacramento for the arrival of the marchers, followed the strikers back to Delano to promise $5,000 in United Auto Workers union funds per month for the NFWA.[28]

The first successes had come. The NFWA now felt it could go on, that the goals were in sight, not just the immediate gains of higher wages and better working conditions, but full realization of Chavez's dream.

"Chavez's idea is not primarily to win small benefits or even long contracts. He is out to develop a community of

27 "March of Migrants," Life, April 29, 1966, p. 93-94

28 "Labor Comes To Life In the Grape Fields," New Republic, April 23, 1966, p. 6-7.

farm workers, and his methods are more like a civil rights worker's in Mississippi or a ghetto organizer's in Chicago than a union leader's." [29]

[29] Kopkind, New Republic, op. cit.

III. THE MOUSE THAT ROARED

"Viva Huelga! Viva Cesar Chavez!"

Cesar Chavez is a man of the people he serves. Along with other "Okies," his family came to California in the dry and hungry 1930's, following the rumors of work. During the depression, when there was no work, Chavez and his brother fished and gathered wild greens, or looked for tinfoil to sell to get shoes and sweatshirts. When there was work, it often cost the family more money for transportation to the job than they earned in one day.

Chavez doesn't remember how many schools he attended, but he got about as far as the eighth grade. He desired more education, but was forced to work instead of going to school, so that the family could eat. He satisfied himself with reading as much as possible and learning what was going on around him.

When in his early twenties, Chavez was hired by a community organization agency to organize Mexican-American groups in areas of California for welfare rights, voting registration, adult education, and community betterment. He spent some ten years with this group, learning how to organize communities. It was in these years, seeing the poor conditions under which most farm laborers lived and worked, that he developed his dream. He quit his job with the agency to go home to Delano to organize his people.

Neither was Chavez a stranger to ethnic prejudice in California as one of the barriers to bringing Mexican-Americans into the mainstream of American life. As a sailor during World War II, he was once arrested while home on leave in Delano for sitting in the "white only" section of a movie theater.[30]

A mild-mannered and soft-spoken man, he is nevertheless persuasive and his influence is extensive. He has become a symbol, a near object of worship to his followers, while at the same time trying to fend off any personal praise or attention. A strict believer in nonviolence, he has used his strong influence to keep the strike as nonviolent as possible. When violence has broken out, he has been quick to act to try to stop it. Once after a particularly fierce attempt to carry the strike to the Coachella Valley, where violence erupted on both sides, Chavez went on a 30-day fast to remind his followers of his nonviolent feelings.

Although at present he is somewhat in check, since the more experienced organizers of the AFL-CIO have taken the grape strike in hand, he still remains as the symbolic leader of the movement, and is usually given most of the credit for its limited success. His duties now are mostly of speechmaking and negotiating, but he is still greeted with those enthusiastic shouts of "Viva Cesar Chavez! Viva Huelga!" wherever he goes.

30 Nation, op. cit.

"Don't Buy Grapes!" (I)

The boycott of Schenley's that had begun before the march to Sacramento had been a tremendous victory for the NFWA. The strikers saw it as the first breakthrough in a long chain of grower capitulations that would have to take place. They felt strengthened and powerful.

The surrender of Schenley's, which owned 12,400 acres in Delano, was also looked upon by outsiders as an important victory for the NFWA and as a highly significant event, even "a historical landmark in the struggle of migrant workers and settled field laborers." [31]

The tactics of the Schenley boycott were practice ground for the methods which would be used throughout the rest of the strike.

> "...pickets were thrown around supermarkets which carried Schenley products; two million pledge-and-protest cards were distributed around the country; sixteen NFWA workers were dispatched, with $75 each, to the 16 largest U.S. cities to set up boycott offices. Outside sympathizers set up 117 committees to spread the boycott word." [32]

After the boycott began, Schenley's stock slipped eight points on the New York Stock Exchange, and the company gave in mostly because of the bad publicity it had received. [33]

31 Editorial, Christian Century, April 27, 1966, p. 515

32 "Labor Comes To Life In the Grape Fields," New Republic, op. cit.

33 Ibid.

Schenley's Delano farm agreed to recognize the pickers' right to bargain collectively for a contract.[34] With this success firmly behind it, the NFWA then began a boycott of the products of another company which had a large farm in Delano, the DiGiorgio Corporation.[35] A national boycott of DiGiorgio's S & W Foods and TreeSweet fruit juices was initiated, and Christian Brothers Farms in Delano promptly recognized the NFWA for fear of being next.[36]

With this, staid Business Week announced that "California's $3.5 billion agricultural industry watched with stunned apprehension" the union's successes.[37]

Success also brought more support from the AFL-CIO. In August of 1966 the NFWA went out of business, merged with the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, and formed the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee—UFWOC.[38]

From the spring of 1966 until the spring of 1968, the union went on to make gains of contracts with the smaller growers, but most of the biggest ones continued to hold out.

The UFWOC and its supporters began to lobby to have farm labor included in the 1935 National Labor Relations Act

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Business Week, op. cit.

38 New Republic, Letter to Editor from William L. Kircher, Director of Organization, AFL-CIO, Jan. 6, 1968, p. 46-47

which stipulates that "most industrial employers must bargain collectively with their workers if a majority of the workers prove they want to bargain, and then must sign a contract with the workers' union. But farm employers have managed, thanks in part to a powerful lobby, to remain exempt from the law since it was enacted in 1935." [39]

A "Benchmark Exemption"

If farm workers had been included in the NLR Act in 1935, the grape strike would never have had to happen. Nor would the United States have so many poverty-stricken farm laborers. Without the right to organize, they cannot even receive decent wages; planters can get away with paying farm workers the lowest amount possible. Congress could help by requiring that farm labor be paid the national minimum wage, but again the powerful farm lobby has prevented this legislation every time it has been introduced.

But why is it that so large a bloc of the American working class was excluded from such an important bill, the 1935 NLR Act?

"The ostensible reason was that farm workers are not engaged in interstate commerce, but the actual power of farm state solons stymied any real discussion of the farm problem. Ever since, the farm lobby has used this benchmark

39 "La Huelga Becomes La Causa," Dick Meister, New York Times Magazine, Nov. 17, 1968, p. 52-109

exemption to frustrate any minimum-wage or collective bargaining legislation designed to benefit farm workers." [40]

Can a lobby be so powerful? The answer seems to be that it can, with the aid of Congressmen from farming states, whose campaigns are often well supported by wealthy planters. In addition, there has been no farm workers' lobby in opposition or no unit of Congressmen to speak for farm workers until the past few years. UFWOC now has a lobby, but it is not yet powerful enough to overcome the farm owners' lobby. Dunne is not the only observer of the strike who blames the farm lobby for keeping farm laborers out of the NLR Act.

"It is probably true that the powerful farm lobby has prevented farm labor from being included in the National Labor Relations Act. It was included in the original bill but for reasons which have never been made clear, it was later taken out, possibly with the intention that it would be replaced. It never has been." [41]

Apparently through some cloakroom maneuvering, farm labor was cheated out of the rights of other workers 34 years ago, and now must struggle for those rights as if no one had ever thought to include farm workers in the NLR Act.

"It may be, as Chavez himself has recently said, that what is most needed now is federal legislation to extend collective bargaining rights to farm workers, a protection given to non-agricultural workers under the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. As matters currently stand, an incipient farm union has to struggle with an employer not

[40] Delano, op. cit., p. 100-101

[41] Dr. Smith interview

only for improved working conditions but for that right of recognition which unions in most industries can assume." [42]

In addition, UFWOC is forced to lobby for the final death of the periodically resurrected bracero law. With growers in California able to bring in Mexicans to work the crops, and with UFWOC members unable to induce many of the Mexicans not to work, the fact of the strikers not working has had little effect on the growers. It was mentioned earlier that growers were able to convince the government to temporarily lift the ban on bringing in foreign labor.

"Agriculture is the only industry which has demanded that the government supply it with a captive foreign-labor force when American citizens have refused to accept the appalling wages and conditions that industrial farming offered them." [43]

Partly due to exclusion from the NLR Act, partly to the bracero law, and partly to violence in the Coachalla Valley strike attempt, the UFWOC's tactics went into transition.

"Don't Buy Grapes!" (II)

By March of 1968, UFWOC had forced nine of the largest of Delano's growers to give in, including DiGiorgio Corporation, and had obtained some important wage raises.

[42] "Grapes of Wrath," Martin Duberman, New Republic, Dec. 2, 1967, p. 23-26

[43] Nation, op. cit.

"The movement...has been unexpectedly successful in its attack on the grapes-of-wrath misery to which pickers, mostly migrant workers, have been subjected for generations. Thus far, nine growers--most notably Schenley Industries, the Gallo Winery, Christian Brothers and the DiGiorgio Corp.--have signed contracts with the NFWA (UFWOC), elevating a laborer's average pay from $1.10 an hour to a minimum of $1.75. Other benefits such as medical care have also been won, along with more habitable work camps for the men and women who once lived in tar-paper shacks, battered buses, overaged trucks, in haystacks or under bridges." [44]

The contracts stipulating a minimum of $1.75 an hour were higher than what UFWOC had asked in the beginning, and with such successes behind it, the union decided in June of 1968 to spread its wings. [45]

Organizers would go to the Coachella Valley, the southern part of California's farming valleys, where the picking season began. The season went up the valleys every year to the Delano area, and UFWOC planned to follow the season.

But unexpectedly, violence broke out on both sides. Beatings, shootings, bomb throwings and fire settings against the camps of both growers and strikers occurred almost uncontrollably. Abruptly, Chavez called a halt to the Coachella Valley organizing and went on his famed 30-day fast to reinforce his belief in nonviolence. But the abortive attempt taught UFWOC two very important things:

44 "Cesar's War," Time, March 22, 1968, p. 23.

45 "Seething Vineyards," Newsweek, July 8, 1968, p. 62.

"The Coachella Valley experience has proved once again that California's table-grape growers will never accept an organized work force so long as the green-card (bracero) system provides a ready supply of cheap, docile labor to take the place of domestic workers who prefer to work as members of Chavez's UFWOC. This explains the vital necessity of UFWOC's two-pronged drive: to put pressure on Federal authorities to do something about the system that permits green-carders to be used as strike-breakers, and to convince the American public to back the nationwide boycott of table grapes until the battle for justice is won." [46]

"...when violence broke out, it (the Coachella Valley attempt) was curtailed. This also put an end to strike activities for that season. When the next season began, the whole activities were directed toward the national boycott. There is now no actual strike in the form of a work stoppage." [47]

The decision to change tactics from work stoppage to national boycott was mostly Chavez's. With his nonviolent attitudes, he had despaired of reaching UFWOC's goal peacefully, or of arousing the conscience of the nation and of Congress by ordinary strike methods. UFWOC members are now working, mostly on the farms which have granted contracts. The union's leadership is running the boycott.

"The activity is totally directed toward the boycott now. You can't have a strike when they keep bringing in scab labor." [48]

[46] "More Grapes of Wrath," Victor Salandini, America, Aug. 17, 1968, p. 104-105

[47] Dr. Smith interview

[48] Mrs. Lou Becker, chairman, Atlanta grape boycott organizing committee, in interview Feb. 18, 1969

Today Delano, Tomorrow the World

With renewal of nationwide boycott efforts, UFWOC set out to boycott only the grapes of the growers who had not yet agreed to bargain with the union. The largest of these, indeed the largest grape grower in California, was Giumarra Corporation.

When UFWOC had finally been successful in convincing the government that braceros should not be brought into California because a strike was on, the temporary reinstatement of the law was lifted. But Giumarra, apparently through some handy political maneuvering, somehow finagled to get a court order in June of 1968 that "temporarily prohibited U.S. authorities from enforcing the law against the importation of Mexican laborers...into fields where a labor dispute is in progress." [48]

With this, indignation of outsiders mounted. California's hitherto reluctant Catholic hierarchy finally jumped into the fray in June and issued a resolution urging inclusion of farm workers in the NLR Act. [49]

Just when the boycott of Giumarra's grapes began to be successful, however, even though the company was using braceros to get its work done, Giumarra arranged with other growers to

[48] "Seething Vineyards," Newsweek, op. cit.

[49] "California Bishops and the NLRA," America, June 15, 1968, p. 764

use their labels on its grapes. In the face of this blatant deception, Chavez was forced to order the boycott of all California table grapes.[50]

But why involve all grape growers?

> "...In one way, the growers brought it on themselves, by allowing Giumarra to use their labels on some of the containers the corporation shipped to market, in an attempt to hide them from strikers. But they would have been involved anyway; the union was faced with nearly insurmountable problems in trying to single out one grower among many who shipped grapes to the same stores. 'It was the only way we could do it—take on the whole industry,' says Chavez. 'The grape itself had to become a label.'"[51]

And become a label it did.

In June, UFWOC was contending against 23 other grape growers besides Giumarra.[52] The union began to take its case not just to the country, but to the world.

> "Overseas, the boycott is now becoming quite successful. The London and Stockholm dockworkers are refusing to handle ships that are carrying California grapes. Transport workers in most European countries have voted to blockade grapes. On February 11, (1969) the International Transport Workers Association issued a request to all affiliate organizations to begin boycott and blockade actions wherever possible. This has already begun. Two major steamship lines have refused to carry California grapes. The thing spreads more every day."[53]

By late June, table grapes had "almost disappeared" from the New York market, through which 20 per cent of the grapes had moved, and also from Boston.[54] The growers then began a

50 "Seething Vineyards," Newsweek, op. cit.

51 New York Times Magazine, op. cit.

52 "Squeezing California's Grape Growers," Commonweal, op. cit.

53 Mrs. Becker interview

concerted effort to ship grapes into areas where they had seldom before been shipped in such quantities, particularly Southern cities such as Atlanta, Nashville, and Miami, which received an estimated three times as many grapes as they had before.[55]

In Atlanta, after a beginning which seemed nearly hopeless, boycott organizers were able to convince grocery store unions and Teamsters union members who delivered to grocery stores to put pressure on store managers not to sell grapes. The organizers felt it was better to convince the stores not to sell the grapes than to try to convince the public not to buy them. Pressure from unions connected with grocery stores was effective.

> "The five major grocery chains in Atlanta, which represent 80 to 85 per cent of the grocery market in the area, have stopped putting grapes on the shelves. Nashville is the only other Southern city where the boycott has been effective, except for some success in Miami. It has not yet spread to the rest of the South, but efforts will begin in the spring to do this. The success in New York is slipping, but boycott efforts will be renewed there in the spring, too. And all of Michigan is now grapeless due to the efforts of a senator."[56]

Mrs. Becker added the information that one of the five chains with regional offices in Atlanta has agreed to sell no grapes in any of its stores in Georgia.[57]

55 Dr. Smith interview

56 Ibid.

57 Mrs. Becker interview

Yes, But Will It Work?

The boycott of summer 1968 is considered a great success, possibly costing the growers $2 to $2.5 million.[58] It was termed "possibly the most extensive boycott in American history."[59]

The pay of the grape pickers is "up considerably" to a base of $2.55 per hour at present, with bonuses often making the total $3 per hour. Workers' contracts also provide "some of the first" employer-paid holidays, vacations, pensions and health-care services in the history of farm labor, and among other things, require growers to provide nonprofit housing, field toilets, drinking water, and tools.[60]

UFWOC, however, realizes there is still much work to be done.

> "However unprecedented, the concrete gains of the farm workers have been relatively slight: eleven contracts or union-recognition agreements from the 100 or so growers involved, covering only a few thousands of California's 300,000 farm workers; and, because of strike pressures, an increase of about 25 cents an hour in the base pay of most vineyard workers."[61]

The activities of UFWOC are expensive, and must be supported by the AFL-CIO and whatever outside help Chavez can get for his workers who are not working in the fields. The union needs $50,000 per month to house and feed the strikers. In March of 1968, the AFL-CIO was providing $10,000

58 New York Times Magazine, op. cit.

59 Ibid

60 Ibid

61 Ibid

per month and the United Auto Workers $7,500 per month.[62] Total AFL-CIO support to UFWOC had reached $2 million by January of 1968.[63]

The main holdout is Giumarra, but "if he goes, so will they all go."[64] Mrs. Becker stated the same opinion.[65]

UFWOO is conducting the boycott as if it were a foregone conclusion that it will be a total success ending in the capitulation of Giumarra and the rest of the growers, or that first it might result in the inclusion of farm workers in the NLR Act. This success, however, is not certain.

> "It is unknown whether this will be successful. They (the growers) can store grapes up to six months, and they now have a lot in storage. We do not know whether this is due to the boycott or simply a large crop. But we are working from the tenet that it will be successful. If it is not...well, I don't know what tactic would follow."[66]

It could be that growers will flood the market with grapes now in storage, or could hold as many grapes as possible in hopes that UFWOC will collapse or give up the boycott before the grapes are spoiled. Mrs. Becker, however, is confident that the growers will give in.

> "I think it is very possible that the boycott will be a success. It is to the growers' own best interests that the pickers be organized. They will save more money by allowing them to organize. When it hits them hard enough in the pocket, they'll give in."[67]

62 "Cesar's War," Time, op. cit.

63 Kircher letter to Editor, New Republic, op. cit.

64 Dr. Smith interview

65 Mrs. Becker interview

66 Dr. Smith interview

67 Mrs. Becker interview

The strikers, too, seem confident. They believe they have "enough momentum now to win the growers' acceptance." [68]

The renewed boycott drive is already under way. It began with an attempt to persuade union workers of other countries to blockade and boycott California grapes. Organizers in the South hope to spread the boycott over the entire region this year, and a planning meeting is scheduled here in Atlanta Feb. 28-March 2 for that purpose. [69]

With the boycott, UFWOC has shown itself to be something different, a new kind of union, and has demonstrated that this new kind of union can be effective for its members.

> "It is far from the individualistic idea the unions had half a century ago. The end of the process was simply to give workers a leg up to the middle class, and be done with them. The new way is quite different—to give workers a decent income and all the while build a society in which they can participate in the decisions which will affect their lives. As it is now, they must leave those decisions to the growers." [70]

[68] "Labor Comes To Life In the Grape Fields," New Republic, op. cit.

[69] Mrs. Becker interview

[70] "Grape Pickers' Strike: War In California," Kopkind, New Republic, op. cit.

IV. "IT IS NOT THE BEGINNING OF THE END; IT IS NOT EVEN THE END OF THE BEGINNING." [71]

The Springboard

The successes of UFWOC have given rise to hopes in the AFL-CIO, among other farm laborers, and among sympathizers to labor, that perhaps at long last farm labor can be unionized everywhere in the United States.

Before UFWOC, there had been little hope that this would occur in the foreseeable future. But UFWOC has pointed the way, has showed that it can be done and how it can be done; and has raised such a clamor that farm labor can no longer be ignored.

According to Chavez's dream, when the goal of the grape pickers is realized, his workers will spread out to farms everywhere to organize unions for the workers. [72] This will still be necessary even should Congress at last place farm labor under the provisions of the NLR Act, for the mere right to bargain collectively does not insure that unions will be automatically formed. Most of the South's cotton mills, for instance, have never been unionized although the millworkers have had the right to bargain collectively since 1935.

Most observers agree that on the grape strike hinge the

[71] Cesar Chavez, as quoted in Delano, op. cit.

[72] Dr. Smith interview

the possibilities of organizing all farm labor in the country, however long it might take.

> "What heppens in the grape arbors of California will have a delayed but inevitable effect on workers in the cotton fields of Texas, the beet farms of Colorado, the fruit groves of Michigan and Wisconsin." [73]

> "The attempts to organize farm workers from New Jersey to California, almost all of them dropouts from the Great Society, currently hinge on the outcome of the grape strike—the first real chance of a breakthrough that many disillusioned workers believe the growers will not allow to happen." [74]

Mrs. Becker concurred strongly with this theory, but added that the important thing is to get farm workers included in the NLR Act. She stated that supposing the grape strike is successful and peach pickers then wanted to organize, "we'd probably end up with a peach boycott" unless the pickers first had the right to collective bargaining. [75]

The grape pickers, said one writer, have laid a solid foundation for farm unionization and "they are not about to quit." [76]

And since the voices of those who would unionize farm labor are no longer going unheard, the possibility that farm labor everywhere might be unionized reaches into many aspects of American life.

73 Christian Century, op. cit.

74 "The Grape Strike," Commonweal, Jan. 28, 1966, p. 491

75 Mrs. Becker interview

76 New York Times Magazine, op. cit.

"The grape pickers' strike can have political as well as economic and social ramifications. What began no bigger than a grape picker's hand begins to take on the dimensions of a sociological and political cloud." [77]

Some Hopes and Some Fears: Conclusion

While Giumarra and the other holdout grape growers have steadfastly claimed that they will lose profits if their workers are unionized, that they are so squeezed now they cannot possibly spend any more money, that unionization would be the end of the growers, and that anyway the workers don't need a union because the growers pay them well enough, UFWOC's membership has grown to 17,000. Since the bracero law lapsed in December, 1964, California's agricultural income has increased from $3.7 billion to $4.08 billion, and the per farm net income has increased 14 per cent over the 1960-1964 average. [78]

In addition to what national attention the strike had already received, it became a campaign issue in 1968, and was taken up most enthusiastically by the late Robert Kennedy and by Eugene McCarthy. After the nomination, Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie also voiced support for UFWOC and farm labor unions in general.

"This is a crucial development, for political action is essential to Chavez's strikers. Like the industrial workers of the nineteen-thirties, they need the protection of the National Labor Relations Act to allow them to win what they

[77] Christian Century, op. cit.

[78] Delano, op. cit., p. 170

are struggling for on the picket line by simply casting a ballot in a union election or signing a union authorization card, and they need a law to protect them from 'green card' strikebreakers."[79]

But how likely is it that such laws will be passed? A bill introduced in Congress last year that would have given farm workers the protection of the NLR Act was not even voted out of committee. Senators Ted Kennedy and Fred Harris are strongly in favor of the bill, but it is unknown what their—or any other Congressman's—plans might be to reintroduce the bill this year. The strikers hope this year's even more extended boycott will convince Congress that the farm laborers have support and the weight of public opinion behind them, and will induce the lawmakers to act accordingly.[80]

The AFL-CIO has been lobbying for the NLR Act legislation "very actively and aggressively." Union president George Meany has appeared before Congressional subcommittees and high administration officials "as many or more times in the last year on this matter than on any other single item of legislation except Social Security."[81]

Despite its efforts, however, the union has not been able to get a promise of action or even an attempt at action. It would seem that the AFL-CIO needs the backing of the public to get results from Congress. Whether this support will come depends, as noted, on the success of the boycott. As recently as December, 1967, however, one writer held out little hope for

79 New York Times Magazine, op. cit.
80 Dr. Smith interview
81 Kircher letter to Editor, New Republic, op. cit.

this.

> "...the most direct tactic for achieving the unionization of farm laborers may be to pressure Congress into amending the National Labor Relations Act so that agricultural workers will be included under its collective bargaining guarantees. Such a campaign is unlikely to develop. There is too much distrust on the Left of federal programs and bureaucracies, too little interest on the part of organized labor, too negative a mood in Congress." [82]

Nor does the change of administration bring hope to the union. Chavez is reported to have resigned himself to at least another four years of inaction by Congress and of having to depend on the union's efforts alone—that is, success of the boycott, which still does not offer much hope to other farm laborers. Chavez claims that President Richard Nixon will neither initiate nor encourage legislation to stop the bracero system once and for all, or to include farm workers in the NLR Act. Nixon outraged the strikers and their supporters by "gleefully" popping grapes into his mouth during a campaign political rally in California. [83] Thus the reason for the protest signs greeting Nixon throughout the rest of the campaign with "Nixon eats grapes."

The future, then, is at the same time hopeful and bleak. Hopeful, because for the first time some farm labor has been unionized somewhere, a thing once deemed impossible; bleak because of the strength of the growers, the power of the farm lobby in Congress, and the difficulty of arousing the American public to support the cause.

82 "Grapes of Wrath," New Republic, op. cit.

83 New York Times Magazine, op. cit.

The grape strike is a drop in the bucket, a mere snowflake in a vast furnace, a small match flaring in a bottomless well of darkness; but it is there, nevertheless. It is too late for it to be stopped completely. The bucket will fill drop by drop, the snowflakes will gradually cover and cool the furnace, and somewhere a light will gleam at the bottom of the well. The ball is in motion, it gathers momentum, and it is toppling the biggest obstacles placed in its path.

> "Some day the strike at Delano will end. What a pity—and what an insult to human dignity—that it ever had to be called." [84]

[84] "From Delano To Sacramento," America, op. cit.

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S . . .

Change and Clothes Costly, Sisters Find; They Like the New Look

By PAUL MARTIN
rter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

redhead, who favors white blue skirts, was discussing fashion. she said. "I was in New York the and there on Madison Avenue were ung girls in their new maxi coats and asses. We threw that outfit out two

nic indeed. The lady who was talking Eleanor Quin of the Sisters of St. Jo- Newark, N.J. Within the past two e and a majority of the 160,000 other ss the nation discarded their maxi- abits and steel-rimmed glasses in an lower the barrier between them and dents and acquaintances. But what hionable two years ago isn't neces- o these days, some avant-garde nuns scovered. So they have to devote some w to chores they used to avoid: Shop stylish clothes, hemming skirts and

's just one of the problems nuns have red since they started wearing civies. ave encountered a recalcitrant cardinal rying to force them back into uniform. ve run into former students and others shocked by the change. And they have ed that it takes time and money to hionable

Hour Adjustment

so, most of the nuns who have made ge are glad they did. "We were iso- ofessionally and in our apostolic work," ter Rita Donahue, president of Notre College on New York's Staten Island. nded to be viewed as religious rather rofessional women when we wore the I never felt it at the time, but it took me out a half hour to adjust to the change realize the barrier that had existed be- ne and the rest of the world."

r Rita, a middle-aged woman who be- o the Sisters of the Congregation of Dame of Montreal, now has a small of knee-length dresses and the only

Critics insist that the unexpected Senate proposal would damage routine transactions by many concerns. They say, for example that closely held firms often use the device in buying out a shareholder or shareholder's estate.

* * *

UNCLE SAM GLADLY refunds taxes paid in error, he says, but holds his own in court.

Few taxpayers have doubted the IRS's zeal in nipping off every tax dollar due the Government. But are the taxmen as diligent in discovering overpayments and sending the money back? Yes, indeed, assures Commissioner Thrower. In fiscal 1969, he says, the IRS returned $140.2 million that had been paid in error by two million taxpayers. That's up a whopping 49% from the $94.3 million sent 1.5 million taxpayers in fiscal 1967.

Other figures show that the Government has a pretty good record in winning tax money it considers due. According to recent Congressional testimony, the Tax Division of the Justice Department wins three out of four cases it takes to court. In the Supreme Court, the Government batted .700 in tax cases in fiscal 1968.

* * *

TAXES IN THE SOUTH weigh heavily on the poor, the Southern Regional Council says.

"Southern states (1) have lower incomes, and (2) out of lower incomes, take a higher share in regressive taxes than the average state," concludes the Atlanta-based council, best known for its voter registration and civil rights work. In every Southern state except Texas and Virginia, the sales tax bite exceeds the national average of $32.08 per $1,000 of personal income. In Mississippi, the figure is $57.72, and the levy raises 78% of state tax receipts. (Sales taxes are usually termed regressive because the poor spend a larger part of their income on items taxed.)

The council finds the income tax "of major importance" only in Virginia and North Carolina. Southern states rely less on income taxes and levy them at less progressive rates, it says. Lacking other sources, many Southern localities are forced to depend heavily on user charges and fees.

The "outmoded tax structures" leave many Southern states unable to deal with "a host of unmet public needs," the council declares.

* * *

EXPENSE ACCOUNTS have a higher ceiling now. An employe who gets a fixed per diem for travel, entertainment or gift expenses isn't required to account in detail for the outlays unless the per diem exceeds the higher of $25 or

discovery. Their nets quickly became fouled with oil and tar—thick sticky globs up to three inches in diameter. Day after day along a 630-mile stretch they cleaned the nets with solvent only to see them gum up again a few hours later. Finally they abandoned the project in disgust because they were picking up three times as much oil as seaweed.

It wasn't an isolated incident. "Just in the past few years we're finding we can't sail anywhere in the Atlantic—even a thousand miles from land—without finding oil," says Howard Sanders, senior scientist at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, which operates the Chain.

Threat to Marine Life

As the vessel's unhappy voyage suggests, world-wide oil pollution—even diluted by the ocean's vastness—is nearing crisis proportions. Beach-goers in such widely scattered spots as the New Jersey shore, Bermuda, the Riviera and the Red Sea complain of gooey black lumps of jellied oil that frequently wash up on shore. Floating oil spills—almost always of unknown origin—each year kill many thousands of seabirds in North Atlantic and Mediterranean waters, according to surveys by conservationists. Indeed, scientists believe the growing quantity of oil dumped into the sea is threatening marine life of all sorts—and perhaps man as well. The oil industry itself is exhibiting mounting concern.

Where's all the oil coming from?

Ships that routinely discharge oil wastes at sea are the biggest offenders, pollution control experts agree. Tankers, for example, wash out their cargo tanks with salt water after each load. Not infrequently, the washings—along with a heavy residue of oil—are dumped into the ocean. Moreover, passenger liners and freighters often fill their empty fuel tanks with water for ballasting purposes. This highly contaminated mixture is always pumped overboard before the ships enter port to refuel. And vessels of all types normally discharge oily bilge sludges over the side.

Other major sources of unwanted oil include spills from manufacturing plants, refineries and oil terminals. In Boston Harbor alone, a spill of several tons of oil can be expected every three weeks, according to officials of the Massachusetts Division of Natural Resources. Seepage from offshore drilling rigs and spills from wrecks of oil barges and tankers also add to pollution levels.

A Day-to-Day Problem

In recent years, a few widely publicized disasters—like the grounding of the supertanker [illegible] off Britain and the blowout of a

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January 16, 1969

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

As one of the leaders who made such a tremendous contribution to our OEO Labor Training Conference at the Flagship Hotel in Galveston, Texas, you will be pleased about what one of the trainees told his fellow delegates.

Rising to his feet in Friday's general assembly, he faltered, saying in effect: "I may be out of order, but last night I got to thinking what this conference has done for me. Here we are together, Negroes, whites, Mexican-Americans. We have lived together for a week, worked together, eaten together, and had a good time together. Men and women from different unions, different kinds of communities and different states. What we have proved is that we have become a united force, and if we can weld this force together when we get back home, God Almighty, what we can do for the poor!"

To me, this speech demonstrated that you along with the other distinguished leaders, had really communicated and that together we had achieved the purposes of the eight day seminar. You have helped us off to a running start and I am extremely grateful for the valuable part you played in making this program the success it was.

Cordially yours,

Jim

James R. Noland
Project Coordinator

JRN/wmt

Make file

January 16, 1969

Mrs. Ethel Dumbauld
Office Supervisor
Center for Human Resources
University of Houston
Houston, Texas 77004

Dear Mrs. Dumbauld:

Enclosed is my expense statement for the recent eight-day OEO Labor Training Project Seminar. You will note that I have not figured the per diem thinking that you could more accurately calculate the exact number of days by your own formula.

It was a pleasure to get to meet you in Galveston and I trust you will give my good regards to the other members of the staff.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
Center for Human Resources

College of Business Administration
Cullen Blvd., Houston, Texas 77004
Area Code 713, 748-6600, Ext. 1137, 38, 39

December 13, 1968

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
North West Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Enclosed I am sending some material on our labor training program and on the Flagship Hotel where the meeting will be held from January 4th through the 11th.

Earl Williams and I are delighted, of course, that you will be able to free your calendar to help us during this important residential training period.

As we discussed it by telephone, we want you to speak on Wednesday evening on The Victims of Welfare in the eight state region. In your address, we hope you will give particular attention to the welfare trap which Silberman, in his book, Crisis in Black and White, called welfare colonialism. The way in which you approached this for the Southern Labor School seems to be quite appropriate for our trainees.

In addition to this, you know that your major role will be as a discussion leader for the group from Mississippi. There will be ten people here and they, hopefully, will cover the various central bodies over the state. I gave you a list of these, as you recall, by telephone; and, as soon as we get more specific date I will send this to you also.

For your contribution, the University will be able to pay you a modest honorarium of $400.00 for the eight days plus your travel and a per diem of $16.00. Earl and I both are apologetic for such a small amount, but in view of the budget cuts which were made by the OEO, this is all which we can pay at this time.

I personally am looking forward to renewing our acquaintanceship after all of these long years in between and getting to know more about you and your family.

With best wishes!

Very truly yours,

James R. Noland
Project Coordinator

JRN/wmt

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
Center for Human Resources

College of Business Administration
Cullen Blvd., Houston, Texas 77004
Area Code 713, 748-6600, Ext. 1137, 38, 39

December 28, 1968

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Enclosed please find a copy of our Eight Day Seminar Schedule. The date and time for your presentation has been checked in red. We are grateful for your willing cooperation and look forward to having you on the program.

Have a safe trip to Galveston!

Cordially yours,

Jim

James R. Noland
Project Coordinator

JRN:ecd
Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
Center for Human Resources

College of Business Administration
Cullen Blvd., Houston, Texas 77004
Area Code 713, 748-6600, Ext. 1137, 38, 39

December 26, 1968

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I hope that you have had a very merry Christmas and that the New Year will bring you prosperity and good health.

Every day brings us closer to our OEO Labor Training Seminar to begin in Galveston on the 4th of January. We are certainly keyed up and looking forward to the significant role which you will play as a discussion leader and as a speaker.

In addition to what we have discussed in the past, we have one additional assignment for which we need your leadership. On Friday afternoon, we will be talking with the trainees about what to do when they get back home. Beginning at 3:35, we have built in a two hour panel and discussion period, focusing on the five following areas:

1. How to help the poor locate and use community resources;
2. The role and function of an OEO Committee and Central Body;
3. How to work in CAP as a volunteer committeeman or board member;
4. Educational programs in the local union;
5. Specific projects for local unions.

Emory, we would like to have you take the fifth subject, "Specific Projects For Local Unions." Please plan to take about eight to ten minutes to elaborate on your subject and then allow three or four minutes for group clarification and response. After the entire panel has completed its presentation, there will be another opportunity for further questions addressed to the total group.

After you arrive in Galveston, it may be that it would be helpful for the panel members to get together one evening to do some advanced planning. Other members of the panel will be Jim Nelson, Bob Winn, Bill Kemsley, and George Guernsey.

Should you have any questions, please call me, reverse at 748-6600, Extension 1137. In the meantime, we will be looking forward to seeing you at our ten o'clock staff meeting on Saturday, January 4, if not before.

Very truly yours,

Jim

James R. Noland
Project Coordinator

JRN:ecd

Saturday Review 9/20/69

Southern Labor School

The Politics of Resegregation

by GARY ORFIELD

A year ago it seemed that this September would bring the decisive victory against school segregation in the South. Southern school administrators, facing a firm deadline set by the Johnson administration in October 1967, resigned themselves to the inevitable, and prepared belatedly to accept the law of the land. The growing willingness of Southern educators to abide by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was an immensely hopeful sign. Now, however, political decisions made by the Nixon administration have jeopardized that hope and the educational future of the Southern black population.

When, on July 3, the administration announced the revision of the guidelines governing school desegregation, it was clearly a victory for South Carolina's Senator Strom Thurmond and his segregationist allies. And when last month the Legal Defense and Education Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People broke publicly with federal civil rights officials over a delay in Mississippi desegregation, it was the result of months of drift toward the Southern point of view by the administration.

The school desegregation guidelines are the regulations designed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to implement the most important provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The act required federal agencies to end all financial aid to local school districts that refused to end discrimination, and the guidelines spelled out just what the South had to do to retain needed federal aid. The guidelines, denounced as excessively timid by most civil rights leaders, asked significant annual progress in each school district toward the creation of a unified, nonracial school system. Two years ago, the Johnson administration set this fall as the deadline for completing the task, except in a few districts which could demonstrate special problems.

GARY ORFIELD is assistant professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University, and is the author of *The Reconstruction of Southern Education*. This summer he toured Southern state capitals, talking with state school administrators about the effects of the Nixon administration's civil rights policies.

During the Presidential campaign last year, most Northerners ignored the political arguments about the school guidelines and took little note of the attacks on them coming from both George Wallace and Richard Nixon. Since his election, however, Nixon has come under heavy pressure from Southern politicians who were responsible for swinging five Southern states into the Republican camp. As the September deadline approached, Southern political pressure on President Nixon became intense and generated a bitter internal debate in his administration. Finally, HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch, who had urged strict enforcement, was overruled and the September deadline was scrapped. Most enforcement powers were taken from HEW, and primary reliance was once again placed on the federal courts of the South, the very institutions that had failed so seriously between 1954 and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act.

Although the new school guidelines were intended to demonstrate the administration's appreciation for the electoral votes of five Southern states, there was little jubilation among Dixie school officials. Southern educators, who thought they were finally finished with the desegregation battle, realized that the President had once again politicized the issue. It was painfully obvious to them—veterans of fifteen years of slow, tedious, and expensive court skirmishes—that moderate school officials would be right back in the midst of explosive racial politics. Once again the work of improving education in the region's lagging public schools would have to be postponed.

"Political decisions of the Nixon administration have jeopardized the educational future of the Southern black population."

The new policies fail to recognize that there are only two ways to quiet white segregationist uproar in the heart of the Deep South; either the federal government can permit restoration of the old and unconstitutional system of separate schools, or it can demand creation of unified school systems in all districts. Virtually all the political trouble comes in communities suspended in uncertainty and fear somewhere between these alternatives. Once desegregation is accomplished, the unified school system generally becomes part of a new status quo. In four of the five Southern states Nixon carried last fall, the process is near completion and the school issue has lost most of its political force.

Most school officials saw the administration's decision to permit further desegregation delays not so much as a concession to the "South" or even the "Deep South," but to the principal followers of Thurmond and Wallace, the recalcitrant segregationists of a few hundred black belt school districts. Almost 4,000 of the 4,476 formerly segregated school districts of the Southern and border states were already committed to meeting HEW deadlines for eliminating separate schools. Interviews with leading educators in Strom Thurmond's South Carolina and Lester Maddox's Georgia in the days immediately before and after the announcement of the new guidelines demonstrate that even Deep South schoolmen were ready to desegregate. When the Nixon administration attacked existing desegregation standards as "unrealistic" and "arbitrary," it was undermining the efforts of some of the Deep South's leading educators, men who had belatedly put their prestige behind the desegregation effort.

In political terms, the new guidelines have their most immediate im-

PAGINATION INCORRECT

South Carolina's Strom Thurmond (left) and President Nixon—"If the President really wishes to make the Deep South Republican, he can do it by restoring school segregation, but the cost will be abandoning Southern blacks, sacrificing the best leadership in southern education, and devastating the powerful moderate wing of his own party, South and North."

pact on the remaining holdout counties in the Southern black belt. These terribly poor counties, stretching along an arc from southside Virginia to the Mississippi Delta, are steeped in the old plantation traditions and dominated by staunchly segregationist political machines. These are counties with heavy black populations and local political climates so rigid that racial change is impossible without federal force. These communities will not be satisfied with the kind of delays and fudged-over compromises the administration appears to be offering. Unless the President intends to allow changes that would completely undermine desegregation across the South, says one prominent Georgia educator, the GOP cannot outbid Wallace in the black belt. If the President and his advisers really wish to make the Deep South Republican, they can surely do it by restoring school segregation, but the cost will be abandoning Southern blacks, sacrificing much of the best leadership in Southern education, and devastating the powerful moderate wing of their own party, both South and North.

If the new policies merely mean delay, they will only postpone the bitterness from this September to the months before next fall's Congressional elections or perhaps even until the next Presidential campaign. Delay will taunt local segregationists and maximize moderate and black alienation.

While the political value of compromise is obscure, the damage to education is clear. "Some fine men are having their careers and their health ruined by this indecision," Reg Murphy of the Atlanta *Constitution* wrote of the administration's vacillation. "If they are left without laws to rely on and Presidential guidance to quote, they are helpless to combat the forces of anger and hate in their towns."

The kind of local pressure that frightened state school officials even before the federal slowdown was painfully evident in South Carolina's capital of Columbia a year ago. After several hundred angry white parents took over a school board session, the city school system withdrew its desegregation plan, which would have required some white children to walk a few blocks more to formerly Negro schools. Strom Thurmond attacked HEW on the Senate floor and reportedly discussed the city's problem with Nixon at the GOP National Convention. Before withdrawing its plan, the school board was assured by leading state politicians that Columbia could defy HEW without risking loss of federal funds. The case has been stalled for months before HEW's Reviewing Authority, which was recently expanded from three to five members with a position going to a Columbia GOP politician. Now, in the words of school board member Heyward McDonald, there is a "general feeling of uncertainty as to what the law requires right now and what it will require six months from now." Columbia is still receiving federal funds, and school officials all over the state are watching to see if the city can get away with it.

Local superintendents will bear the brunt of rekindled pressures. "Some very good superintendents," says South Carolina State Superintendent Cyril Busbee, "can find themselves in a very awkward position." More than fifty Georgia superintendents have left their jobs in the last year, largely because of the desegregation issue. Now the federal policy reversal "has placed those systems that have done something in a very embarrassing position," says Jack Acree, executive secretary of the Georgia School Boards Association. In both states, local superintendents have called state school authorities seeking ways to renege on their HEW desegregation plans and thus salvage their political positions. Just before school opened, nine Georgia school districts that had pledged earlier to desegregate this fall refused to meet their commitments.

Nixon's guidelines surprised and threatened many school boards that had gone ahead with the desegregation process, trusting in repeated administration assurances that no change

would be made. South Carolina illustrates both the general movement of opinion in the Deep South and the damaging consequences of politically motivated enforcement. Dozens of South Carolina school boards agreed to desegregation plans last year. Goaded by the realization that the state's development was being held back by poorly trained manpower, state educators have been seeking and obtaining increased state and federal funds to upgrade the traditionally substandard public schools. This progress made local leaders more willing to solve the race question as a necessary preliminary to economic development.

The state school superintendent decided to offer help to local superintendents in what he saw as an inevitable transition to desegregated schools. During the summer of 1968, the elected state superintendent, Cyril Busbee, a salty and candid man somewhat reminiscent of Harry Truman, told a conference of local superintendents that desegregation was their "immediate problem." "The recent Supreme Court decision," he told them, "has said that the dual system will be eliminated." He promised state assistance. Expecting sharp criticism, he was surprised to be thanked by a number of local school officials. These men, who finally faced up to the race issue, are both the state's principal hope for better schools and the victims of the new policies.

Until the issue was plunged into politics, Joe Durham, Busbee's desegregation aide, noted great progress: "Attitudes are changing much more rapidly than we had anticipated three years ago or even two years ago." His observations were echoed by Professor H. L. Winecoff, director of the University of South Carolina's School Desegregation Consulting Center. The general feeling, Winecoff said, was "Let's do it, painful as it is." People were gradually realizing that their fears about integration were unreal. School superintendents who expected resignations from a fourth of their teachers found that they actually lost only 2 to 3 per cent. "What really amazes me," Professor Winecoff said, "is the progress that has been made and what can be made if moderate pressure is maintained." Before Nixon reopened the political floodgates, Lamar Clements, HEW's South Carolina civil rights coordinator, saw the state finishing the desegregation process in a couple of years.

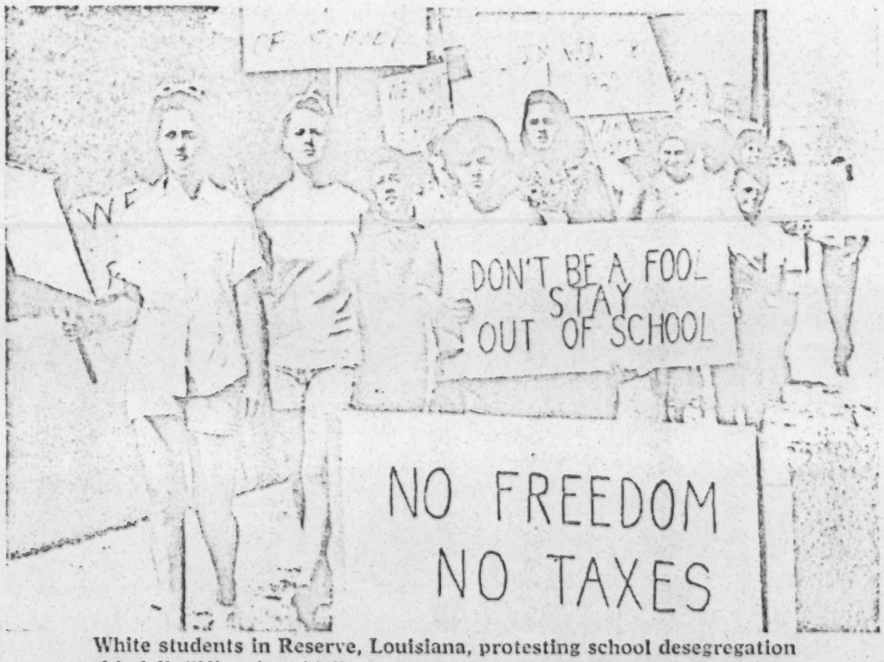
State Superintendent Busbee is no crusader for integration, but he was convinced that the guidelines were the law of the land. In spite of his skepticism about the possibility of integration in systems with overwhelmingly black enrollments, he saw no legal alternative to compliance. Busbee kept in his desk a letter from HEW citing court decisions and quoting President Nixon in defense of the same guidelines the President subsequently junked. To his mind, Busbee says, the Supreme Court's sweeping call for unified school systems in the 1968 *Green* decision is "about as unequivocal as anything I've ever seen." On the basis of court decisions and repeated assurances from HEW, Busbee and many leading local school officials had moved toward compliance with the law. Desegregation doubled in South Carolina last year, and HEW had negotiated about thirty-five plans for ending separate school systems by 1970.

The tardy policy announcement on July 3, coming in the midst of preparations for the next school year, produced rank confusion for school administrators. Local constraints on school officials were multiplied after prominent Southern newspapers proclaimed SCHOOL DEADLINES SCRAPPED and NIXON KEEPS HIS WORD. Experience of previous summers suggests that commotion will build to a showdown in September on what the new guidelines really mean. Very soon the administration will have to make some fundamental decisions about the future of the South. Administration leaders have assured Southern officials that "extensions would be available," according to James Batten of Knight Newspapers. "A hell of a lot of districts," one federal official told him, "will get extensions beyond 1969-70." If he is right, the entire structure of desegregation across the South will come under attack. At worst, the new guidelines may be, in the words of Georgia's Julian Bond, "the old compromise after Reconstruction all over again."

At best, a heavy price will be paid by school leadership and the HEW enforcement program. Nixon's commissioner of education, James E. Allen, Jr., commented on the danger in Atlanta just days before the new guidelines were issued. A change, he said, would be "educationally unsound" and "harmful to the South."

In South Carolina, politics has pervaded the school controversy since last fall, because the state Republican organization hopes to use the school issue to take control of the state. In an interview in Columbia the day before the new guidelines appeared, Jimmie Howle, the party's research and information director, told of the pressure on the party from all over the state to fulfill the promises to weaken civil rights enforcement made in the Presidential campaign. Since January, he said, the state organization had repeatedly obtained concessions for school districts from HEW, but couldn't claim public credit because "all the damn liberals say Strom Thurmond is President of the United States." One school district, he claims, received a year's extension "inside of ten minutes" after the party's executive director called Washington. "They've got a pipeline to Washington," one frustrated official in HEW's Atlanta regional office sadly said. "Why should they call here?" There have been repeated political appeals for special treatment of individual districts, and at least one district was allowed to by-pass the

(*Continued on page* 77)



White students in Reserve, Louisiana, protesting school desegregation this fall—"Nixon's guidelines surprised and threatened many Southern school boards that had gone ahead with the desegregation process."

Resegregation

Continued from page 60

Atlanta office completely. Local authorities flew to Washington with Thurmond, met with the head of the Office for Civil Rights, and gave him two hours to accept or reject their plan. The plan, which some officials thought inadequate and none had the chance to study carefully, was accepted. Other districts broke off negotiations in Atlanta.

Federal blessing for South Carolina segregation could rescue a state Republican party that was very badly defeated in last fall's legislative elections. "If the guidelines are relaxed," Howle said, "the Republican party owns South Carolina." It could mean that "we're going to wind up with a white party and a black party in this state." Howle was unconcerned about what might happen to the GOP outside South Carolina if the administration began to act as if Strom Thurmond really were President.

Confusion, fed by Thurmond statements and stories in the state's largest newspaper, *Columbia State*, had brought the desegregation program to a standstill months before the July 3 statement. Four districts had withdrawn their plans and a number of others had been permitted to modify theirs. The night before the new guidelines were issued, HEW officials, still struggling to restore the credibility of their program, met with one of the school boards that had withdrawn its earlier plan. They were greeted with copies of the *Columbia State* forecasting the federal reversal. "We found out," said one HEW official, "that if there were going to be no changes, that particular school district would comply." After the new guidelines came out, the *State*'s Washington correspondent informed his readers that the statement had been "shrewdly drawn" to confuse administration critics, but really meant that everything possible would be done to allow further delays.

The political backdowns in South Carolina and the probability that the new rules will bring similar developments in other states has thoroughly demoralized many HEW staff members. Enforcement officials who were receiving plans a year ago from counties that they never expected to desegregate voluntarily, now wonder if they can hold the line on commitments that seemed solid weeks ago. Everything depends on Washington's response to the parade of school officials demanding delays.

The administration's handling of a recent South Carolina case is instruc-

tive. When a federal court asked HEW to prepare plans for twenty-one South Carolina districts, HEW technicians drew up proposals calling for elimination of separate schools this fall. At the last minute, however, politics prevailed and the 1969 deadlines were scribbled out and replaced by penciled "1970s" on the documents presented to the court. NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys found other flaws built into the HEW plans. Some plans lacked effective protection of the jobs of black teachers and administrators. The plans often said that local authorities "should" rather than "will" meet explicit requirements. The plans lacked effective reporting systems to permit the judge and the litigants to evaluate local implementation.

In Clarendon County (one of the districts involved in the original 1954 Supreme Court decision) and in a number of other areas, HEW's normal requirement for substantial progress this fall was abandoned. In Sumpter, HEW proposed to leave more than 80 per cent of the black students and all but a handful of teachers in segregated schools this school year. Black students would be transferred only where there were unused spaces in white schools. This was the administration's interpretation of the Supreme Court's directive for the speediest possible elimination of separate schools.

Decisions handed down in the South Carolina cases by four federal district judges have proved even weaker than HEW's severely compromised plans. Three of the judges have left open the possibility that delay will be permitted even beyond the 1970-71 school year. Litigation is no more immune to politics than the HEW guidelines were.

Under the new guidelines, however, the major burden of enforcement shifts from the HEW fund-withholding process to Justice Department litigation. Attorney General John N. Mitchell claims that returning the issue to the courts, where it was mired between 1954 and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, will speed progress. But Mitchell, who has consistently pressed for weakening the guidelines, must approve the filing of suits. Suits can only be filed where local black parents brave community pressure to file a complaint. If the Justice Department decides to recommend weak desegregation plans, the probability is high that many Southern federal judges will happily acquiesce. Justice has the power to decide whether or not bad decisions by segregationist federal district judges will be appealed to higher courts. Then, too, the Nixon administration's consultations with Deep South Republicans in filling federal court vacancies will profoundly affect the quality of civil rights enforcement in the future.

Announcement of the new guidelines undermined HEW's attempt to write tougher desegregation plans for thirty-seven Louisiana districts. Under a federal court order, HEW experts drew up strong plans with 1969 deadlines, only to have the federal district judge, Ben C. Dawkins, Jr., throw them out as incompatible with the new guidelines. The judge expressed his gratitude to President Nixon for the change and then ordered HEW to prepare plans allowing more time. HEW initially refused, but after harassment by Judge Dawkins, the department gave in on the advice of a Justice Department attorney. The judge indicated that he intended to allow as much as two more years of delay. Facing lower court intransigency and lacking the support of the national administration, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has given up on the effort to enforce a 1969 deadline.

The uninspiring administration performance in the South Carolina and Louisiana cases suggests some of the dangers inherent in the state-wide lawsuit Justice filed August 1 against the Georgia State Board of Education. Announced as a dramatic indication of the administration's continuing commitment to desegregation, the suit, which seeks a court order forcing Georgia to develop a state-wide desegregation plan, actually promises delay, compromise, and serious weakening of the Georgia enforcement effort. Many local officials in Georgia knew that desegregation is generally slower in court-order districts and had asked the State Department of Education and the Georgia School Boards Association how they could get under a court order like neighboring Alabama's. They knew that in Alabama, the only state now under a state-wide order, all school systems continue to receive federal subsidies even though desegregation is at one-third the level of the rest of the South.

Justice may not even win a state-wide order in Georgia. Georgia's school system is not so unambiguously centralized as Alabama's. State Superintendent Jack Nix argues that the state board of education has no constitutional authority over desegregation, and Georgia officials promise a fight all the way to the Supreme Court.

A lawsuit would be unnecessary, Superintendent Nix said, if the federal government would just make its requirements clear and thus end the "untenable position" local officials are put in by Washington's "inconsistency and confusion." "I for one," he told reporters, "would like the federal government to make up its mind as to what it's going to do, and how, and get on with it so the administrators can get on with the job of education."

Even if Justice wins in Georgia, it will be faced with the task of monitoring implementation in 194 school districts and bringing further legal actions should localities violate their plans. Justice's Civil Rights Division has neither the manpower nor the administrative expertise to cope effectively with this task, and the Attorney General has recently testified that he is prepared to accept Congressional cutbacks on administration requests for new personnel.

The immediate impact of the suit is great confusion and a virtual destruction of HEW leverage over local school districts. The thirty-six districts that had funds terminated know that they will be automatically restored as soon as a court order is issued. Georgia's 121 districts still negotiating with HEW now have no real incentive to deal seriously, since it is highly unlikely that more funds will be cut off while litigation is pending.

Across the South, school officials are tired of the protracted desegregation struggle and want it ended. Georgia's Deputy State Superintendent Allen Smith says that years of needed leadership have already been lost in most school districts. "The longer the uncertainty is prolonged," he says, "the longer the adverse impact on education will continue."

Some Southern observers believe that the administration's decision to support tacitly a House appropriations amendment nullifying what remains of the HEW guidelines is a sign that a decision has been made to turn back the clock. President Nixon's recent Supreme Court choice, Clement Haynsworth, Jr., a South Carolina conservative who fought against some of the most important principles of school desegregation law, offers further encouragement to Southern resistance.

The impression of federal backdown was heightened by the administration's decision to postpone desegregation in Mississippi. On August 11, HEW had submitted desegregation plans calling for abolition of separate school systems in thirty-three Mississippi districts. Days before the plans were scheduled to take effect, HEW Secretary Finch took the unprecedented step of writing to the federal court to request a delay. Although HEW's education experts had drafted the plans, Finch now claims that they would

"produce chaos, confusion, and a catastrophic educational setback." The reversal, underlined by Vice President Agnew's remarks that the Civil Rights Act requirements should be suspended in school districts damaged by Hurricane Camille, was a clear change of signals from the top levels of the administration.

Federal retreat brought a historic break between the Justice Department and the civil rights movement. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund claimed that Justice had abandoned its legal responsibility to defend the constitutional rights of black children and asked the Mississippi federal court to change Justice's legal status from that of a defender of the children concerned to that of an ally of the segregationist local school boards. Within the Justice Department, many of the attorneys in the Civil Rights Division, angry and disillusioned, joined in drafting a protest against the administration's turn backward.

In a way, the lawyers of the Legal Defense Fund and the Civil Rights Division represent the best hope for peaceful racial change. These attorneys have had enough confidence in the American system to invest years in the process of gradually building up and enforcing a body of desegregation law. They, and the black leaders in communities across the South who believed in them and worked with them year after year, now feel that they are being cynically abandoned by national leadership.

Beneath a cloud of rhetoric and behind a procession of confusing actions, the Nixon administration has chosen to slow and perhaps to reverse the desegregation process. Deprived of governmental support, the courts have begun to retrench their efforts. In attempting to reward the South, Nixon has undermined the best Southern leadership, both political and educational. Just when many schoolmen were belatedly accepting the objectives of a tested compliance program, that program has been emasculated.

The future promises only years of difficult and often futile litigation, laced with political skirmishes. The new atmosphere in Washington will encourage a multitude of evasive tactics at the local level. Without national pressure, a good many Deep South communities will search for ways to create segregated programs within nominally desegregated schools. The economic and social future of the South will surely be impaired. So too, perhaps, will be the political future of an administration that seems determined to betray the law-abiding school officials and the black and white children of the South.

Text of High Court Order

NYT 10-30-69

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29—Following is the text of the Supreme Court order today on desegregation in Mississippi schools:

632—Beatrice Alexander et al., petrs., v. Holmes County Board of Education et al., on writ of certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, per curiam. These cases come to the court on a petition for certiorari to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. The petition was granted on Oct. 9, 1969, and the case set down for early argument.

The question presented is one of paramount importance, involving as it does the denial of fundamental rights to many thousands of schoolchildren who are presently attending Mississippi schools under segregated conditions contrary to the applicable decisions of this Court.

Against this background, the Court of Appeals should have denied all motions for additional time because continued operation of segregated schools under a standard of allowing "all deliberate speed" for desegregation is no longer constitutionally permissible. Under explicit holdings of this Court, the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools. Griffin v. School Board, 377 U.S. 218, 234 (1964); Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, 391 U.S. 430, 438-439, 442 (1968).

Court Order Vacated

Accordingly it is hereby ajudged, ordered and decreed:

1. The Court of Appeals' order of Aug. 28, 1969, is vacated, and the cases are remanded to that court to issue its decree and order, effective immediately, declaring that each of the school districts here involved may no longer operate a dual school system based on race or color, and directing that they begin immediately to operate as unitary school systems within which no person is to be effectively excluded from any school because of race or color.

2. The Court of Appeals may in its discretion direct the schools here involved to accept all or any part of the Aug. 11, 1969, recommendation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, with any modifications which that court deems proper insofar as those recommendations insure a totally unitary school system for all eligible pupils without regard to race or color.

The Court of Appeals may make its determination and enter its order without further arguments or submissions.

May Hear Objections

3. While each of these school systems is being operated as a unitary system under the order of the Court of Appeals, the District Court may hear and consider objections thereto or proposed amendments thereof, provided, however, that the Court of Appeals' order shall be compiled with in all respects while the District Court considers such objections or amendments, if any are made.

No amendment shall become effective before being passed upon by the Court of Appeals.

4. The Court of Appeals shall retain jurisdiction to insure prompt and faithful compliance with its order, and may modify or amend the same as may be deemed necessary or desirable for the operation of a unitary school system.

5. The order of the Court of Appeals dated Aug. 28, 1969, having been vacated and the case remanded for proceedings in conformity with this order, the judgment shall issue forthwith and the Court of Appeals is requested to give priority to the execution of this judgment as far as possible and necessary.

10/30/69

'Terminate Dual . . . Systems at Once'

Wash. Post

Following is the text of the Supreme Court decision ordering immediate desegregation of all Mississippi public schools:

These cases come to the Court on a petition for certiorari to the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. The petition was granted on October 9, 1969, and the case set down for early argument. The question presented is one of paramount importance, involving as it does the denial of fundamental rights to many thousands of school children, who are presently attending Mississippi schools under segregated conditions contrary to the applicable decisions of this Court. Against this background the Court of Appeals should have denied all motions for additional time because continued operation of segregated schools under a standard of allowing "all deliberate speed" for desegregation is no longer constitutionally permissible. Under explicit holdings of this Court the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools. *Griffin v. School Board*, 377 U. S. 218, 234 (1964); *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, 391 U. S. 430, 438—439, 442 (1968). Accordingly,

It is hereby adjudged, ordered, and decreed:

1. The Court of Appeals' order of August 28, 1969, is vacated, and the cases are remanded to that court to issue its decree and order, effective immediately, declaring that each of the school districts here involved may no longer operate a dual school system based on race or color, and directing that they begin immediately to operate as unitary school systems within which no person is to be effectively excluded because of race or color.

2. The Court of Appeals may in its discretion direct the schools here involved to accept all or any part of the August 11, 1969, recommendations of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with any modifications which that court deems proper insofar as those recommendations insure a totally unitary school system for all eligible pupils without regard to race or color.

The Court of Appeals may make its determination and enter its order without further arguments or submissions.

3. While each of these school systems is being operated as a unitary system under the order of the Court of Appeals, the District Court may hear and consider objections thereto or proposed amendments thereof, provided, however, that the Court of Appeals' order shall be complied with in all respects while the District Court considers such objections or amendments, if any are made. No amendment shall become effective before being passed upon by the Court of Appeals.

4. The Court of Appeals shall retain jurisdiction to insure prompt and faithful compliance with its order, and may modify or amend the same as may be deemed necessary or desirable for the operation of a unitary school system.

5. The order of the Court of Appeals dated August 28, 1969, having been vacated and the case remanded for proceedings in confirmity with this order, the judgment shall issue forthwith and the Court of Appeals is requested to give priority to the execution of this judgment as far as possible and necessary.

No Integration Appeal Delays

Jacksonville JOURNAL, Nov. 19, 1969. p. 6

HOUSTON (AP) — The chief judge of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals says parties in intergration cases ruled on by his court must comply immediately with the ruling.

"There will be no stays for appeals," said Judge John R. Brown of Houston. "Everyone had better be ready to comply with them immediately."

Brown commented just before the appeals court —sitting "en banc" — took under advisement yesterday 15 appeals challenging desegregation methods in six Southern states.

The 14-member panel heard nearly 14 hours of testimony during a two-day session. The court's ruling is expected to come from its New Orleans headquarters but there was no indication when it would come.

"En banc" means the full court.

Judge James P. Coleman, one of the panel members, said desegregation orders by federal courts "are going to destroy a lot of schools."

"There are going to be a lot of schools totally destroyed because we order on paper what can't be accomplished in real life," Coleman, a former Mississippi governor, said.

"There will be places where there won't be any public schools worth talking about."

However, Coleman said the recent Supreme Court decision makes clear that further integration must be accomplished.

Coleman commented after John F. Ward, a Baton Rouge, La., attorney representing two Louisiana school districts which have achieved only 3.7 per cent integration said many whites are leaving the public schools.

"I'm afraid you are going to see the growth of the biggest private school system in a long time," Ward said.

Once during the session Judge Griffin B. Bell of Atlanta told a school board attorney to stop complaining about the integration plans from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

"Everybody wants to use HEW as a scapegoat," Bell said. "If you don't like their plan, come up with one of your own."

D. P. Hulbert, an attorney from Perry, Ga., said a HEW plan for integrating schools there was unworkable. He added he was not picking on HEW.

"If picking on HEW hurt them, they would have died a long time ago," said Judge Walter P. Gewin of Tuscaloosa, Ala., another member of the federal panel.

During closing arguments Judge Brown asked David Norman, a Justice Department civil rights attorney: "How do we get out of the school business?"

Norman said he could not give the court a set of guidelines.

"It's interesting you can't give us any standards for a unitary system," Judge Brown said. "All you can say is what isn't a unitary system."

Norman C. Amaker, an attorney for the Legal Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the panel he believes the recent Supreme Court ruling means schools must use whatever desegregation plans they have.

"The court rejected the notion that you had to wait until you had a perfect plan," Amaker said. He said the plans can be modified later.

School districts in Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida and Texas were in the appeals.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404/522-8764

FOR RELEASE:

SUNDAY,
NOVEMBER 9, 1969

The Southern Regional Council has concluded its Annual Meeting in Atlanta with a resolution reaffirming "its belief that the South and the nation must work out the future as one people in an integrated society free from discrimination."

The resolution noted a trend in the national government in which "politics as usual" has weakened a developing commitment to a more democratic society in the South.

"The current direction of the administration in this respect," the Council declared, "is clear from its actions. Already momentum is being lost, and within the region, we see a resurgence of the kind of crude resistance that characterized the years immediately following the 1954 school desegregation decision."

"The main goal of our democracy," the resolution observed, "is and must be the full participation of all citizens." "The fundamental question," the resolution continued, is whether America "shall reform our society and our institutions, or destroy them."

The resolution asked that the nation take a more sophisticated view of "demands for black self-determination," not rejecting such demands "out of hand," but, rather, that "people of goodwill make immediate good faith efforts to change conditions which cause lack of faith in the concept of inte-

gration."

The resolution strongly condemned recent action of the Senate Finance Committee recommending that no tax exempt foundation funds be expended to support voter registration efforts. "Any thoughtful appraisal of voter registration must conclude that these efforts are aimed at reforming the system. The resistance to such efforts inevitably have the effect of encouraging the most cynical and the most destructive among us."

"We call on all our nation's leadership, including our region's, to perceive how central this issue is to the larger question of bringing about intelligent reform which will make our democracy work."

ER

Edu - Disadv
Research
1969

de seg regat ing people's minds

Desegregation conducted in any fashion ends with white children thrown together with various children from other backgrounds: poor white, Mexican American, Negro. The valid educational and psychological rationale for this action stems from the observation that children learn much from each other as well as from the teacher. This experience enriches the children's lives and is critical to their later living and sharing together in the American tradition.

Unfortunately, the mere proximity of individuals under one roof does not guarantee that they will communicate. There are many who would agree that moving children together with its concomitant problems is superior to keeping them in separate schools; still it must be admitted that without some established plan for communication between those involved in the integrative processes, problems arise which confuse and sometimes seem to negate the value of desegregation.

The act of desegregation may allow for the following perplexing situations:

(1) It removes minority children from their immediate psychologically supporting peer groups and exposes them to often frightened and hostile majority group children who have no desire to be near them.

(2) It removes minority group children from environments where those individuals (teachers, principals, custodians, nurses) working with them had either willingly or passively accepted the task of educating them. They may be placed

in schools where the staff has no intentions of working with them and may actually dislike them. At best, you have workers who do not know these minority group children and haven't the vaguest idea of how to start the communication process with them.

(3) It forces the minority group child into an unfamiliar value system for which he may be inadequately prepared and which may depress his self-concept as a person and as a learner.

(4) It forces the minority group member into a value system for which his physical characteristics and cultural background could never be source of self-fulfillment. For example, how can a little black girl of six years ever learn to love her color and hair if she is surrounded by books, children, and adults (the system) which values only white skin and straight or wavy hair.

(5) Programs for cultural enrichment, as advocated by many who believe in separatism as a means of strengthening the self-concept and survival potential of their groups, become difficult to implement.

These points of possible conflict represent the array of problems which should be considered prior to, during, and after the desegregation process occurs. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss one approach being used in several schools throughout the country to try to overcome, in a significant way, the majority of those problems.

When a civil rights protagonist like Martin Luther King or a noted Mexican American educator like Julian Samora ended their talks with the statement that the problem of the minority is really the problem of the majority, they were referring to the breakdown in communication between individuals at all levels of personal contact. Adults seem to have trouble understanding teenagers, and teenagers adults. Whites have trouble understanding blacks, and blacks whites. Husbands seem to have trouble understanding wives, and wives husbands (look at the divorce rates). The communication breakdown appears associated with our lack of ability to look at another person's eyes, face, and total self and understand what he is thinking or feeling.

For example, it would seem that if an Anglo (white) teacher could look at a six-year-old, poor Mexican American from the barrio, who speaks English poorly, and really understand his feelings and thoughts, she would not possibly continue utilizing educational techniques which thousands of teachers use daily in the classrooms. How can she, for example, teach in a school for five years without learning Spanish or making an effort to make some breakthrough in communication. A teacher of 20 years in a 20 percent Mexican American district took pride in the fact she had never learned to speak Spanish because in this way she forced the children she "taught" to speak English or fail. Any person taking a crash course in learning a foreign language by speaking only that language over a prolonged period of time knows of the psychologically disorienting effects that can occur even with a supposedly emotionally mature adult. If that teacher could have taken the time and had a practiced ability to understand children's feelings, she would have seen what her educationally and psychologically unsound techniques for teaching English were doing to the sense of self-worth of these children.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

The frightening effects of this type of miscommunication can only be understood when one considers that the teacher probably likes the children and really sees herself as doing the correct thing. It would appear that when miscommunication because of language exists in the classroom, the burden for non-verbal efforts in communication falls on the children. Teachers are too busy giving pre-determined information and have no time for (or are incapable of) looking at these children and seeing their confused and trapped souls wanting expression, but not being allowed it because no one understands *their* means of communication: a beautiful mixture of Spanish and English, "Spanglish," where the child speaks of his home gestalt in Spanish, and of the larger world, of which the school is the most significant representative, in English.

This refusal by the educational system to recognize the unique linguistic and cultural background of the Mexican American is best evidenced by the unwillingness of local schools to use local funds to deal with these problems. For example, a local district will use some local funds to help children with special educational needs associated with articulation problems due to stuttering, cleft palates, etc., as these are considered a legitimate educational endeavor. Therapists will be hired, and facilities provided, etc., in a school district where only two percent of the children may have such a need; but, in the same school where 15 percent of the student body have legitimate linguistic needs associated with their Mexican American backgrounds, not one cent of local money will be spent on the *legitimate* educational needs of these children.

What then is the problem? Is it that hate motivates school board members and educators in an attempt to destroy the self-respect of Mexican American children? The answer to this question is, in the main, no.

Educators and community people alike have not tried to understand the feelings and thoughts of the children they are intrusted to serve. If educators and citizens would have practiced what they preached and truly listened to the feelings of the children, the present psychologically devastating educational approaches would have long ago been radically altered to fit the children.

The key task, then, that confronts us in the process of desegregation is the thorough preparation of all individuals involved in the art of communication. We have not traditionally developed systems for encouraging communication, nor prepared ourselves as educators to transmit communication skills to the children. Without some systematic and serious effort at bettering both children and school personnel at this process, we will continue to perpetuate the conditions which led to the problems in the first place. The only difference now is that in a desegregated school situation, the children, despite the lack of guidance and the haphazard efforts, might learn ways of dealing with each other at a younger and, hopefully, more flexible age than is presently occurring in communities like Watts, Chicago, and East Los Angeles.

What then can we do? The Human Development Training Institute (HDTI) in San Diego, California, represents one very specific effort to deal with the problem of communication. The intent of the HDTI was to enhance communication and humanistic understanding between all individuals. The intent is to deal with the human dilemma of trying to understand what other people are thinking or feeling while, at the same time, communicating our own thoughts and feelings to them. We all have this need, but it appears that the minority groups' problems represent the largest single symptom of what happens when communication breaks down.

Although the HDTI recognizes the fundamental need to help all people to better communicate with each other, its central theme is improving the communication process between educator and child, and between child and child. It does this by providing both a day-to-day curricular approach toward helping teachers to teach children to better communicate, and by providing a 24–60 hour teacher training institute to help teachers, themselves, be more open and receptive to their own feelings and thoughts, and to the feelings and thoughts of children. Although the teacher training institute can be altered to the specific needs of each district, they consist of the following set of experiences:

(1) Teachers are exposed on a small group basis to a series of experiences aimed at helping them become aware of their feelings, thoughts, and behavior. This is accomplished in relationship to some

specific minority group by providing highly qualified group facilitators who are, themselves, members of that minority group. (2) Along with the experiences, the teacher is given knowledge of what she is experiencing and of the skills it takes to help others develop an awareness of their feelings. This is accomplished through feedback sessions after the communication experiences in the small groups, and through a minimum of well-planned lectures.

(3) Finally, demonstrations by the instructors with representative children from the participant schools are held, both to model techniques and help teachers appreciate the legitimacy of such communicative experiences with children.

This triad of experiences (group experiences for teachers and children, plus the lectures) are repeated in two areas other than "awareness." The other areas are "social interaction" (my ability to know and understand how I affect other people and how they affect me) and "mastery" (becoming aware of my feelings of adequacy or inadequacy, self-concept, and developing a feeling of "I canness" about my ability to learn).

Similar but slightly longer institutes are held with counseling, supervision, and administrative personnel to provide support and follow-through to the teachers as they struggle to implement this approach with children. After the educators are put through experiences relevant to the minority group members in their schools in the areas of awareness, mastery, and social-interaction, they are given materials they can use in their classrooms to encourage similar types of day-to-day communication experiences with their children. The series of experiences constitute what is described as the Human Development Program (HDP). Developed along the three main themes of awareness, social-interaction, and mastery, the HDP presents a sequential, cumulative set of experiences on a daily basis, designed to promote personal effectiveness and communication skills in children.

For a third of the year the teacher spends 20 minutes each day (or every other day) with one half of her class, helping children develop an articulate awareness of their positive and negative feelings, thoughts, and behavior. The effect this has on children from divergent cultural groups is that they learn to develop an increasing awareness of their similarities, as well as their differences. In addition to this, they discover that all have feelings, no matter what color they are. They are systematically exposed to their own feelings, thoughts, and behavior, and to those of their peers. They learn early, and continue to practice looking beyond color.

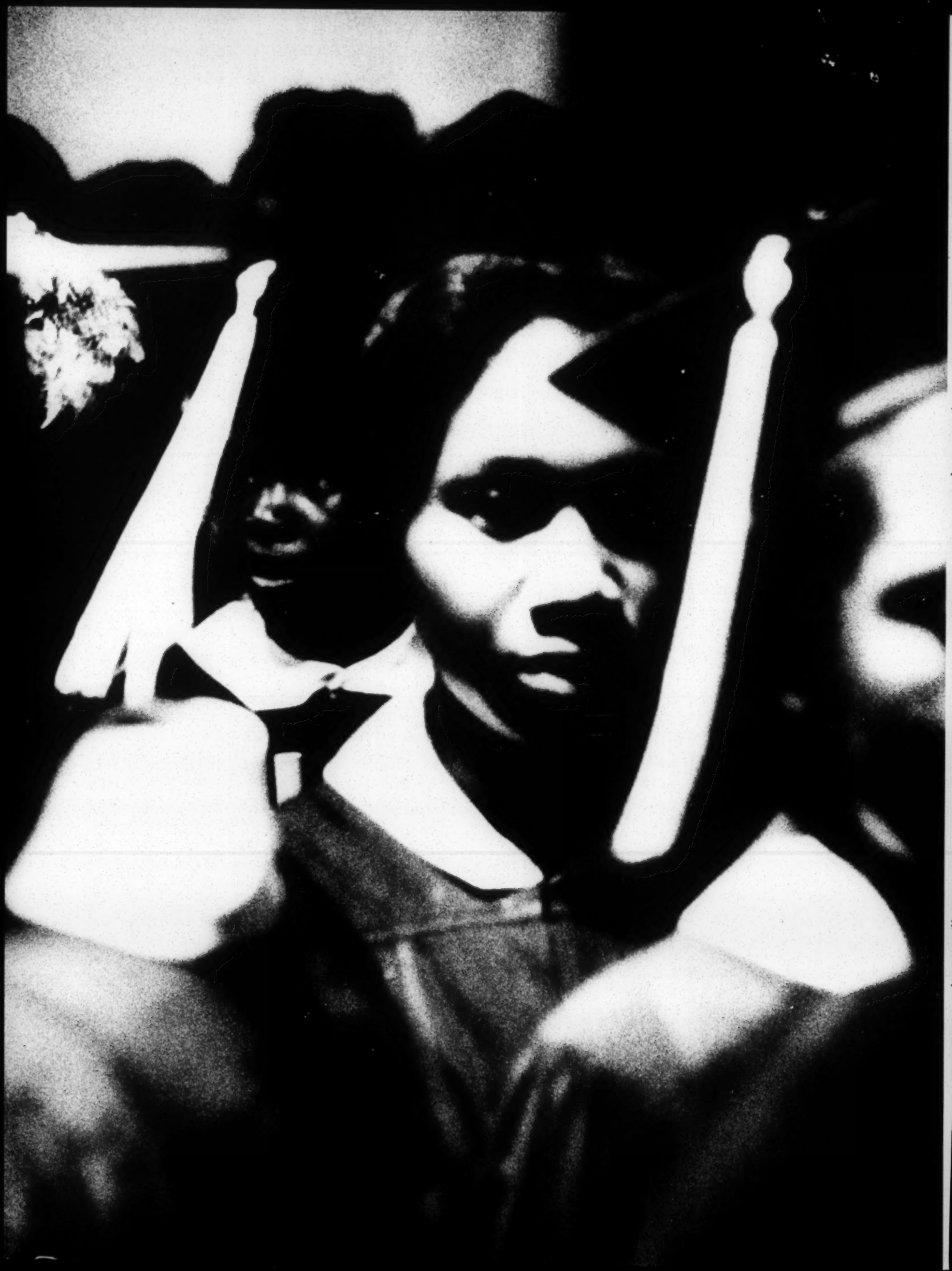
For another third of the year, the teacher, in the same manner as in "awareness," spends time helping the child practice the art of understanding how he affects others and how they, in turn, affect him. It is here that the child begins to develop an increased responsibility for his acts and their effect on others. This type of activity is designed to get black and white, brown and black, or whatever the combination may be, to practice the elusive, yet critical art of understanding.

Finally, interrelated as all three areas are, the children spend one third of the year developing a feeling of "I canness" in relationship to their school work, "mastery." Experiences are provided where the teacher and group help each other to understand the relevance of learning specific skills so as to increase motivation and develop a positive self-concept in children.

The HDP, then, comprises a specific approach aimed at the task of increasing communication between educators and educators, teachers and children, and children and children.

UVALDO H. PALOMARES, ED.D

Dr. Palomares is director of the Human Development Training Institute in San Diego, California. He is also a consultant to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights for its study of civil rights problems in the education of Mexican American children.



Barker

① (Tribute to NAACP Legal & Defense & Education Fund)
Persistence
Protecting Am System by using it —
Militant & Radical in claiming what U.S. promises

p. 4 — Observer on Nixon's Slowness

1963 — 1.7 deseg.
1969 — 20-40% (HEW)

1968 HEW Policy — 1970-71 completed, most 1968 & 1969

Political Role — Confusing Signals — Desegregation
p 44-45 State & local school men on progress in acceptance until Nixon
Obvious with Rep. & Strom Thurmond — hard to make Good on promises
(Baker — p 12-13 re Chester Co. Tenn)

Previous administrations: Slowness in getting guidelines
Procedural delays.

Panetta, p. 14., "forced" to accept political compromise

Court ordered plans: 21 — S.C; 37-La; 30-Miss

Admin. enforcement procedures p 25-26

HEW acceptable plans 6 So States (p 41 insert)
145 by Sept 1969
97 substantial implementation
48 not implemented

— what in your states

Private Schools
growth — Citizens Councils
financing — State aids (Miss. again in 1969)
accreditation — usually do not pass So. Assn of Colleges & Schools (which Teaches do they attract)
impact on public ed. (dilutes)
a delusion for the poor, modest income
supervision

Quality Ed.

Focus on education — growth of children
quit crippling with adult fears and hang ups [Being rid of Seg.]

Schools: order above all
Funds [Levelling economics for the community good]
Teacher Training
Class Size

"Class" factors in education
Students — Teaches — home

Community (labor) support

Rest of Nation so bad — we could do it, but it takes us

CBS News asking we will South show the way — The old optimism (EV-1957-8) Increasing Pessimism

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

Encouraging disrespect for law
possession & resistance to
the political system

Relation to Wallace politics

Closing Black Schools —
relates to pride
to white domination
where the stigma is

Pub. academies —
— can workers support

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

How constructively do local
school admins & bds. approach
desseg.?

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

Fed. firmness assists
local School officials in
Complying

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

Are the members Ready?

White boycotts

Ella Thomas School ~~Atlanta~~ Fulton Co
Bapt. claimed HEW
forced the closing
(overlooking local policy decision)
Built July 1964

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

Who "negotiates" a plan
how count black community in —
just leave to School Bd.
& politics as usual

Black faculty & administrators

p. 57 —
Dist Ct. — who reaches
the judges —

What pressure for "quality
education"

---

p 3 of Conclusion — 4 to
reappointment

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

withholding funds

---

busing

---

housing patterns — can community wait

Mixed Signals from Admin
Mitchell vs. Finch July —
Dept vs. others

The positive gains for the
community?

Reps. push to get United
Conservative Party in South
1) Kevin Phillips — Voting
2) go slow on schools

(3) Decision – 1954
15 yrs later
NS sum up – conv. series about ed.

State Resistance [if effort had gone to compliance]

Rep. Strategy
① Slow down
② Vote encourage

Whether the labor movement
L leaders / rank & file

Politics of enforcement

Mixed Signals
["Waiting Around" – Thornberry – other Dists]
L not being required

Segregation academies

Views on Special problems –

Quality Education

Community Support – Labor's responsibility

② Applying the 14th & idea of equality
against states
~~Non Exec.~~ Basic law 100 yrs ago
powerful
40 yrs of

[Walter
Stewart
Barger]

Now: not just fed funds cut
But contempt –

EV has come on hard –
There are educationally things
to do – sympathy
Dixie, closing Black Schools
Pvt. Schools –
There are changing att. tends
State officials S.C. Ga, N.C.
Southern Newspapers
Union discussions (ed.)
N.C.
Not just parents – but institutions
Schools themselves

Republican Strategy
Schools – Slow down
Voting – Kevin Phillips

Sheraton-Jacksonville Hotel
Jacksonville, Fla. 32207

David – 1954

a) his own development & exposure

b) getting an w. the community education

c) respect for law & the responsibilness of community leaders & public officials

d) what if State efforts had gone towards compliance over grasping –

Not Schools – massive Resistance – Va. –

* Changing attitudes – reported by State officials S.C., Ga, N.C.

Southern Newspapers – level of disc. is better

unions

Ark –

Education – a) what decision mean
b) quality Ed.
c) funds for ed.

Fight a case with AFL-CIO coop } PR

[Forthright decision on merits of decision]

Joing than intervened in Eb.

L of WV

* Not just parents, but institutions

Schools –

* Rep – Strategy / voting –

* Dixie, Clorin Black Schools, Desegregation } White Understanding

No Snow that Winter — PhD - Chicago

EV's history & So. Lab School

Amaker — Cannot History — outside —

9:32 -

E Stop - 10:

Fundamental Law - more than one food of laws -

Plessy - states as policy that whites are superior

How to you reverse the process - change the institutions

["Left out" 14th Amend]

Practical Problems

Negro faculty & Administration

adjustment of children
esp. where minority group is small
in a maj. School (Separated from
peers)

Perhaps with teaching staffs
that are hostile or lack community
support for good teaching of all kids

Maybe a new "value system"
(emphasis on whiteness in texts, movies, etc.)

Ability of Teachers to communicate
how approach children of differing
orient ations — backgrounds

Teachers need awareness, of theories
of law, of minority groups, of
better teaching techniques

White community of
non-understanding or
necessitarianism?

Discipline — views of authority } all are
Whites the enemy } possible

Difference in treatment based on race —
Hampton: one alleged Negro molesting — all N.s called in.

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

By HAYES MIZELL

Mr. Mizell, on a year's leave of absence from his post as director of the South Carolina Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee, is a Fellow at the Institute of Southern History of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

The South is at the beginning of a period during which we can either so structure our social, public and political institutions that they will be unique in quality and humanity in this nation, or we can plunge headlong into the same abyss of chaos and conflict which has so swiftly engulfed the technological greatness of the North. The next two generations of southerners must decide whether they will draw upon the positive aspects of our region's distinctive quality and character to shape a more humane future. Failing this, it is not improbable that in fifty years Charlotte will become the South's Cleveland, Richmond our Rochester, and Dallas our Detroit.

Hopefully there is still time. We must try to determine what distinctions remain between the North and the South today and see if there is still an opportunity for us to avoid some of the conflict which is now broadening the girth of anger and despair in the northern black community, feeding off the injustice and corruption of the past. We can still make a case for the unique situation of the South, I believe, simply because most of our region is still composed of small towns and rural areas. It is, in other words, more manageable than is the North. With the exception of the metropolitan areas of the South—Atlanta, New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville—there are still hundreds of small towns which can deal rationally and intelligently with the problems of desegregation while there is yet time. Even in some of the medium-sized cities of the South—Montgomery, Columbia, Greensboro, Baton Rouge—there is still an opportunity to make decisions concerning the public schools which reflect the hopes for the future rather than the ideals of the past. Perhaps such places will miss that opportunity, as others have, but it is a luxury which is no longer available to much of the North.

Unlike the North there is still not a great cynicism in the South regarding the public educational system. The system's failure tends to be blamed on the expense and inefficiency of segregation, on the poor economy, and on the lack of public awareness of the necessity for a good educational system for all people. But the school system is not regarded as corrupt, inept, or downright evil as it is in much of the North. In spite of all of their suffering and mis-education at the hands of the public educational system in the South, black people still seem to believe that they will be able to compete and succeed within that system once they gain access to all of its opportunities. For them the ills of the school system are merely extensions of state sanctioned and enforced racial discrimination. Once that is removed they seem to believe that a good education will naturally follow. This traditional view is obviously superficial and overlooks some of the more serious failures of the educational system itself, for black and white alike. But this hope, almost a faith, of so many black people provides the South with an opportunity to remedy the myriad of educational faults which lie beneath

the surface of our educational system within an atmosphere of trust and understanding among black people. If the education system is not reformed, then as desegregation proceeds, more and more black people will come to learn, as some already have, that the education system of the South is subject to the same ills as is that of the North. When that happens southern educators can expect the same hostility and impatience that is now so prevalent in the black community of the North; then there will be no time for conciliation and reform.

There is also in the South a sense of creation and movement which is distinct from the northern sense of stagnation and decay. Whatever is left of the civil rights movement in the South is geared toward moving forward with the destiny of the region, seeking to initiate reforms and to be in on the ground floor of new institutions and programs. The new interest in cooperatives and politics (the loyalist Democrat movements in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia) indicates a faith in the future of the South and in the potential quality and humanity of its institutions.

The public school systems of the South are among those institutions that are having to adapt to survive, and merely by the nature of their relatively primitive state of development they offer a better opportunity for those who wish to determine their structure and role in the future. While pressures for change may exist to some extent in the North, they are usually much more self-serving and potentially chaotic, or they are pressures which have existed for so long that the school system has learned how to manipulate them. Only recently have pressures for progressive change been intensified and escalated so that they can no longer be ignored. For the North the heritage of victory and technological achievement has brought the public school system to such a state of complacency and conceit that the black community now regards the system as unworkable and unbearable. In the South, on the other hand, our system is more clever but less sophisticated and this is to the advantage of those who want to shape its future.

I realize that many people would argue with the aforementioned reasons for maintaining our involvement in the movement for school desegregation and quality education in the South. But in the end one's position on this whole matter is largely dependent upon the individual's vision of his society and upon his dreams for the future. What are the alternatives to our involvement? Do we disband the public school system? Do blacks, Birchers, integrationists, etc., each establish their own schools, where they can do "their own thing?" Do we return to the womb of southern history where provincialism, racism, and fear infected the fetus of our nation's dreams and produced the frail child of democracy so crippled and unable to cope with the recurring ills of infancy? Do we, in fact, admit that we cannot alter "the system" but that it can alter us—the ultimate victory of cynicism and intolerance over faith and understanding? No, the South knows better than any other region the consequence and pain of division and withdrawal. Now we must know that the question is not whether it is strategically and logistically possible to abolish our dual school system, but rather if such integration can be achieved concurrently with the rehabilitation of the people involved so that they begin to relate to one another from a nonracist orientation. Can we create an inclusive school system where stimulation of individuality and creativity takes precedence over the commitment to regimentation and conformity? Though I can find the same reasons as others to be as pessimistic about such possibilities, it doesn't seem to me that the alternatives are either pleasant or productive for race relations and public education in the South, nor are they consistent with the dreams of this nation.

Any hope of working productively in the area of desegregation and public

education in the South must take into account the growing trend toward localism in this country. It appears that the nation has grown tired of the federal initiatives which began during the era of the New Deal and which have consistently been extended through the programs of the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society. There was no better evidence of this than in last year's presidential campaign during which all three candidates carefully made it clear that they hoped that local initiatives would solve local problems. All of the candidates sensed the anger in the country directed at any federal program requiring that local communities follow guidelines and regulations sent down from Washington in order to receive federal funds. There was also objection to provisions in these programs which called for some Washington bureaucrat to exercise discretionary judgment to determine whether the communities were meeting such regulations. George Wallace talked about what he would do to those "briefcase tot'in bureaucrats." Richard Nixon said he wanted "power to flow from Washington back to the states." Even Hubert Humphrey proposed a federal tax sharing plan which would return portions of federal income taxes to the states for their unrestricted use. Associations of school administrators, teachers, and superintendents have advocated that federal aid to education no longer be administered from Washington but rather that the federal government give funds directly to the various state departments of education for their use as they see fit, unencumbered by U.S. Office of Education guidelines and requirements.

All of these are indications that the trend of strong federal involvement in programs intended for use at the local level will temporarily subside for at least the next four years. The election of Mr. Nixon will undoubtedly hasten the demise of this trend, and if the Eisenhower era is any indication of what we might expect from Mr. Nixon there will be few new federal programs under his administration which will give greater power to the bureaucracy in Washington. Further evidence of such a trend can be seen not only by Mr. Nixon's victory but by recognizing that Mr. Humphrey was defeated, in part, because he had been an architect of federal legislation which tended to increase the power of the central government through its administration of federal welfare, education, and civil rights programs.

Because of this trend toward localism and because the experience of the past several years has demonstrated that half-hearted federal initiatives can only be of limited value, it is time for those working for school desegregation and quality education to re-evaluate their own strategies. While such people have learned that the bureaucracy is vastly limited in its ability to force the solution of local social and educational problems, at the same time they have developed a certain dependency not only on the federal government but on civil rights groups and foundations in the North to assist them in working to promote change in local communities of the South. In fact, with the exception of a few determined and forceful individuals in each black community across the South who have worked on a broad range of issues, there are almost no persons who are attempting forcefully and systematically to engage the local power structure to produce fundamental change at the local level. One can even argue that the black community has been so oversold on the potency of federal power and federal programs that it looks to Washington for assistance in solving community problems of nearly every variety. For those without power and leverage this is a natural reaction, but it nevertheless creates a psychological dependency which in the long run tends to further undermine what little is left of the individual's faith in his own potential power and creative ability to effectuate change in his community.

"The action," for better or worse (and

given the repressive strength of southern resistance I think it has been for the better), has been at the federal level for the past five years and all of us have exploited that action in our own ways to achieve those civil rights objectives which have concerned us most. Who has not felt that if the federal government would only do more in education, housing, welfare, jobs, and economic security our task would be essentially complete except for mopping up resistance at the local level? But in exploiting the alleged power and resources of the federal government we have seen that there are certain aspects of these problems which cannot be solved in Washington and to these we have given little attention because to solve them at the community level requires intensive education, motivation, assistance and allocation of resources over a long period of time—community organization.

To understand how we can take advantage of the trend toward localism and why community organization around education issues is necessary if we are to achieve fundamental change within our public educational system, we must first understand how that system operates in most school districts of the South and we must learn its idiosyncrasies which are within the pale of local reform. The dangers of generalization certainly apply to any attempt to characterize the typical southern school district because the institution, like the South itself, is filled with mavericks who turn up in the most unexpected places. Nevertheless such characterization can be made as long as we do not attempt to define the typical district in too narrow terms.

The typical district is small, probably rural in geography and/or in behavior, and it operates a dual school system though it now proclaims that "any child can attend the school of his choice." The superintendent of the district, unless it is large or metropolitan, probably is from the South with the chances being good that he is from the state where the district is located. It would not be unusual for him to be a native of that district. The superintendent might have a doctorate in education obtained during the summers by attending the school of education of the state university. It is rare to find a superintendent who graduated from college, then went right on to get his masters, then went right on to get his doctorate. You find, instead, that superintendent's degrees are received five to fifteen years apart—testimony to financial hard times, the uncertainty of the career potentials of the education profession, or to the lethargy of the superintendent. The superintendent has a certain status in the community, depending again on its size, and depending on the wealth of the district his office may be shabby and small or modest and adequate, but hardly ever is it plush.

The superintendent feels that he is "professional" and that he is a dedicated and underpaid public servant who takes a lot of abuse from his constituents though he works diligently to see that "all children receive a good education." He attends a great many local, state, and national education association meetings, but he really has very little stomach for those innovations in education which might cause him greater administrative headaches. But faced with all of the new federal education programs and visitors from the state department of education trying to prod him into using the federal money, the superintendent has started some new programs in the past several years. Most important is the fact that the superintendent feels threatened. He must satisfy the extremes of his school board, his teachers, the parents and the community, and the federal government. They all have interests, it seems to him, which cannot be reconciled.

The superintendent "works closely" with his board of education. The method for selecting the board is directly proportional to the democratic commitment of those persons originally charged with de-

termining how the board should be constituted. Thus, in some districts the board members are elected by the voters; in others the board might be appointed by the legislature, by the governor or perhaps even by the superintendent himself if he is elected by the voters instead of hired by the board. The board is composed of prudent men who are prominent in the community and who may be doctors, lawyers, bankers, successful merchants or farmers. Hardly ever does one find a black or poor board member and even to find a woman member is infrequent. The members of the board perhaps serve without pay and feel that they are performing a public service by accepting this time-consuming but thankless job which few other people would want.

The members of the board of education have no background in education; they do not take time to learn much about education, and consequently they know almost nothing about what is happening in education today. Except in unusual cases, the board is legally charged with formulating educational policy for the school district; in fact, however, it spends most of its time discussing the budget of the district, making decisions relating to personnel matters, wrestling with desegregation problems, and deciding if a new school should be built, where it should be built, and what kind of floor the new gymnasium should have. In most instances the superintendent presents plans for changing the curriculum or the education program to the board for its approval. Seldom does the board reject such plans because, after all, it assumes that the school staff is competent and knows what it is doing; but because the board knows nothing about education it is really in no position to question intelligently the potential ramifications of the administrators' plans. It is also rare that the community or the teachers become involved in the formulation of plans by the school system staff or that the board consults them when making education policy.

In many districts the school board convenes in private and neither the meeting nor its proceedings are mentioned in the local newspaper. In those places where the sessions are public the board really prefers that no one come to the meetings and quickly goes into executive session to avoid the scrutiny of the press and public. Matters relating to school desegregation are almost always held in executive sessions. The board does not like conflict. Because it feels that it is performing a public service, it does not like to be held accountable for its decisions by the public. Indeed, it feels that the public has abrogated its right to hold the school board accountable because, after all, the public isn't really interested in the school system and it doesn't care about the problems of the school district. The board feels, probably correctly, the public has an uninformed, overemotional, and unsympathetic attitude toward the difficulties of the board of education. Because of this and because they care little for fortifying the democratic framework of the school system, the superintendent and the board regard the schools as "theirs."

What remains of the school system is even more difficult to characterize. The teachers are probably discontent because they are underpaid, patronized by the community, and can't get the superintendent or their principal to listen to their ideas for revising the curriculum or initiating new methods of teaching. Many of the teachers are women who supplement the income of their husbands—tending to be either the most militant in demanding better salaries and teaching conditions or the least likely to complain, depending on how necessary their salaries are to the family. There are never enough male teachers in the system, particularly in the elementary grades. While there are some young teachers in the district who still remember what education is supposed to be all about, they

also are rapidly learning the lessons of frustration and survival within the school system. The teachers spend considerable time in faculty meetings which are little more than empty exercises designed to convince them that they are becoming more "professional." The white teachers in the system are frightened of integration. No assurance has come from their superiors—the board and the superintendent—that the school system is at all prepared to deal with it openly and honestly. Instead there is a lot of rhetoric about "treating all students alike," and the recently integrated teachers' association is figuring out how to isolate the new black members from its loftiest, though essentially meaningless, positions.

The schools' principals are former football coaches and gym instructors who would feel more at home employed in the state correctional institution than in the public schools, because they are concerned first with discipline and order; education is secondary. Here too, however, there are a few souls of merit who spend more time trying to improve the quality of education the kids receive and less time being concerned with class schedules, authoritarian rule, and the orgy on the senior trip to Washington. The principal is also kept busy manipulating the local Parent-Teachers Association and insuring that it doesn't become too curious about the operation of the public school system. The PTA usually excels in its assigned role of having bake sales, discussing how to stop smoking in the rest rooms, and sponsoring the seventh grade fashion show to raise money to buy books for the school library. They never ask why *they* must raise the money.

It is, all in all, quite a depressing picture. Perhaps there are school districts which are vastly better than the model I have described, but the problems of such a district are characteristic of many districts in the South and these are our primary concern. To all of these, add the other problems—racism, the exclusion of black and low-income parents from participation in the formulation and evaluation of federally-financed education programs from which they are supposed to benefit, the utilization by most school districts of curricula which have been demonstrated to be educationally debilitating—and it is easy enough for us to see the task which lies ahead for those involved in working for quality education and school desegregation in the South.

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We can no longer assume that school desegregation in the South is still the goal of the entire black community; perhaps such an assumption should never have been made in the light of the many levels of opinion and self-interest within the black community. A generation of school children has passed through the public education system of the South since *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* and there has been widespread disillusionment at the failures of the federal courts to effect significant school desegregation. That disillusionment has been augmented during the past four years by the general inability of HEW to move quickly and decisively to abolish the dual school system in the South. It is not surprising, therefore, that more and more black people are having second thoughts about the feasibility of school desegregation. As they see it, the minimal desegregation which has already been achieved has brought them nothing but more despair and sacrifice. They have learned that access to a desegregated school system does not necessarily mean that low-income and black people will have access to an integrated education which relates to them out of respect and consideration for their identity, heritage, and culture. They have seen that a desegregated education does not mean that the traditional policies, methods, and practices of an educational system fostered and nurtured by racism will be aban-

doned or even altered to meet the new complexion of the classroom. They have found that it is possible, even likely, that for them a desegregated education means ostracism, academic uncertainty, and the loss of what little control they once exercised over their own schools and educational program. What they learned is that desegregation is not the sole answer to the deep educational problems of the public school system, and even if it were, the future of black children cannot wait until integrated schools become a reality in the South.

No group is more sensitive to the failures and limitations of desegregation than are those black people who live in the school districts of the South where their race constitutes a majority of the population. Until recently it was the official policy of HEW that these school districts were exempt from compliance action, probably because HEW itself did not know how or if these districts could desegregate their schools. There are more than 250 of these districts in the seventeen southern and border states with the vast majority of them in the Deep South, some with a black student enrollment as high as 80 or 90 per cent. It is in such districts, in the black belts of Alabama and Mississippi as well as in the low country of South Carolina, that there is the greatest resistance to desegregation, the most significant erosion of the local economy and human resources caused by migration to the North, and the poorest history of race relations. Because of such conditions these school districts have the least adequate educational facilities, generally attract the least able teachers, and by and large cling to a curriculum which is outmoded and unable to respond to the academic needs of students. It is also in these areas that the private school movement has experienced its greatest growth with the advent of desegregation meaning the virtual destruction of the public school system in some districts as the white students and "white" financial support have fled to the private schools.

majority Black Districts

In these "majority Negro" districts the black people know that for them the abolition of the dual school system will have little meaning. No matter how the school system is structured their numbers will still remain in the majority. Thus, they realize that if the quality of education for their children is to improve there must be something beyond desegregation, radically altering the traditional operation of the local school system and the nature of the education program itself. (The Southern Regional Council publication of several years ago, "Beyond Desegregation," and the National Education Association's report on the schools of Wilcox County, Alabama, describe in some detail the complex educational problems of such districts and suggest the extensive changes necessary to provide quality education.) It is difficult to imagine such alterations being initiated by the whites who now exercise a totalitarian control over the school system in these districts. Considering such an atmosphere of resistance and deprivation it would appear that it is only a matter of time before there is open confrontation between the controlling white minority and the victimized black majority over who will control the school system. One would hope that the whites trapped in such situations would learn to change and to yield but there is nothing in their past performance which would justify this kind of optimism.

The disillusionment with desegregation has been reinforced by the national black power movement emphasis on the quality of education received in the black school, the relation of the curriculum to the needs of the black community, and the values transmitted to the black student. Realistically appraising the degree of white resistance to meaningful school integration many black people have concluded that desegregation has been a white man's trick all along and that their best interests now lie in commitment to

the creation of a black school system responsive to their control and to their children's need for quality education. It is the position of these people that they will perhaps accept desegregation when the white man straightens himself out and cleanses himself of the racism which has thwarted desegregation and consistently stifled the aspirations of black people. Much of New York's decentralization program is designed to respond to such concerns of the black community, though the troubled events of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville struggle indicate that not only will the whites not give up their power without a fight but that perhaps local control is not insulated from the same kind of insecurity and false pride which has characterized the actions of the teachers' union and the central school authority.

These disturbing, though understandable, reactions against desegregation are causing many activists engaged in working for school desegregation in the South to reconsider their goals and their strategies. It is easy for them to admit that the whole venture has been largely a failure, but it is terribly difficult for them to find reason to go on and, if they judge it desirable to continue to work for the goal of the abolition of the dual school system in the South, to determine just what alternatives are open to them that have not been already explored and found wanting. In frustration, some longtime civil rights activists and sympathizers have succumbed to the temptation to disregard school desegregation as a viable issue worthy of their labor. Though much of their new interest in other areas is merely predicated on certain strategic placements of their own time and resources, they must recognize that efforts to promote citizen participation in working for desegregation and quality education in the South require their support now more than ever before.

It is vital that all of those people who are beginning to falter realize that not only is school desegregation still an urgent matter that deserves their attention, but that additional manpower is now needed simply because the school desegregation movement has underscored those serious fractures and flaws in the public education system of the South which have so long placed our region at the very bottom of progress in this nation. They should also be aware that school desegregation is an issue which has aroused the interest of a significant number of persons in these more intensive problems of public education in the South. Contrary to limiting efforts in school desegregation and public education, the human relations and civil rights agencies of the South must begin to recognize the necessity for their involvement in exploiting new opportunities and servicing awakened interests in these areas.

There is no better argument for such involvement than for us to look at the present state of the system of public education in the South. At present the forces of conservatism and reaction are in control. Moreover, such forces are virtually unchallenged in the various communities of the South and the progressive elements of change in southern society have hardly had any impact on the public school system. If we choose to avoid the issues of desegregation and public education in the South because they are too difficult or frustrating, we can be assured that those now controlling public education will welcome our departure. They are secure in the knowledge that the education bureaucracy is a tenacious and everlasting institution, one which flourishes on public neglect and ignorance. The present state of the system of public education in the South is due largely to the fact that our citizenry has been content to let the system educate us as it saw fit, seldom holding it accountable for the quality of education for which it was responsible or for the mis-educated people it produced. The issue of school desegregation

has now presented us with the opportunity to *begin* to develop an informed and aggressive group of southerners who will initiate fundamental educational change in their communities. If those with the resources to be of assistance to them fail, it will mean only further decay and disillusionment.

There are also some elementary and pragmatic reasons which will cause desegregation itself to remain alive as a vital issue in the South and which may well attract the crucial focus of our attention in the future. First, there is Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which was passed primarily for the purpose of eliminating *de jure* racial segregation in our public schools. Regardless of how we view that law, its weaknesses and the fragility of its implementation, there is every indication that it will continue to be used as a lever to require more southern school systems to eliminate race as a criteria for the assignment of pupils to public schools. This is not to say that we can be assured that HEW will continue to insist that such school districts also eliminate their dual school systems—a requirement which is more fundamental to our concerns than is the mere prohibition of assignment of pupils by race.

Barring some action by Congress which would totally deprive HEW of its enforcement power—and I do not exclude that possibility—we are at least assured of creeping desegregation in the future years through the use of freedom-of-choice plans. Both Mr. Nixon and HEW policy are extremely unpredictable and it is not impossible that the Second Reconstruction will go the way of its nineteenth century predecessor. But for now there does seem to be a national commitment enforced by both law and policy, no matter how timid or tentative, which will produce greater school desegregation in the South in the immediate future. Unless that commitment is completely abandoned, the school officials of the South will continue to feel the real and psychological pressure generated by the weary employees of HEW. Black schools may remain but desegregation will continue with deliberate speed.

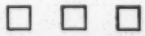
Second, we must recognize that to buttress what may well be only a minimal enforcement of the federal law there are the federal courts. These institutions are themselves quite imperfect and painfully cautious in administering justice, but here too there seems to be a clear trend toward requiring school districts to get on with the job of desegregating their schools. A major problem, however, is that neither the Supreme Court nor the appellate or district courts have really decided to what extent they should become involved in spelling out the precise constitutional responsibilities of a school district in eliminating the *de jure* system of racially segregated schools.

Nevertheless, it appears that the courts are becoming an increasingly important force in nudging the pace of school desegregation ahead, though there is good reason to wonder if the courts are capable of making sound judgments on the more knotty problems of equality of educational opportunity and even the drawing of attendance zones, especially when they tend to hold the "professional" opinion of the local school officials in such high regard. It appears that more and more school districts will come under court orders, with the usual result having been that districts can achieve minimal progress while continuing to receive federal funds. But so long as the courts continue to interpret the 14th Amendment in the light of the 1954 *Brown* decision and the 1968 *Green v. School Board of New Kent County, Virginia* decision, there is promise that their orders will continue to produce more desegregation.

Third, we must be concerned with school desegregation and its pace because there is considerable evidence that a quality education is largely dependent upon abolishing racially segregated schools. While the black people in the urban ghettos of the North and West—

as well as in some urban and rural ghettos of the South—have lately been forced by the circumstances of their *de facto* segregated condition to abandon this view, it is valid for most of the South.

The findings of the massive study of the U.S. Office of Education, *Equality of Educational Opportunity,* and the report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* are sufficient evidence to press forward with the task of school desegregation in the South. If the conclusions of these studies are valid—that children in school tend to learn more from each other than they do from teachers, from the use of school facilities, or from the use of educational materials, and that compensatory education is no substitute for integrated education in producing academic achievement—then there is good reason for using desegregation as a device productive of a greater mix of students of all racial and economic backgrounds. If our paramount concern is with the quality of our children's education, the abolition of the dual school system in the South continues to be essential to the achievement of that goal.



The Poor People's Campaign expressed much of the concern felt by black people and poor people about education. In response, the U.S. Office of Education established a special Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged. While this office has no real power, it is designed to provide poor people with information about federally-funded education programs and to receive complaints from poor people regarding their exclusion from them.

Also resulting from these grievances submitted to HEW by the Poor People's Campaign were new regulations requiring the involvement of the poor in programs of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act serving their children. One of these regulations requires local school districts to establish advisory committees to assist in the "planning, operation, and appraisal of a comprehensive compensatory education program" with at least half of the members of the committee composed of "parents of disadvantaged children" attending schools receiving programs funded by Title I, ESEA. The regulations also require that the Title I program include appropriate activities or services in which parents will be involved. In spite of these and other new requirements—potentially powerful levers for involving poor and black people in the affairs of the education system—it is doubtful that many school districts in the South have followed these requirements or that low-income people know they exist. When such advisory committees are formed, how can we be sure that their members will be sufficiently informed and aggressive so that they will differ from the rubber stamps sitting on the community action boards which are part of local Office of Economic Opportunity programs?

When I ran for the school board in a local district in South Carolina in 1968 I found that there were concerned white parents, clearly middle-class and moderate, who were concerned that the school system was not taking realistic and progressive steps to deal with the human relations and academic problems created by desegregation. These parents had no idea how to begin to change the school system or how to prod the administration into coping with its own problems. Similarly, one finds that even the most conscientious monitor of public institutions in southern communities, the League of Women Voters, frequently compiles excellent data on the operation of the school system but then finds it difficult to translate this information into effective pressure which will initiate reform in the school system.

Nothing has been more frustrating for me than to go into a community where there are no public meetings of the school board and to have to tell people that they have a right to demand such meetings. When such issues are raised

some people are surprised to learn that this is their *right,* while others recognize the injustice of the conditions but are so demoralized that they doubt their ability to change the traditional operation of the school system. Over and over again one finds that those people who really are concerned about quality education and desegregation and who want to do something to change the school system feel ill-equipped to confront the system and to make demands of it.

These concerned citizens are quick to admit that they know nothing of education programs. They have probably not given serious thought to the kind of education system they want. They just know that *something* is wrong. These people don't know anything about the techniques for dealing with the problems of children who are below their grade level. They have been convinced that compensatory education programs can "uplift" the child of the low-income family, that such children are being significantly helped by Headstart, and that these "disadvantaged" children fail because of their home environment or their own lack of "intelligence," but never because the school has failed them. Many of these well-educated and middle-class people are themselves overcautious about moves to achieve meaningful desegregation because they fear the impact of black children on the "quality" of the present educational system. Because these average citizens have left the job of education to the "professionals," they have blindly fallen victim to old myths and have taken the word of school officials about what is best for their children and the children of people different from themselves. Like the members of the school board, they are unfamiliar with options their school system could exercise in favor of better education, desegregation, or both.

It is clear then that efforts must be made to establish at least a cadre of persons in southern communities whose first concern is with quality education. Perhaps this is the logical role of the PTA, but by and large the PTA has been both impotent and irrelevant to the fundamental issues of education discussed here. Some communities have established groups such as the Beaufort County Education Committee composed of parents and interested citizens to monitor the actions of the local school system. But a much more intensive effort is required. Until a group of citizens in each community begins to grapple with the problems of education and to educate themselves about the range and quality of options available to the local school district, there will be little change. At least some persons in the community must be able to understand what school principals and superintendents are talking about when they use such terms as "homogeneous grouping," and these persons must become acquainted with the potential of such methods as team teaching, a nongraded system, academic games, teaching English as a second language, and other innovations of demonstrated effectiveness in improving academic achievement. They must, in other words, come to have some notion of what constitutes a good educational system and how its operation is different from an inferior system. They must begin to consult with teachers, not on a group-to-group level alone, but on an intensive one-to-one basis, rising above the usual superficial contact made when Johnny brings home a bad report card. They must begin to understand the concerns and the limitations of the teacher and to discover how teachers perceive the local education system and their role in it. They must also take the "radical" step of consulting with groups of high school students to discover their perception of the system and what they see as its failures.

There are other necessary steps. A new militancy is required in response to localism. Local citizens must begin to demonstrate to the school system that

education policy can no longer be formulated, programmed, and evaluated without community participation. They must begin to work with teachers in their demands for more involvement in the development of the education program. Citizens' groups must continuously and consistently engage the central office staff of the school district and the state department of education, making the bureaucracy conscious of the legitimate and responsible grievances of citizens, aware of the needs of the community and mindful that it must adequately respond to such needs. Efforts must be made to seek out the competent and creative educators in the system—to listen to them and learn how the community can facilitate change in the school system. Such groups must also begin to hold extensive discussions with the boards of education regarding the nature of their role and responsibilities in representing the body politic. But a first step is for citizens to ask themselves what kind of educational system they want, what that system as it functions in the local community is, and what that system is doing.

"Quality education" itself is a term glibly used by local educators and political leaders alike. There is never, it seems, any definition of this term though such a definition is central to an understanding of the goals of any movement for progressive change within the educational system. For the purpose of this discussion of what we should be doing to achieve this elusive goal, I offer my own belief of what a quality education does:

A quality education gives the student the basic skills which he needs for the great range of opportunities before him when he completes his education. A quality education equips him with the tools (reading, writing, reasoning, etc.) so that *he* — not his teacher, not his parents, not our society—but *he*—can determine what he wants to do with his life and will be well prepared to take the next step toward that goal.

A quality education challenges his assumptions about life and about people, and it introduces him to new experiences which expand his understanding and appreciation of the world and people in it.

A quality education gives the student the opportunity for self-exploration so that he can develop his own ideas, so that he can think critically and independently, and so that he can begin to know himself.

A quality education helps the student develop a sense of values, including an appreciation for the worth and humanity of his fellow men and an understanding of the necessity for his involvement in the social and political structure of his society.

Quality Ed — Defined

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

LAWLESSNESS AND DISORDER

Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation

Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.
--Matthew, 7:5.

Introduction

This report is the third in a period of four years in which the Southern Regional Council has attempted to tell the nation of the deplorable degree of failure in the South to comply with the law of the land against racial discrimination in education, and to suggest the terrible implications of this failure.

In the previous two reports, in 1965 and 1966, there were empirical and psychological reasons for including some guardedly optimistic, some hopeful words, saying that surely the situation would be corrected. This would come, it could be felt, once the nation realized the extent of failure, of resistance by men of public trust in the South, of ineptitude and unrealism on the part of those charged with enforcement, of savage damage done to children of both races by this enduring record of flaunting the law.

This time there seems almost no hope, virtually no reason to find optimistic words, to say things may improve. The mistakes of the past are repeated. The nation has not seemed aware even of the failure, let alone resolute enough to end it.

Such a dismal report comes at a time when many Americans --young people and Negroes especially--are disaffected, disillusioned, disgusted with the government, the basic institutions, the socially expressed values of their country.

Riots, repressions of civil liberties, distrust to the degree of hatred of police by many citizens, acrimony so bitter in the exchange of ideas that debate degenerates into cat-calls, the murder of leaders--these are the marks of the disintegration to which American public life has come. A tendency to anarchy, a willingness to destroy the good along with the bad of such a basic institution as higher education, is evident on the one hand. A tendency to right-wing totalitarianism is evident on the other.

And the public expresses its perception of all of this with a cry for law and order. Politicians use the term as a shibboleth.

There have been lawlessness and disorder rampant across the South since 1954 regarding the just requirement that racial discrimination in education be ended. This has been the signal failure in a whole incredible series of failures in the rights of Negroes, in society's obligations to the poor. Children are starving among us, and the official reaction is most often to deny the existence of that starvation, rather than to respond to it, alleviate it.

The real story told in this report is that of where the real breakdown in law and order, all along, has been. It is a terrifying story of the object lesson in dishonesty and hypocrisy our government and our society have provided for a whole generation of young Americans.

The only real hope that we can put into a report like this is the fervent one that the American people will come

to see what true law and order means, and act at last to achieve it, with justice for all.

Pat Watters

PART I

FULL CIRCLE OF FAILURE

by Glenda Bartley
Director of Research
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In the long decade between the Supreme Court's first decision in Brown v. Topeka Board of Education and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, faith in the ability of federal courts to affect substantial integration in the public schools of the South had sharply diminished. At the time Congress gave legislative sanction to the nation's fundamental law, there were only 34,105 (1.17 per cent of Negro enrollment) Negro children attending school with whites in the eleven southern states. Hope now hinged on Title VI of the act, which contained the ingredients for a small revolution. Then, for three, bitter, frustrating, defeated years, attention was focused on the enforcement agency for Title VI--the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It seemed that HEW's Office of Education with its power to cut off federal funds now had the weapon to wring compliance from the previously unbudgeable South, that school desegregation would cease to be a phenomenon of urban tokenism.

Essentially, the shift away from the courts to the executive branch made school desegregation wholly an administrative matter.

The Administrative Era

In the first year of this administrative era (1965), the Office of Education issued guidelines for compliance with the act. The freedom-of-choice clause (theoretically

allowing parents to send their children to any school in a given system) in these guidelines, and in those issued subsequently, still placed the burden of desegregation on Negro school children and their parents, but the weight of resistance was shifted from southern legislatures to individual school administrators. Neither the novices at HEW nor experienced observers outside the South calculated the nature and ability of their new adversaries. School administrators in a region yet uncommitted to education are a lonely and beleaguered lot. (Support for education as a regional panacea is more dogma than dollars.) Early outraged protest over federal intervention and federal control soon settled into the sure manipulation by one parallel bureaucracy of the other.

It was also during the brief period before schools opened under the first guidelines that the real violence set in. The previous ten years had been relatively free of it in the matter of school desegregation. There was Mansfield, and Clinton, and Little Rock, and New Orleans, where screaming mother-mobs appeared on television as the first wave of mass media theater of the absurd. But the violence was done mostly to psyches of the few Negro children. During the first judicial era (1954-64), the mode of southern private resistance was as often economic as physical terrorism. And the targets of the bombs, beatings, burnings, bullets, firings, credit cut-offs, and foreclosures were most often not parents who tried to send their children to "white" schools, but people who tried to gain access to

public accommodations, register to vote, and the like. This was largely because there were virtually no Negro parents making the attempt in the rural areas and small towns where the varieties of terrorism have been most virulent. In the cities, where most of the (token) school desegregation occurred during the first judicial era, the terrorism was mainly within the schools, a low-grade, day-by-day torture of the Negro children by their schoolmates, teachers, and administrators.

Out in the rural areas of the South, where law enforcement was repressive before it became fashionable to be so, the advent of the guidelines, the threat that black children might actually go to school with white children, brought a wave of terror unmatched since post-Reconstruction whites rode around in bedsheets. And economic retaliation against the few Negroes who chose the "white" school did not abate.

In September, 1965, 184,308 (6.1 per cent) Negro children enrolled in "white" schools.

In spite of the increased violence and the pitifully small number of Negroes in desegregated situations, there was a national misunderstanding of what was happening in the South. There were several reasons for this. The administrative experiment was taking place in rural areas of the South--crossroads towns and hamlets as ill-geared for news coverage as Ulverstone, Tasmania. And, since there had been virtually no desegregation at all before, any small gain was often hailed as a triumph. Another reason for the national misunderstanding was perhaps caused by national

news media's probably unconscious wish to have done with the violence attendant on any significant social change in the South. This passion for tranquility, for order, has led many a responsible reporter, magazine, newspaper, and television network to announce the advent of another school year as an occasion of "increased desegregation," or even "massive desegregation...without violence." (An example of such was the story which ran under a headline proclaiming that school desegregation swept peacefully across Dixie: the story itself recounted instances of desegregators' homes fired into--as many as 32 times--in three towns in one state alone.)

March, 1966, brought new guidelines aimed at plugging some of the loopholes that observers felt accounted for the debacle during the first year of the administrative era. Freedom-of-choice, the most commonly used southern compliance method, remained. The choice forms were mailed that spring; federal negotiations with individual districts continued; a few school systems, notably in Alabama and Mississippi (with their unpopular national image), had their funds terminated; private agencies, already cognizant they were doing the federal government's job, sent field workers to persuade Negro parents to choose the "white" school.

In 1966 there were 2,598,842 (or 88 per cent of the Negro enrollment) in all-Negro schools, more, due to population increases and the small amount of desegregation, than had attended segregated schools in the year of the first Brown decision.

New guidelines were issued in December, 1966, but it was about over--the administrative era. Negro parents, target of every trick known to a national minority accustomed to working its will on the nation in matters of race, were getting tired. Negro children, in all too many instances in desegregated schools abused, excluded from activities, were disillusioned. Private agencies' field workers, who had often been Negroes' only assurance that all of white America was not hostile, that they and their children were not totally alone, were reluctantly pulling out.

When school opened in September, 1967, 86 per cent of southern Negro students remained in segregated schools. Figures for the Deep South were more depressing: Alabama, 94.6; Mississippi, 96.1; South Carolina, 93.6; Georgia, 90.1; and Louisiana, 93.3.

Defeat for the administrative experiment in education in the only large nation without a national school system came for a number of reasons. Freedom-of-choice was a fatal blunder. It allowed the violence to work its will, permitted white terrorists a victory denied their "respectable" counterparts of the 1950's. Negro parents, who had from the first simply been interested in getting their children the best education available, failed to see the educational value of losing a job, being shot at, in order that the children might attend a school only a little less bad than the "Negro" one. Even without white resistance, the free choice concept in its pure form is an administrative impossibility. Realizing this early on,

authors of guidelines and court orders as well were forced to attach exemption clauses (read as loopholes by southern schoolmen) taking into account such physical realities as "proximity," "overcrowding" and the like.

The confounding of Title VI was perhaps present all along within the same act. Title IV, little noticed in 1964, has haunted all the efforts launched under Title VI. There are many districts in the South which are like Washington, D. C., where the school population is mostly Negro and defies conventional zoning or other plans to make it desegregated. Such districts in the South are still overwhelmingly rural, but Atlanta, Memphis, Richmond, and other cities are already, or soon will be, in this category. Title IV prohibits "bussing" to achieve racial balance. How then desegregate majority-Negro districts, or large school systems in which de facto housing segregation perpetuates school segregation? Pairing (making one elementary school serve grades 1-2, another grades 3-4, etc., drawing children from wider geographic areas in the process), said some experts. Combination pairing-zoning, said others. And still others suggested educational parks, federally financed in fringe areas to accommodate suburban whites and ghetto blacks. This would be achieved with urging from (the same) Title IV's technical assistance teams and pressure of fund termination from Title VI (carrot and stick, repeated ad nauseum--the carrot magically to overcome heretofore sacrosanct district boundaries, to say nothing of county lines and jurisdictions hallowed in

the South, but the other part of the formula, the basic question, ignored--WHAT STICK?). The restriction on bussing eliminated the possibility of drawing up zone plans which would ultimately destroy the dual school structure--erase the designations "Negro" and "white."

It is therefore useless (and even cruel) to criticize too strongly the failure of the Office of Education to map a strategy other than freedom-of-choice.

The weapon--termination of federal funds--did not prove effective. Most often the sufferers were the pitiful black schools. Many southern superintendents seem to hold to the philosophy that "Negro" and "federal" are synonymous terms. These schoolmen use federal school funds, like those allotted under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for upgrading education in "deprived" areas, to bring Negro schools' per pupil expenditures up to the level afforded "white" schools by local finances.

Perhaps the best summary of the failure of the administrative experiment is contained in an example of massive school desegregation as it swept non-violently across Unadilla, Georgia.

Roy Hunter was beaten by schoolmates more than once at Unadilla High School and received threats on his life up until the moment of his singular dark presence in the graduation exercises from that seat of learning. Three years before, in 1965, his mother, fired from her job, had found a dead bear on her front porch--local whites' reminder that her eight children had chosen the wrong school. Finally, in 1968, Unadilla lost its federal

money--200,000 badly needed dollars. All but $25,000 of that money had gone to the Negro school--much of it spent for lunches (upgrading education in the South is all too often a matter of feeding children who get little food at home). The community raised tax millage to replace the $25,000, and the superintendent announced that since the system no longer received federal funds, the "white" school would no longer accept black children. The Hunter children had been the only desegregators all along. Displaying the kind of courage that seems required of those who still believe in this country's fundamental law, they again attended the "white" school in the fall of 1968.

The Second Judicial Era

March 29, 1967, marked the advent of the second judicial era in school desegregation. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, sitting en banc (full court), directed each state within the circuit to take all necessary affirmative action to bring about a "unitary school system in which there are no Negro schools and no white schools--just schools."

In October, 1967, the Supreme Court refused to review the order, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People declared the Fifth Circuit ruling to be "the most influential school desegregation opinion" since Brown versus Topeka.

Indeed it was. In effect it gave legal sanction to the guidelines, while insisting that freedom-of-choice plans would be thoroughly examined by the courts to deter-

mine whether the method was working.

On May 27, 1968, the Supreme Court issued a similar ruling, stating that,

> In desegregating a dual system of public education, a plan utilizing student 'freedom-of-choice' is not an end in itself but is only a means to the constitutionally required end, the abolition of the system of segregation and its effects, and, if it proves effective, it is acceptable, but, if it fails to undo segregation, other means must be used to achieve that end.*

Clearly freedom-of-choice had failed in almost every instance to abolish "the system of segregation and its effects."

The decisions renewed hope, all but bludgeoned to death by more than a decade of too many Unadillas, an Ezekiel's Wheel kind of hope that freedom-of-choice itself would be abolished. At the same time civil rights and legal agencies were renewing their efforts to desegregate southern schools, Education Commissioner Harold Howe, II, was expressing federal relief at the re-entrance of the courts in a manner which should have been ominous to those who were anticipating a new concerted effort by executive and judicial branches. Howe said: "Our policies are clearly supported by the courts.....It's not as necessary now as it formerly was for those of us in Education to have a role in civil rights compliance."

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*Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, 88 S.Ct. 1689 (1968).

A federal district court in Alabama had issued an order (also in March, 1967) which would, in fact, result in a collision of the two branches of the federal government in the matter of school desegregation. Lee v. Macon County placed 99 of Alabama's 118 school districts under court order. These were districts that had formerly been operating under HEW guidelines. During the summer of 1967, HEW declared that the Lanett, Alabama, school system was not in compliance with the guidelines and was therefore ineligible for federal aid; Lanett school officials protested that they were now under a court-approved plan, and in July the court held that it was the court's responsibility to determine whether school systems were in compliance with its order. Urging HEW to continue investigations and to report any failures to comply, the court warned, however, that HEW could only take action with its specific approval.

But meanwhile, all across the South during 1967 and the spring and summer of 1968 old school cases were reopened and new ones filed. Results were familiar to those old enough to remember Brown I and Brown II. District courts in numerous cases overthrew freedom-of-choice plans and ordered school boards to submit geographic zoning plans drawn so as to afford substantial desegregation.

In many respects the new judicial era was exactly like the old. It introduced an entirely new concept in equal education to southern whites. No less revolutionary than the Supreme Court's announcing in 1954 that separate

educational facilities were inherently unequal was the idea that desegregation meant white children attending formerly "Negro" schools. Freedom-of-choice had been the interim separate but equal, not a transitional concept, but educational dogma. HEW's acceptance of gradualism was not nearly so damning as its acceptance of the southern solution. Freedom-of-choice meant Negroes, as many as could stand it, in white schools. New, court ordered, the zone concept literally meant mixing the schools. Administrators (the South, they said, the people, simply weren't ready for it, no sir) reluctantly drew up the new plans.* Through the late spring and early summer resistance grew. Just as in the first judicial era, it was mainly the cities of the South that were affected. And the resistance had a citified, sophisticated new look, not seen since the administrative experiment moved the issue to the rural South. Committees, organizations (Stand Together and Never Divide, etc.) of white parents formed (reformed, in many instances--a new generation of resisters) to fight for freedom-of-choice. Almost without exception they were victorious.

The new judicial era fell victim to many of the traps that had plagued the old one. Federal judges, admittedly

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*The Supreme Court stated in Brown II (1955): "It should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them." Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1955, 349 U.S. 294, 75 S.Ct. 753, 99 L.Ed. 1083.

not educators, were often forced to believe elaborate arguments by schoolmen that what the courts requested was simply not (immediately) possible. Redraw all school boundaries...75,000 children involved...teachers already assigned...overcrowding...undercrowding...BUSSING...You see, your honor, we would very much like to comply with the court order, and we will...but not now. (A federal district judge in Mississippi recently ruled that, since whites would pull out of a zone-desegregated school system, freedom-of-choice was consititutional. This bit of tortured judicial reasoning was engendered by a poll, conducted by whites, of whites in the district. The poll revealed that white parents would refuse to send their children to public schools; therefore, no desegregation would exist. So, freedom-of-choice would, at least in theory, allow more desegregation.)

Also, pressure by white parents in many locales had almost the same effect as threats by southern legislatures a decade before. These parents, through their organizations, said they would, and in some instances did, close the schools down rather than desegregate them. (In Chesterfield County, South Carolina, schools were closed for a week due to protests by white parents. They were reopened September 15, 1968, after the board reinstituted the freedom-of-choice plan.)

Mobile, Alabama, seemed to sum up the first year of the new judicial era: The Mobile case had been in court for many years. The system was operating under freedom-of-choice. In 1967 two per cent of Negro school children attended "white"

schools. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in March, 1968, instructed the school board to adopt a rigid (no provisions for transfers within the system to avoid attending a desegregated school) zone plan, which would have placed about 1,400 white children in formerly all-Negro schools. White parents organized (Stand Together, etc., and Whites Organized for Rights Keeping); the area's state senator filed a motion in federal court seeking to overturn the new ruling on grounds it would be unsafe for white children to attend all-Negro schools. After a summer of legal battling the federal district judge who had issued the initial order came up with a plan allowing senior high schools to operate under freedom-of-choice, requiring specified attendance zones for elementary and junior high schools, and permitting more liberal transfers within the attendance zones. When school opened in September, an estimated 3,500 Negroes were in formerly all-white schools; but very few whites were in formerly all-Negro ones.

Mississippi, as usual, was the epitome of frustration, confusion, and a certain hope. School cases in 50 of Mississippi's 148 districts are to be reopened in the fall. A spokesman for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., the most active agency in the legal battle for school desegregation, was confident that in most of those districts freedom-of-choice would be discarded and zone or pairing plans required. The spokesman also stated that such action would result in whites pulling out of the public schools in several districts. "It depends on the

district," he said. "Where whites are proud of the schools, where the schools are good, whites will stay. In the Delta, where schools are bad, whites will probably pull out." He cited Corinth, a relatively prosperous community in northern Mississippi, as an example of a good school system's holding whites in spite of a comprehensive zone plan that would result in substantial desegregation. Though Mississippi still has a tuition grant statute, which theoretically could support private schools, there is little chance of its indefinite survival. The Legal Defense Fund spokesman, wise in the ways of Mississippi, and still hopeful, said, "Whites will probably go through the full cycle of resistance and come back to reconciliation again--just as they did before." He felt that the South might yet solve the problem of desegregation before the North began, really, to grapple with it.

The Pattern of Failure

There was the chance, a slim one, that the courts might succeed, might assure justice at last to school children in the South. But all the foregoing history indicates failure, and the results of the first year of the second judicial era bear out this gloomy prophesy. Though no official figures were available in late September, 1968, the old pattern seemed to hold. A few more Negroes in school with whites in the cities; in some instances rural "Negro" schools closed and the entire student body absorbed by the "white" ones; a minuscule number of whites in formerly all-Negro schools. The second judicial era would, it seemed,

encounter the same dilemma that doomed the first one: Governor Lurleen Wallace, paraphrasing another Southerner who flouted the law when it suited him to do so, said of the Fifth Circuit ruling, "They have made their decision, now let them enforce it."

Why those who had lived through the first era, had watched the few children life-scarred for the privilege of entering a building, fanned the old hope again is probably irrelevant. But the results of fourteen long years of methodizing, legalizing, computerizing, analyzing, and finally, mortifying what is, after all, the basic right of every American child--the right to a good education, the right to enter any building to get that education--will long be felt in this nation.

We teach children, all children, that the United States of America is dedicated to law and order. We lie. We have shown a generation of American children, in the public institution closest to their lives, the schools, that this nation's fundamental law need not be obeyed; we have clearly demonstrated to them that what we expect is their conformity to lipservice to the shibboleth. What will be the awful effects of this lie upon children, black and white alike? What depths of disillusionment when they hear us say "law" and observe only "order?"

After a generation has beheld successful evasion, rationalized vaccillation, outright flaunting of the law, only a country absolutely wedded to the totalitarian concept of order without law could turn on the victims of lawlessness and accuse them of destroying the fabric of society.

PART II

THE CONGRESS, THE COURTS, AND THE NATIONAL WILL

by Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor of Southern Regional
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The story of how desegregation still hovers at a low level of tokenism involves not only official defiance of the federal government and intimidation of Negro parents and students but, of late, extremely effective persuasion by southern congressmen.

In 1966, a southern assault on the HEW guidelines was directed primarily at desegregation percentage requirements which HEW said were used only to measure a school system's rate of progress from one year to the other. Southerners said the percentages were promulgated to bring about racial balance in the schools in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The southern strategy, appealing to northern fears that HEW's next move would be to attack de facto segregation and the sanctity of the neighborhood school, was partially successful in emasculating the guidelines. The House voted to require the U. S. Office of Education to hold a full hearing before withholding funds from a school district considered to be in violation of the guidelines. A House-Senate conference changed the provision to allow for fund "deferrals," provided a hearing be held within 60 days. In addition, the Southerners succeeded in slashing HEW's budget request for funds to increase its compliance staff.

In 1967, House Southerners largely remained in the background as a northern liberal -- Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.) -- fought their segregation battles for them. In amendments

to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1967, Rep. Green succeeded in requiring HEW to apply its school desegregation guidelines uniformly to all 50 states, and to cite statutory authority under which it withheld federal funds from noncomplying districts. Southerners supported both measures, charging that in the past, HEW acted discriminatorily in applying the guidelines only to the South and illegally in denying funds without authority of the Civil Rights Act. Southern civil rights forces were disappointed at the adoption of the amendments which they saw as no more than spiteful diversionary tactics designed to fragment HEW's compliance efforts in the South.

Southern officialdom gained another victory in 1967 when a Senate attack led by Georgia Senator Richard Russell resulted in a policy statement from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, pledging that the agency would give school systems notice of any possible fund termination six months prior to the start of the school year. Earlier Russell had introduced an amendment to the Secondary and Elementary Education Act, which would have flatly prohibited HEW from cutting off funds at any time during the school year. Senator Wayne Morse, floor manager for the bill, said he could not accept the Russell amendment. Southerners, no friends of federal aid to education anyway, threatened to filibuster the whole bill to death if he did not. But the policy pledge by Secretary Gardner placated Southerners.

They abandoned their efforts to enact the Russell amendment. Interestingly, however, Russell, on the floor of the Senate, later admitted that he had "no assurance whatsoever" that his measure could have passed. He conceded the Secretary's policy statement was probably for his forces better than passage of his own amendment because it might have been killed in a Senate-House conference. In a letter to his Senate colleagues, Russell said the compromise represented a larger concession than he had thought possible.

In June of 1968, a coalition of Southerners and northern moderates united in the House to bring about what Georgia Congressman John Flynt described as "congressional sanction to 'freedom-of-choice.'" On a crucial 139-109 tally, the House voted to retain the so-called "Whitten Amendment" to the HEW Appropriations Act. That amendment (named after its sponsor, Rep. Jamie Whitten, D.-Miss.) stated:

> 409. No part of the funds contained in this Act may be used to force busing of students, abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent.
>
> 410. No part of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to force busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the attendance of students of a particular school as a condition precedent to obtaining federal funds otherwise available to any state, school district, or school.

Proponents of the amendment were frank in seeking to link their cause with that of northern advocates of the neighborhood school. Rep. Whitten warned his colleagues that "what has been visited upon certain areas of the country is about to spread throughout the nation." Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes (D.-Fla.) after describing what he termed "harassment" of school officials in Florida concluded:

> This is what is happening to schools throughout the land. Probably it has happened to your schools. If not, it will.

Rep. Charles E. Goodell (R.-N. Y.), speaking against the amendment, stated the issue clearly: "The two amendments . . . specifically provide that no federal money can be used to assist school districts in their plans, or to press school districts in their plans to meet the Supreme Court decision."

Rep. Emmanuel Cellar (D.-N. Y.) was even more blunt. "What is sought here is to overturn the Supreme Court decision [regarding freedom-of-choice]."

Rep. Whitten denied that it was his intention to nullify the court decree; however, he declared that when it came to appropriations, "we don't have to pay any more attention to the courts than we want to."

The impact of the House action sent shock waves into civil rights ranks, raising serious doubts as to the congressional will on its own school desegregation legislation. Despite the fact that HEW, under reorganized enforcement procedures, continued to talk tough about its future plans and, conceding the goodwill and intentions of its compliance officers, the agency would obviously have been crippled in its enforcement efforts by the Whitten amendment. Some civil rights observers thought the amendment would so seriously restrict future HEW desegregation efforts as not only to legalize freedom-of-choice desegregation plans but to make them the only sort of desegregation plans acceptable. Rep. Goodell, for example, put it this way:

> The indirect effect of this, I fear, will be that school districts which are negotiating with the federal government as to how they can get full integration in their school systems . . . will find themselves in a position that when the school board redistricts it will not be able to assign pupils unless the parents of all these pupils agree and give their consent.

The Whitten amendment -- pushed in the Senate by Georgia Senator Richard Russell -- ran into opposition in the Senate Appropriations Committee. Liberals succeeded in adding a clause making the appropriations restrictions applicable only to instances where HEW might attempt to "overcome racial im-

balance." Southerners on the committee gained concessions from their northern colleagues when the committee approved another Russell-sponsored amendment requiring HEW to assign as many compliance officers to northern states as to the South.* The committee also approved two other segregationist amendments, preventing HEW from cutting off funds derived from timber taxes or from denying school lunch and medical service funds to southern schools. In September, the full Senate approved the committee bill with the amendments cited.

House proponents of the legislation, however, were set for a showdown fight and in a House-Senate conference committee succeeded in reinstating the Whitten Amendment. The appropriations bill was resubmitted to the House which in an abrupt about-face rejected the Whitten Amendment outright by a 175-167 vote. Southern civil rights forces, prepared for the worst, were astounded; southern congressmen abjected. "We had the votes," lamented Georgia Congressman John Flynt, "if the people had been there."

The Congress v. the Courts

Beyond the immediate effects of the congressional action on school desegregation (and the mere fact that the Whitten Amendment could gain the northern support that it

*The amendment seemed to represent a basic contradiction. For to require HEW to devote as much effort to desegregation in the North as in the South was to give HEW the mandate to move against de facto segregation everywhere. Yet Title IV of the Civil Rights Act forbids any action to overcome racial imbalance inherent in de facto segregation.

did was in itself a sobering commentary on the national commitment to integration), civil rights forces saw another potentially greater threat both to the civil rights cause and to civil liberties. Implicit throughout the House debate on the Whitten Amendment was the sentiment for congressional restraints on the Supreme Court. That sentiment was translated into action with passage of the controversial "anti-crime" bill, a portion of which specifically nullifies a Supreme Court decision in regard to the admissibility of voluntary confessions in criminal proceedings. Most certainly it was a factor in the decision of some senators to oppose the elevation of Justice Abe Fortas to Chief Justice of the Court.

Yet in the realities of American politics, even pessimistic civil rights advocates doubted that the Congress will succeed in actually bringing about a legal reversal of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions. Even an attempt to do so would bring the nation to a constitutional crisis such as it has not had since the Civil War. More likely, there will be continued efforts to render the rulings meaningless through appropriations restrictions and reductions. Northern liberals who seem to have no hesitance in siding with southern segregationists on such restrictions when they see de facto segregation threatened would hardly go along with an overt racist effort to nullify the courts. Southern congressmen, too, apparently have learned just how far they can take their northern colleagues. House debate on

the Whitten amendment, for instance, was largely void of the fire-eating oratory characteristic of southern congressmen in the wake of the 1954 Brown decision. Thus if current trends in the Congress continue, trends which increasingly seem to reflect opinion of a portion of white middle-class America, politely affirmative on such easy either/or issues as the end of de jure segregation in the South, but increasingly testy and antagonistic toward implementing measures that will cost more than lip service, dismantling of other civil rights enforcement and procedures might also be expected.

The federal structure itself perhaps doomed the administrative effort to achieve desegregation. Empowering an agency to carry out congressional mandate allows legislators (who control the real power) the right to give and to take away -- to speak out vehemently for civil rights and then on critical roll calls to cripple the agency charged with gauranteeing those rights. In 1964, the nation seemed bent on conferring citizenship on Negroes. Stokely Carmichael articulated black power in 1966 and white power seemed to breathe a sigh of relief that Negroes no longer deserved nor even desired the honor.

The fact is that while Northerners have only recently begun to wrestle with the thorny problems of de facto segrega-

tion, many Southerners at last have come to view the process of school desegregation as a rather dull serial in which each year begins with high expectations and ends with disappointing results. They see the slow pace of school integration as a barometer of the whole national will in the matter of civil rights enforcement. For certainly all of the law and all of the court decrees necessary for the fulfillment of a century's promise have been made. What remains wanting, after all of the high and noble sentiments have been expressed, is the commitment to implement them.

In the meanwhile, the disgrace of continued failure to bring about an end to dual schools was having precisely the effect that white racist elements in the South had striven without success in previous years to bring about. As the summer of 1968 unfolded and a new school year approached, many Negroes, reflecting in varying degrees a concept of "black awareness," had come to feel that school desegregation is no longer a relevant issue. "Why don't whites ever transfer to our schools? Why should we be the ones to do all the sacrificing?" Some voice the attitude, too, that if "quality" education can be achieved in an all-Negro school, then why should Negro children suffer the pain, the estrangement, the cruelty they subject themselves to in desegregating a "previously all-white school." "Separate but equal," never achiev-

ed when it was the law of the land, becomes now a sour goal of the disappointed, disillusioned, and betrayed.

APPENDIX I

JEFFERSON COUNTY AND MACON COUNTY SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DECISIONS

by

William Robert Gignilliat, III

and

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Mr. Gignilliat and Mr. Horwitz are recent graduates of Emory University Law School. Their paper was produced under the direction of SRC's research staff.

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APPENDIX I

The Jefferson County and Macon County decisions, analyzed in Appendix I, were the most significant school desegregation court actions of the 1960's. Jefferson County initiated a period of extensive judicial examination of the efficacy of freedom-of-choice as a means of abolishing the dual school structure and eliminating its effects. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Jefferson stressed school administrators' affirmative duty to erase the designations "Negro" and "white" schools and to offer children of both races a desegregated, equal education.

The federal district court for the middle district of Alabama, in its historic Macon County decision, recognized state school officials' responsibility for disestablishing the system of school segregation still prevalent in Alabama. Placing state officials under court order, federal district judges in effect undertook supervision of the elimination of the dual school structure throughout the state of Alabama.

JEFFERSON COUNTY AND MACON COUNTY
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DECISIONS

The Federal Mandate

Congress in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) authority for securing school desegregation in all local school systems receiving federal financial assistance. Pursuant to the provisions of Title VI and to the subsequent regulations,[1] HEW issued Statements of Policy (guidelines).[2]

Under the guideline procedures based upon the HEW regulations, school districts without dual school systems (presumed to be without racial discrimination) could file HEW Form 441 indicating that they were in full and immediate compliance with Title VI and the HEW regulations. These school systems would then be eligible to receive federal aid, and had no further obligation. Only if a complaint were filed and substantiated would HEW require additional assurance from the school district.

A district which operated a dual school system was required to file HEW Form 441-B. This indicated the school district had submitted a voluntary plan to desegregate its schools. In the South this was usually a freedom-of-choice desegregation plan. The guidelines included the basic standards and requirements to which a desegregation plan must conform to be acceptable. HEW had the authority to decide if the plan was acceptable and to determine if the school district was complying

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[1] 45 C.F.R. Part 80 (1967). These have not been revised since they were first issued.

[2] 45 C.F.R. Part 180 (1967). The guidelines have been revised three times since they were first issued. The three revisions were in March and December, 1966, and September, 1967. It would be well to note here, as will be discussed later, that the guidelines are not regulations, were not signed by the President, and their authorization has a different basis.

with the plan subject to review. If the school system was not in compliance, or refused to desegregate, HEW was authorized to terminate all federal financial assistance to the school district. (It should be made clear that enforcement action ultimately ending in fund termination was not an arbitrary procedure by HEW compliance officials; rather HEW enforcement action included administrative safeguards: notification of suspected noncompliance, requests for voluntary modification, informal and formal hearings and appeals.) If a school system continued to refuse to comply with the requirements of the guidelines and had its funds terminated by HEW, the only way to force the district to desegregate was by going into a federal district court and obtaining a court order against the school system.

If a school district under court order to desegregate wished to continue to receive federal aid, it was required to submit to HEW the court order, accompanied by an assurance of compliance with that order. When both conditions were satisfied, the school district was automatically eligible to receive federal aid.

If a school district under a court order to desegregate would not meet these two conditions, the plaintiffs or the Justice Department could seek to rectify the situation by further litigation either in the form of a contempt proceeding or a stronger order to desegregate.

In the Fifth Circuit, a relatively large percentage* of school districts are under court order, with an even larger percentage of school children in court order districts. There are three basic reasons for this development. First, after the Brown case in 1954 and before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the only remedy against a segregated school system was a court order. In this ten-year period most large cities in the South were put under court order to desegregate. Second, after 1954, many school districts failing to comply with the HEW guidelines

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*See Tables 1 and 2.

were brought into court to force compliance. Third, school districts desiring to avoid the stricter HEW requirements sought court orders.

The Jefferson County Case

United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education is important not only because it gathered and analyzed school desegregation law developed since 1954, but it set forth a model decree designed to produce uniformity within the Fifth Circuit. It gave major emphasis to the affirmative duty of the school boards to eliminate discrimination in public schools. The fact that a model decree was issued indicated that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals would no longer tolerate an evasion of the law of the land and was determined to use the power in its hands to stop such evasion.[3]

Jefferson County consists of nine school desegregation cases consolidated for hearing on appeal by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.[4] Judge Wisdom wrote the first opinion, which was that of a three-judge court handed down on December 29, 1966, and which contained a major discussion of all the issues involved.[5] There was one dissent by District Judge Harold Cox, sitting by designation, who requested a hearing of the case by all twelve Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals judges. The en banc (full court) hearing produced a short, six-paragraph per curium opinion (an unsigned opinion by all concurring judges) which adopted with slight modification the opinion and model decree written by Judge Wisdom. The en banc opinion was handed down on March 29, 1967.

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[3] 372 F.2d 836 (5 Cir. 1966) affirmed on rehearing en banc Civil No. 23345 5 Cir., filed March 29, 1967.

[4] Three cases were appealed from the United States District Court for the Northern District of Alabama; five were appealed from the United States District Court for the Western District of Louisiana; and one was appealed from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana. Two of these were added by the en banc court.

[5] 372 f.2d 836.

Although much of what was in the Wisdom opinion (particularly much of the discussion of the guidelines) is dicta (statements necessary to support directly the holding of the decision), its discussion of issues and problems makes clear the ramifications of the decision and the Model Decree.[6] In the en banc decision, there was an overwhelming acceptance of Judge Wisdom's opinion.[7]

Judge Wisdom's expression of the court's impatience with delay was apparent: "The clock has ticked the last tick for tokenism and delay in the name of deliberate speed."[8]

Judge Wisdom's opinion began with the Supreme Court's pronouncement in the Brown cases[9] -- as all school desegregation cases must -- updating it by noting the developments in the law. Making it clear that the Supreme Court did not have token desegregation in mind as the ultimate goal and that Negro school children have more than a mere right to consideration for admission to white schools,[10] the opinion indicated it has been apparent since the Brown II decision, 1955, that a single racially nondiscriminatory system must be provided.

The court emphasized that the problem in the Fifth Circuit remained the undoing of de jure segregation -- of eliminating the dual school system. The decision defined de jure and de facto segregation very carefully, attaching a meaning that is important to note in order to

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[6]Civil No. 23345, 5 Cir., March 29, 1967. All references to the Jefferson County opinion will be to Judge Wisdom's opinion (372 F.2d 836) unless otherwise specified. All references to the Model Decree will be to the en banc modification handed down March 29, 1967, unless otherwise specified.

[7]There were eight judges concurring in the en banc decision, three judges dissenting, and one separate opinion concurring in the result.

[8]372 F.2d at 896.

[9]Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954), Brown I; Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U. S. 294 (1955), Brown II.

[10]Braxton v. Board of Public Education of Duval County, No. 4598-Civil-J, S. D. Fla., August 21, 1962; aff'd. 326 F.2d 616 (5 Cir. 1964), cert. denied 377 U. S. 924 (1964).

avoid misunderstanding the court's decision. De jure segregation, the sense of the decision holds, is segregation imposed by force of law, or in existence because of prior imposition by force of law. Force of law would include any state action, be it judicial mandate, legislative enactment, official policy, or act of a public official. De facto segregation, according to the sense of the decision, is segregation which is fortuitous, resulting entirely from private action by individuals which is in no way affected or prompted by state action. The schools in the South were segregated according to race by force of law; the schools in the South are still de jure segregated.

Confusion over duties, which the court in this decision laid to rest, can be seen in the distinction made by some between the words "integration" and "desegregation." The court's opinion emphasized throughout that the problem in the Fifth Circuit was not one of de facto segregation or racial balance, but of eliminating de jure segregation. Until the effects of de jure segregation are eliminated, de facto segregation and its concomitant problems need not be considered by the court. In the eyes of the court, this elimination must take place with the "complete disestablishment of segregation by converting the dual system to a nonracial unitary system."[11] Judge Wisdom stated repeatedly that it is the duty of school administrators to eliminate segregation imposed by force of law, and that whether one said "desegregate" or "integrate," the meaning was the same.

The stress placed on the duty of the school boards to eliminate discrimination was in large due to the lack of desegregation in the South and to the unwillingness of most southern school boards to desegregate. The need for this stress was more apparent when one looked at the argument of the counsel for Alabama in the Jefferson County case, which was a typical attempt to make a distinction between the words "integrate"

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[11] 372 F.2d at 846, n. 5.

and "desegregate," indicating that counsel considered the two words to be words of art (words idiomatic to the field of civil rights). "Desegregation" was defined as the maintenance of a dual school system with the limitation that Negro children would be allowed admission to white schools on a nonracial basis, if they applied. "Integration" was defined as actual attendance of Negro children in a school with white children. The Fifth Circuit expressly rejected this distinction and pointed out that the authorities persuasive upon the court made no such distinction.[12]

The distinction had been based on the well-known Briggs dictum, which is extracted from a United States District Court decision handed down six weeks after Brown II.[13] The words most quoted, and those now disapproved by the courts of appeals which have considered the question are as follows: "The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids segregation."[14] The basis for this dictum has been discredited. The dictum itself has lost judicial acceptance, but a great number of cases cited the dictum with approval. The Fifth Circuit and other courts of appeals came to realize the stultifying effect of these words on the elimination of discrimination. The court noted that "the dictum may . . . be defensible if the Briggs court used the term 'integration' to mean an absolute command at all costs that each and every Negro child attend a racially balanced school."[15]

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[12] Judge Wisdom pointed out that the Supreme Court has avoided making a distinction. Further, the Eighth Circuit rejected any distinction in Smith v. Board of Education of Morrilton, 365 F.2d 770 (8 Cir. 1966) as did the Third Circuit in Evans v. Ennis, 281 F.2d 385 (3 Cir. 1960) cert. denied 364 U. S. 933. The Civil Rights Commission used the words interchangeably in Survey of School Desegregation, 1965-66. Also the court noted that the words are defined to be synonyms in Webster's New Third International Dictionary.

[13] Briggs v. Elliott, 132 F. Supp. 776 (E.D.S.C. 1955).

[14] 132 F. Supp. at 777.

[15] 372 F.2d at 865. See also 372 F.2d at n. 61.

However, it was clear that this had not been the construction placed upon the dictum by the courts and school authorities, and so the Negro individual had been left with the necessity of asserting his individual and class right -- a right which would, under Briggs, be continuously and unconstitutionally denied him by state action until, as an individual, he acted. It cannot be over-emphasized that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals expressly rejected the dictum and overruled prior cases to the contrary, because many southern politicians and school boards have used the dictum as support for their position that they were under no particular duty to promote desegregation. Therefore, most have made no effort to do so other than to allow Negro children to go to white schools by operation of the pupil placement laws, leaving Negro Southerners, as a group, still segregated.

Administrators' "Affirmative Duty"

The court regarded as its task the elimination of the duality of school structure and of the labels (white and Negro) attached to the schools. Permitting school desegregation to take place was not enough; discrimination had to be ended since it was discrimination that was the forbidden act. Judge Wisdom adopted in his opinion the statement made by Judge Sobeloff in Wanner v. County School Board of Arlington County: "If a school board is constitutionally forbidden to institute a system of racial segregation . . . it is likewise forbidden to perpetuate a system that has been so instituted."[16]

The right to desegregated schools and to a nondiscriminatory school system has been established as a personal constitutional right. But cases subsequent to the original school segregation cases were class actions, and school systems were ordered to halt discrimination against Negroes as a class. Judge Wisdom stated in Jefferson County: " . . . .

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[16] 357 F.2d 452, 454 (4 Cir. 1966), quoted 372 F.2d at 877.

Relief to the class requires school boards to desegregate the school from which a transferee comes as well as the school to which he goes."[17] The court in Jefferson County emphasized the Supreme Court's procedures in the school segregation cases:

> . . . . MOREOVER, THE DELAY OF ONE YEAR IN DECIDING BROWN II AND THE GRADUAL REMEDY BROWN II FASHIONED CAN BE JUSTIFIED ONLY ON THE GROUND THAT THE 'PERSONAL AND PRESENT' RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL PLAINTIFFS MUST YIELD TO THE OVER-RIDING RIGHT OF NEGROES AS A CLASS TO A COMPLETELY INTEGRATED PUBLIC EDUCATION.[18] (Emphasis supplied by the court.)

In order to establish the fulfillment of these rights, the court imposed an "affirmative duty" upon school authorities to see that desegregation was accomplished, a duty which prior to this decision was not made clear to the school administrators in the South. The Fourth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuit Courts of Appeals announced a course of action that required the initiative in school desegregation to come from school authorities.[19]

Judge Wisdom repeatedly stated the school administrator's duty to eliminate segregation imposed by force of law to "bring about an integrated, unitary school system in which there are no Negro schools and no white schools-- just schools."[20]

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[17] 373 F.2d at 868.

[18] Id. at 868.

[19] Bowman v. County School Board of Charles City County, Civil No. 10793 (4 Cir., June 12, 1967); Northcross v. Board of Education of the City of Memphis, 302 F. 2d 817 (6 Cir. 1962); Clark v. Board of Education of the Little Rock School District, 369 F.2d 661 (8 Cir. 1966). These four circuits cover 22 states: the Fourth Circuit includes Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina; the Fifth Circuit includes Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and the Canal Zone; the Sixth Circuit includes Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, and Tennessee; and the Eighth Circuit includes Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota.

[20] 380 F.2d at 389.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals concluded that "a national effort, bringing together Congress, the executive, and the judiciary may be able to make meaningful the right of Negro children to equal educational opportunities. The courts acting alone have failed."[21] It considered the methods devised by HEW to be alternatives to court-formulated methods of implementation. The court turned in this direction for several reasons.

Under HEW regulations, if a school system was under a final order of a court and had agreed to comply with it, the requirements for that school system under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were deemed satisfied. This being so, if the courts required less than HEW, school systems could avoid the stiffer standards of the administrative agency by seeking a court order.[22] The satisfaction of HEW desegregation requirements becomes more significant when one considers that the enforcement mechanism of the Civil Rights Act is the withdrawal of federal financial assistance so that, in effect, federal judges are in the position of ratifying the dispensing of federal financial assistance to those school districts under a final court order. There is a constitutional mandate[23] supported by national and congressional policy in favor of fewer delays in integration, for segregation is not just a wrong against an individual plaintiff in a particular case, but against a whole class of citizens. The need for uniformity in treatment and in granting of rights to this class was a strong argument to the Fifth Circuit Court. The use of

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[21] 372 F.2d at 847.

[22] For instance, such was the case with twenty Louisiana school districts. See 372 F.2d at 859.

[23] In Bradley v. School Board of the City of Richmond, 382 U. S. 103, 105 (1965), the Supreme Court stated, "Delays in school desegregation are no longer tolerable."

guideline requirements was a means to fulfill that policy.[24]

It should also be noted that HEW was considered by the courts to have a special expertise in the field of education, an expertise which federal judges do not usually possess. It should come as no surprise that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals regarded the guidelines in a very favorable light, for not only this court, but also the Fourth and Eighth Circuits indicated as early as 1965 that great weight should be given the guidelines. The Fifth and Eighth Circuits have indicated that the guideline standards would rarely, if ever, be other than the minimum.[25] The Fifth Circuit, in Davis v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County,[26] ordered changes in a school desegregation plan to conform with changes in the HEW guidelines.

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[24]There has been a three-judge district court decision involving the guidelines directly. Alabama NAACP State Conference of Branches v. Wallace, 269 F. Supp. 346 (M. D. Ala., 1967) involved two aspects of the guidelines (45 C. F. R. Part 180). The first was whether a state may constitutionally legislate to declare null and void in that state the action of a federal agency under an Act of Congress. The court answered that the state may not so legislate, whether or not the agency action is valid. The second was whether the guidelines were valid. The court held that it must defer to decision and holdings of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Jefferson County to the effect that the guidelines were constitutional and within the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In arriving at this decision, the district court made the following observations about the guidelines:

> The guidelines, as their title indicates, are simply a statement of policies for school desegregation plans by the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. They are not an exercise of rule-making power and hence do not have the 'status of law.' Any department or agency action terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance is subject to plenary judicial review. In the absence of judicial review, the school authorities may and should respect the guidelines as a reliable guide to what the Department's enforcement action should be.

[25]Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 355 F.2d 815 (5 Cir. 1966); Price v. Denison Independent School District, 348 F.2d 1010 (5 Cir. 1965); Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 348 F.2d 729 (5 Cir. 1965); Bowman v. County School Board of Charles City County, Civil No. 10793 (4 Cir. June 12, 1967); Smith v. Board of Education of Morrilton, 365 F.2d 770 (8 Cir. 1966); Kemp v. Beasley, 352 F.2d 14 (8 Cir. 1966).

[26]364 F. 2d 896 (5 Cir. 1966).

Again, in Jefferson County, the Fifth Circuit welcomed the guidelines as an effective, prompt, and orderly method of eliminating dual school systems in the South -- emphasizing that the guidelines were simply being used to disestablish de jure segregation. Indeed, the court recognized that failure of the courts to do more than effect a qualitative change was the factor that moved Congress to act in 1964.[27]

Though it welcomed the Civil Rights Act and the guidelines, the court made clear the nonbinding nature of the guidelines on federal courts, indicating that the guidelines were merely statements of policy which HEW might use to inform those with whom it dealt of what it considered to be evidence of compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Since the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals adopted the requirements of the guidelines as their own, there was another facet of the validity of the guidelines which the court in Jefferson County had to decide: Were those requirements used in the guidelines, without regard to whether they were authorized by the Civil Rights Act, a constitutional method of eliminating segregation? The court, not restricted by authorizations given in an Act of Congress and limited only by the provisions of the Constitution,[28] decided it was justified in finding that it might use the guidelines' provisions, including faculty integration and percentages.

The faculty integration provision in the guidelines was found by the court in Jefferson County to be necessary for achieving a unitary school system. The court stressed that the rights it dealt with were constitutional and not established by statute.[29] Judge Wisdom, in his

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[27] 372 F.2d at 852-856.

[28] The guidelines are found to be within the authorization of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. See also supra n. 3.

[29] 372 F.2d at 886.

supporting analysis, cited and approved the following statement of the Fourth Circuit:

> First the mandate of Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954), forbids the consideration of race in faculty selection just as it forbids it in pupil placement. See Wheeler v. Durham City Board of Education, 346 F.2d 768, 773 (4 Cir. 1965). Thus the reduction in the number of Negro pupils did not justify a corresponding reduction in the number of Negro teachers. Franklin v. County Board of Giles County, 360 F.2d 325 (4 Cir. 1966). Second, the Negro school teachers were public employees who could not be discriminated against on account of their race with respect to their retention in the system. Johnson v. Branch, 364 F.2d 177 (4 Cir. 1966) . . . .[30]

This result is also indicated in Brown II. In Bradley, the Supreme Court decided that faculty desegregation was a necessary concomitant to student desegregation, and that an immediate beginning in faculty integration should be required by the courts. In Rogers v. Paul, decided at the same time as Bradley, the court held that discriminatory racial allocation of faculty denied students, in and of itself, equal educational opportunity.[31] The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuit Courts of Appeals have all recognized, in the wake of Bradley, that faculty integration is inseparable from student integration.[32] It would seem that in light of these cases there would no longer be any question by school officials that faculty integration is required.

The court interpreted the percentage requirement of the freedom-of-choice guidelines to be a general rule of thumb to be used (both by

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[30] Chambers v. Hendersonville City Board of Education, 364 F.2d 189, 192 (4 Cir. 1966) cited in 372 F.2d at n. 104.

[31] Rogers v. Paul, 382 U. S. 103 (1965).

[32] Braxton v. Board of Public Instruction of Duval County, 326 F.2d 616 (5 Cir. 1964) cert. denied 377 U. S. 924; Smith v. Board of Education of Morrilton, 365 F.2d 770 (8 Cir. 1966); Clark v. Board of Education of Little Rock School District, 369 F.2d 661 (8 Cir. 1966); Wheeler v. Durham City Board of Education, 363 F. 2d 738 (4 Cir. 1966); and Mapp v. Board of Education of the City of Chattanooga, 373 F.2d 75 (6 Cir. 1967).

the courts and by HEW) as an indicator to determine if progress toward the elimination of the dual school structure was being made. The percentages were to be used only in measuring the progress in those school systems electing to use the freedom-of-choice method of pupil assignment for desegregation. The percentages were not an inflexible requirement, but only an attempt to set out some objective criterion for determining whether free choice operated to eliminate the dual school system; that is, whether there was truly a free choice. Percentages were not to be the absolute determining factor, only one of several.

In addition to the percentages, other provisions included the mandatory exercise of choice, notice to parents and the public, non-discriminatory transportation, protection from interference, school equalization, faculty integration, equality of facilities within each school, and others. The court would look to each of these factors to see that a true freedom-of-choice was being assured each student.

The court pointed out that courts have used the percentage criterion in determining whether constitutional rights have been violated in other types of cases -- namely, voting rights, jury and jury venire, and reapportionment [33] -- not to effect a racial balance, but rather as an

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[33] See 372 F.2d at 886-888, n. 107 and n. 108, for a discussion of Supreme Court and courts of appeals cases in which such use has been validated and used by the courts. Judge Wisdom cited and quoted a voting rights case which was particularly suitable here:

> An appropriate remedy should undo the results of past discrimination as well as prevent future inequality of treatment. A court of equity is not powerless to eradicate the effects of former discrimination. If it were, the state could seal into permanent existence the injustices of the past.

United States v. Duke, 332 F.2d 759, 768 (5 Cir. 1964). For instance, the power of a court of equity (and all federal courts sitting on desegregation cases act as courts of equity, Brown II) extends to re-registration of all voters in a number of parishes where discrimination has occurred. United States v. Louisiana, 255 F. Supp. 353 (E.D. La. 1963) aff'd. 380 U. S. 145 (1965). It would seem that the power of courts are quite extensive where discrimination has been widely practiced, as in the South. It should also be emphasized that the Supreme Court, in Brown II, left very wide discretion in the lower courts and has relatively infrequently guided the direction of their efforts.

objective indication of whether discrimination was being practiced. The percentage was used only as evidence that this factor, discrimination, existed.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals emphasized that the goal as an end in itself was not freedom-of-choice, but disestablishment of the dual school system. Freedom-of-choice was merely a method of implementing the requirement of the Constitution, and if it does not work, something else must be devised. It is clear that the freedom in freedom-of-choice must indicate a true freedom, unrestricted by official or other acts. It was not clear what course the courts would take should it become apparent that there was no true freedom-of-choice; however, the Fifth Circuit warned:

> If school officials in any district should find that their district still has segregated faculties and schools or only token integration, their affirmative duty to take corrective action requires them to try an alternative to a freedom-of-choice plan, such as a geographic attendance plan, a combination of the two, the Princeton plan, or some other acceptable substitute, perhaps aided by an educational park. Freedom-of-choice is not a key that opens all doors to equal education opportunities.[34]

The significance of recent opinions must be in the emphasis placed by the court on the affirmative duty of the school boards not just to stop segregation but to eliminate discrimination and its effects. It is not at all inconsequential that the court of appeals chose to insure this result by setting out a model decree as a minimum that, although not all-encompassing, prohibited the use of a great number of methods of discrimination and avowed such methods would be prohibited by injunctions issued within the Fifth Circuit in the future. It was to be expected that, should loopholes be found in the Model Decree which would enable school boards to reduce its effect, the courts would quickly eliminate those loopholes.

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[34] 372 F.2d at 896.

The express resolve of the Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit that schools be integrated was set forth in the opinion and Model Decree of Jefferson County. It is significant that in both the Model Decree and in subsequent action the court maintained its resolve that the guidelines were to be minimum standards. Except for minor wording changes and a few additional provisions and structural reorganization, the Model Decree set forth in Jefferson County was essentially the same as the guidelines. However, there were differences which are significant and should be noted. Section IV(a) of the Model Decree provides that a new choice at the first of the new school term will be given any student who was not assigned to the school of his choice (for whatever reason). Section VI of the Model Decree provides for remedial education of children disadvantaged by segregated schooling. Section VII of the Model Decree provides for choice of sites for new construction which will not tend to perpetuate dual schools. (The last provision -- as to construction -- may be covered by the HEW regulations by implication).[35]

Although the Model Decree contained provisions which the guidelines did not, there are only minor provisions in the guidelines which do not have comparable provisions or substantive content in the Model Decree. Most of these missing provisions can be inferred from the language of Jefferson County.[36] The guidelines also contained a provision against allowing transfers of students between school systems to avoid integration, which was not provided for in the Model Decree.[37] Note particularly that, even though the percentage provisions are not in the Model Decree, they are expressly approved in both opinions and will be applied as provisions of the Model Decree.

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[35] 45 C. F. R. Part 80 (1967).

[36] 45 C. F. R. 181.17(a) and (b) (1967).

[37] 45 C. F. R. 181.16 (1967).

The court, in Jefferson County, set a minimum standard for school desegregation, and it is apparent that the court meant minimum. The treatment of cases subsequent to Jefferson County evidenced the Fifth Circuit's determination.

In companion cases involving the school boards of Houston and Bibb Counties, Georgia, the district court approved desegregation plans submitted by the school board that did not conform to the requirements set forth in the model decree of Jefferson County.[38] The district court-approved plans included none of the safeguards provided in the Model Decree and on the basis of a supposed shortage of money the choice form mailing requirement was waived. The plaintiffs appealed immediately to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Four days later, the court of appeals summarily reversed and remanded the cases back to the district court with instructions to conform the decrees containing the desegregation plans to be entered for the school system in light of Jefferson County.[39] As a result, the decree arising out of the further proceedings was almost identical, even to wording of the Model Decree.[40] Similar treatment has been given in at least one other case.[41] It is to be expected that future cases will be treated no differently.

There was marked contrast to the above in the reception given to school desegregation suits in the Middle District of Alabama. In the

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[38] Bivensv. Board of Education and Orphanage for Bibb County, Civil No. 1926, M. D. Ga., May 20, 1967.

[39] Bivens v. Board of Education and Orphanage for Bibb County, Civil No. 24754 (5 Cir., May 24, 1967).

[40] Bivens v. Board of Education and Orphanage for Bibb County, Civil No. 1926, M. D. Ga., June 29, 1967.

[41] Richard v. Christ, Civil No. 22300 (5 Cir., May 24, 1967).

Macon County case and in cases using essentially the same decree,[42] the court regarded the model decree of Jefferson County as a true minimum, for in the cases cited[43] the provisions of the Model Decree were applied to specific factual situations and were directed toward alleviating local discriminatory devices. For instance, the district court ordered the school boards to meet the requirements of a revised transportation provision. In another provision, reapproval must be obtained from the state Board of Education (which is itself under court order not to discriminate on account of race) before construction can begin on any new projects.[44]

Jefferson County goes considerably further than most district judges have been willing to venture; indeed, in a number of areas of the South, district judges have balked at any desegregation and have slowed progress on that which they could not avoid. In spite of the fact that prior to Jefferson County a number of judges adopted plans with similar provisions,[45] one might ask, in view of the pressure brought on or the private convictions of district judges, just what effect Jefferson County would have in requiring district judges to follow its lead.

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42 Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 267 F. Supp. 458 (M. D. Ala., 1967), 36 L. W. 3225, judgment affirmed; sub. nom., Wallace v. U. S. (December 5, 1967); Harris v. Crenshaw County Board of Education, Civil No. 2455-N, M. D. Ala., April 28, 1967; and Franklin v. Barbour County Board of Education, Civil No. 2458-N, M. D. Ala., April 28, 1967.

43 Cases cited at n. 42 supra.

44 See Macon County discussion infra at p. 37.

45 Judges Grooms and Johnson of the Northern District of Alabama, Judge Thomas of the Southern District of Alabama, Judges Heebe and Christenberry of the Eastern District of Louisiana, and Judge Russell of the Southern District of Mississippi are among those who handed down decisions prior to Jefferson County more or less comparable to the standards in the Model Decree.

Implicit in the question is a query as to the system of administration of justice and how rulings of upper or appellate courts affect rulings in lower courts.

Stare Decisis is a matter of policy not absolutely binding on the lower courts.[46] As a matter of law, the lower courts may not violate the Constitution. Therefore, as to those matters of law on which the Supreme Court has spoken, a lower court would not rule contrary to a doctrine of law announced by the Supreme Court. However, it is indeed improbable that anything would happen beyond reversal of the lower court decision, if appealed, if such a ruling should occur. (There is the extremely unlikely possibility of impeachment.) Also, in most cases, there is room for interpretation and factual analysis which would permit a lower court judge to avoid a certain decision if he so wished, again at the risk of reversal. Once the Supreme Court has ruled on a point of law, it is the law of the land, and the decision is binding on all lower courts,[47] state and federal, although it is clear that certain state courts avoid many decisions in cases to which they are not a party. A federal court is in no way bound by the decision of another court on the same level (i.e., district court-district court), except in the same case, nor is a district court in one circuit bound by a decision of a court of appeals in another circuit. It is just as clear that any court may adopt the decision of any other court if it wishes,

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[46] Once jurisdiction in a case is taken, if a previous case similar in fact and question of law has been decided by a court above or by the same court, then the court is limited by Stare Decisis, which is the practice of following precedent. It is rare indeed for a case to have exactly the same issues of fact and law, so that, as indicated, the lower court may distinguish a case on its facts and decide it contrary to previous authority, subject of course to the possibility of reversal by the higher court.

[47] Bower v. U. S., 192 F.2d 515 (5 Cir. 1951). CERT. DENIED, 343 U. S. 943, REHEARING DENIED 343 U. S. 988 (1951).

if there is no binding precedent which it must follow. There are also several district court decisions which indicate that district courts are bound by decisions of their court of appeals; however, the district court would be free to make factual distinctions and vary their decision accordingly.[48]

It must be emphasized that once there is a conclusive and final adjudication as to all questions of fact or law by a court, the parties are bound. This is referred to as "Res Judicata," and applies to questions of law and fact, but only when the parties and the questions are the same in the two cases under consideration. Stare Decisis acts only on questions of law.[49]

In view of the summary reversal given the district court, approved desegregation plans for Bibb and Houston Counties,[50] and in view of the rule of Stare Decisis, it would seem that few judges would invite similar treatment of one of their own cases, and those who do would quickly be required in each case to follow Jefferson County.

Lee v. Macon County Board of Education[51] decided March 22, 1967, by a three-judge federal district court[52] in the Middle District of Alabama, had been before the district court in Alabama on several occasions. To understand the novelty of this decision, which is the remedy that the court fashioned, it is necessary to outline the prior history of the case.

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[48] Alabama NAACP State Conference of Branches v. Wallace, 269 F. Supp. 346 (M. D. Ala., 1967).

[49] Hansberry v. Lee, 311 U. S. 32 (1940); Hart Stell Company v. R. R. Supply Company, 244 U. S. 294 (1961); Kessler v. Eldred, 206 U. S. 285 (1906); Hale v. Finch, 104 U. S. 261 (1880); Kern v. Hurley, 179 F.2d 888 (8 Cir. 1950); 28 U. S. C. Rule 65 (d).

[50] Supra at n. 40.

[51] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 267 F. Supp. 458 (M. D. Ala., 1967), 36 L. W. 3225, judgment affirmed, sub. nom., Wallace v. U.S. (December 5, 1967); Harris v. Crenshaw County Board of Education, Civil No. 2455-N, M. D. Ala., April 28, 1967; and Franklin V. Barbour County Board of Education, Civil No. 2458-N, M. D. Ala., April 28, 1967.

[52] 28 U. S. C. 2281 (1964).

The suit was originally filed in 1963 on behalf of Negro school children by their parents against the Macon County Board of Education as a typical school desegregation class action to desegregate public schools in the county. The district court in the first decision ordered the public schools of Macon County desegregated.[53] On three separate occasions during the following school year (1963-1964), the district court had to enjoin state officials from various types of interference in desegregation attempts of the local (Macon County) school board.[54]

The second time this case came before the district court, in early 1964, the court permitted the plaintiffs to add as defendants the Governor of Alabama (in his capacity as Governor of the state of Alabama, and as ex officio head of the State Board of Education), the State Superintendent of Education, and the individual members of the Alabama State Board of Education. These defendants were necessary because of the relief sought by the plaintiffs in their supplemental complaint, which requested the district court: "(1) to enjoin the

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[53] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 221 F. Supp. 297 (M. D. Ala., 1963). The district court found that the action was a proper class action; that the defendant school board operated a compulsory biracial school system; that all pupils, teachers, and other school personnel were assigned solely on the basis of race or color; that the school board was under a constitutional obligation to eliminate the compulsory biracial school system; and held that the school board's discriminatory conduct violated plaintiff's rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. The court enjoined the defendants from "failing to make an immediate start" in desegregating the county's schools and ordered the Board of Education to submit a general plan for desegregating the county's schools.

[54] United States v. Wallace, 222 F. Supp. 485 (M. D. Ala., 1963) was a temporary injunction against Governor Wallace's directing by executive order that no integration occur in the public schools of Tuskegee, Birmingham, and Mobile, and against the governor's use of state patrolmen to interfere with integration. Lee v. Macon County Board of Education (order of February 3, 1964) was a temporary restraining order against Alabama and Macon County school officials to prevent them from interfering with the admission of Negro students to one school in the system, Macon County High School. United States v. Rea, 231 F. Supp. 772 (M. D. Ala., 1964) was an injunction against the use of town civil disturbance and fire ordinances enacted as subterfuge measures for preventing integration.

defendants from operating a dual school system based upon race throughout the state of Alabama; (2) to enter an order requiring statewide desegregation of schools in the state of Alabama; (3) to enjoin the use of state funds to perpetuate the dual school system; and (4) to enjoin as unconstitutional the 1963 tuition grant law."[55] A three-judge district court was impaneled to hear the case.[56]

The court concluded that the state of Alabama maintained and operated a dual school system based upon race throughout the state of Alabama and that it was the policy of the state, and, in particular, of the defendant state officials, to promote and encourage racially segregated schools. Therefore, the defendant state officials were enjoined from:

> Interfering with, preventing, or obstructing by any means, the elimination of racial discrimination by local school officials in any school district in the state of Alabama;
>
> Approving, authorizing, or paying any tuition grant . . . for the attendance of any person in a school in which enrollment or attendance is limited or restricted upon the basis of race or color;
>
> Failing, in the exercise of its control and supervision over the public schools of the state, to use such control and supervision in such a manner as to promote and encourage the elimination of racial discrimination in the public schools, rather than to prevent and discourage the elimination of such discrimination.[57]

The court did not enter the order requested by the plaintiffs requiring statewide desegregation of the public schools in Alabama. But the court specifically warned the defendant state officials that " . . . . it is only a question of time until such illegal and unconstitutional

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[55] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 231 F. Supp. 743 (M. D. Ala., 1964).

[56] 28 U. S. C. 2281 F. Supp. 743.

[57] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 267 F. Supp. 458, 461 (M. D. Ala., 1967).

support of segregated school systems must cease."[58]

The foregoing history of the case sets the stage for examining the court's third decision of Lee v. Macon County Board of Education; the decision of March 22, 1967.

The three-judge district court opinion reviewed the court's position on the second decision of the case:

> It was only 'through the exercise of considerable judicial restraint' that this court refrained in July, 1964, from requiring these defendant state officials to exercise their control and authority over the various local school boards throughout the state for the purpose of desegregating the school systems on a state-wide basis and to enjoin said defendants from using state funds for the purpose of perpetuating a dual school system based upon race. The exercise of restraint in that instance was prompted by the desire on the part of each member of this court to afford these defendants every opportunity to comply in good faith with their affirmative constitutional duty to desegregate the state's public schools.[59]

The court then affirmed that:

> . . . . It is now evident that the reasons for this court's reluctance to grant the relief to which these plaintiffs were clearly entitled over two years ago are no longer valid.[60]

The court held that the defendants' activities controlled public education in the state of Alabama and that the conduct and activity of the defendants violated plaintiffs' rights under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.[61]

The court turned to the problem of devising a remedy which "must be designed to reach the limits of the defendants' activities in these several areas and must be designed to require the defendants to do what they have been unwilling to do on their own . . . ."[62] The court con-

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[58] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 231 F. Supp. 743, 756 (M. D. Ala., 1964).

[59] Lee v. Macon County Board of Education, 267 F. Supp. 464 (M. D. Ala., 1967).

[60] Id. at 465.

[61] Id. at 475.

[62] Id. at 478.

cluded that they could ". . . . conceive of no other effective way to give the plaintiffs the relief to which they are entitled under the evidence in this case than to enter a uniform statewide plan for school desegregation, made applicable to each local county and city system not already under court order to desegregate, and to require these defendants to implement it."[63] The court included in its decree "the minimum constitutional requirements for school desegregation . . . ."[64] which the defendant state officials would be required to implement.

The decision permanently enjoined state officials from discriminating on the basis of race in the operation or the conduct of the Alabama public schools. The additional broad guiding principle governing the specific actions required of state officials was that ". . . . said defendants shall take affirmative action to disestablish all state enforced or encouraged public school segregation and to eliminate the effects of past state enforced or encouraged racial discrimination in their activities and their operation of the public school systems throughout the state."[65]

The decree against state officials set out with particularity the specific duties which the court would require of them. These duties may be summarized:[66]

School Construction and Consolidation.--The State Superintendent of Education was ordered to review all consolidation plans that resulted from statewide surveys prior to this decision. In addition, he was ordered to continue surveying local school systems and to require the survey-makers to meet standards which the court set out. All surveys for construction

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[63]Id. at 478.

[64]Id.

[65]Id. at 480.

[66]The summary is only an indication of what was required by the court; the complete requirements may be compared with the summary. 267 F. Supp. 480-91.

or expansion taken before this decision were excluded unless they met the court's standards. Approval of construction or expansion by the State Superintendent of Education could only be given if the action would result in the disestablishment of segregated public schools.

Teachers.--The State Superintendent of Education was ordered to develop a detailed program "for assisting and encouraging faculty desegregation in the local school systems throughout the state . . . ."[67] This program must provide for assistance to local systems in recruiting, placing, and reassigning teachers on a desegregated basis, and for assistance in providing training which may be necessary to upgrade the qualifications of some teachers in order to facilitate faculty desegregation. The State Department of Education must conduct all teacher institutes, in-service training, and certification without discrimination on the basis of race.

School Transportation.--Race must be eliminated as a basis for assigning students to school buses. Overlapping and duplicative bus routes based on race must be redrawn so as to meet nondiscriminatory criteria governing the availability of bus transportation to students within the school district. The reconstructed bus routes must be communicated by the school officials to students and parents in a readily understandable manner.

Equalization of Facilities.--The Superintendent of Education was ordered to develop and submit to the court a detailed program for equalizing the quality of physical facilities, equipment, services, courses of instruction, and instructional materials. The program must also provide the equalization of pupil-teacher ratios, per pupil expenditures, library books per pupil, and other areas of disparity between present Negro and white schools.

Information and Reports.--The State Superintendent of Education was required to submit reports to the court and to make available records and

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[67] 267 F. Supp. at 481.

other information on school desegregation.

Interference.--State officials were ordered not to interfere with, prevent, or obstruct the elimination of racial discrimination by local school officials in any school system in the state of Alabama.

Desegregation Plans for Local School Systems.--As noted above, the court decided that the only effective remedy would be a uniform statewide desegregation plan which state officials would be required to implement. All school systems in Alabama that were not already under court order to desegregate were required to adopt a desegregation plan for all grades, commencing with the 1967-68 school year. The Decree Macon County included a model decree (based upon the Jefferson County Model Decree) for the desegregation plans that local systems would adopt. There were variances in two particular sections which the court included to meet their own factual situation. The first change applied to the distribution of explanatory letters and choice forms, omitting the section that would enable school districts when unable to comply with the first class mailing provision to propose alternative methods for giving maximum notice. This omission made the section consistent because the court had also omitted the first class mailing requirements. The second change concerned the transportation section wherein school officials were directed to redraw bus routes and criteria governing the availability of bus transportation so that race would no longer be a basis for assignment and overlapping and duplicative bus routes would be abolished. Extensive reports to the court on the new routes were to be filed.

Since the decree was directed against state officials, the Alabama Superintendent of Education had the responsibility for getting all local school systems to adopt desegregation plans based upon the Model Decree. After the March 22 decision, the Alabama Superintendent of Education submitted desegregation plans of all but one of the ninety-nine affected school systems under the terms of the decision. The state Superintendent was not to judge the acceptability of the plans; rather the court would

review them to determine whether they met its requirements.

Apparently, if the desegregation plans failed to meet the court's Model Decree requirements, the court on its own motive would require the school district to modify or expand the substantive content of its plan, or, alternatively, the plaintiffs in the case could ask the court to make a particular school board a party to the suit. The district court's action against Bibb County, Alabama, substantiated this proposition.

Bibb County failed to file a desegregation plan embodying the Model Decree requirements. Refusal to comply with the court's statewide school integration decree caused the Bibb County School Board to be brought into the Macon County litigation and placed under a direct court order to comply with the court's statewide decree. This action indicates that if other school districts refused to comply, the court would possibly treat them as they did Bibb County and place them under a direct court order.

In summary, the court in the Macon County case had to eliminate the influencing factors of freedom-of-choice type desegregation plans which Alabama state officials had used to deter desegregation. In order for freedom-of-choice plans to be free, all barriers had to be removed: intimidation, coercion, unequal facilities, segregated transportation, school location, and faculty segregation. The decision and decree did more than just neutralize the power of the Alabama state officials over Alabama public schools: it enjoined their unequal and discriminatory activities; and in further relief, the court put the state officials under order and decree to take the affirmative action which was mandated by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the Jefferson County decision. The court warned state officials that their responsibility for taking affirmative action must be shouldered; for, if they did not assist local school systems in desegregating, the court would order the state to discontinue state funds to segregated school districts.

Action by state school officials -- approved by the court -- resulted in 1967 in orders closing more than eighty all-Negro schools maintained solely for separating children by race. If state school offcials interfere with school desegregation so that a factual situation exists similar to that presented to the court in Macon County, other district courts could be petitioned for relief corresponding to that fashioned by the district court in Macon County.

Following the March 22 order, compliance officers from HEW continued their efforts, including withholding federal funds, to bring school systems in Alabama (formerly under the guidelines) into voluntary compliance with the Civil Rights Act. In the course of this action, HEW declared that the Lanett School System was not eligible for federal aid. Lanett officials protested to the court that it had submitted a desegregation plan pursuant to the Macon County order, which the court had approved, and that they had assured the court they would adhere to the plan for the 1967-68 school year.

On July 28, 1967, the three-judge district court panel decided that it was up to the court to determine whether Alabama school systems were in compliance with their March 22 statewide desegregation order. The court reasoned that all the Alabama school systems were under a court order and had agreed to comply; therefore, HEW requirements were satisfied. The court ruled that HEW could continue to cut off funds for noncompliance, provided HEW had the court's approval.

In effect, this decision was the first statement by a federal court reiterating that HEW could take action against court-order districts, but only with specific approval by the court. The court invited HEW to continue its investigations and determinations regarding compliance and to report any failures in compliance to the court.

After this decision, HEW compliance officials have made it known that they consider some court-order district failing to perform as well as some guideline districts. HEW reportedly has changed its hands-off

policy towards court order districts and has begun to review a school system's compliance with its court-order in those districts previously considered immune, so that HEW can report noncompliance with the court order to the courts.[68]

Theoretically, the Jefferson County decision would require all court-order school districts within the Fifth Circuit to be placed under guideline-type desegregation plans. The problem inherent in this situation is that there is no specific party designated to conduct extensive investigations to determine whether the plans are working. Under Jefferson County and Macon County, the court would learn of non-compliance only to the extent of the coverage of the reports that have to be submitted, or if the plaintiffs investigate and demonstrate to the court that the school district is not in compliance with its court-order desegregation plan. Since Jefferson County was an attempt by the Fifth Circuit to bring together the efforts of the district courts and HEW to create uniformity, the Lanett County decision was an important step toward furthering this goal.

The actions of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and the Alabama district courts appeared in 1967 to herald an era of unprecedented cooperation among the various branches of the federal government -- cooperation aimed at destroying the system of segregation in southern schools.

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[68]The Atlanta Constitution, September 18, 1967, and the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, September 20, 1967.

TABLE 1

SCHOOL DISTRICTS - 1967

States Within the Fifth Circuit	Number of School Districts	Number of School Districts Under Court Order	Percentage
Alabama	118	19*	16.1
Florida	67	14	20.9
Georgia	197	9	4.6
Louisiana	67	45	67.7
Mississippi	149	41	27.5
Texas	1,308	14	1.1

These figures were compiled from the Office of Education Compliance Report on School Desegregation in the Seventeen Southern and Border States, No. 6 (May, 1967).

*Since Lee v. Macon County, all school districts in Alabama are under court order.

TABLE 2

SCHOOL POPULATION - 1967

States Within the Fifth Circuit	Total Public School Population	Public School Population in Court Order District	Per Cent	Total Non-White Public School Population	Non-White Public School Population in Court Order District	Per Cent
Alabama	862,041	298,717	34.7	298,064	122,064	41.0
Florida	1,330,552	679,171	51.0	*	*	N/A
Georgia	1,128,863	314,727	27.5	*	*	N/A
Louisiana	806,005	674,620	83.7	318,966	270,637	84.8
Mississippi	606,247	256,918	42.4	296,834	141,223	47.6
Texas	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

*Records not kept by race.

These figures were compiled by the Southern Regional Council Research staff.

APPENDIX II

The following telegram was sent on September 16, 1968, to the candidates for President of the two major political parties, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and Richard M. Nixon. It was signed by individuals from all parts of the South who have worked intimately through private organizations with the discouraging problem of school desegregation in the South. The telegram was sent in part because of their awareness out of past bitter experience that federal courts alone cannot prevail against the lawless spirit of resistance, that they need support and an arming with sanctions from the other branches of government.

> We the undersigned, who have long been concerned with southern school desegregation, are deeply dismayed at the lack of progress in this vital area. The effects of segregation in the South are a national, not simply a regional, problem. The issue is a key one in our country's effort to unify itself.
>
> Southern school systems, both those under federal court order and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare guidelines, have most often adopted so-called freedom-of-choice plans, placing the burden of school desegregation upon Negro school children and their parents. The Supreme Court in May, 1968, declared that freedom-of-choice was not an end in itself; in order to be acceptable school desegregation plans must be plans that work -- that is, they must eliminate the dual school system and its effects.
>
> We feel that freedom-of-choice as a method of ending the dual school structure still prevalent in the South has not worked, is not now working. What is your opinion on this important matter?
>
> The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was authorized by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to terminate federal funds to school districts which perpetuated segregation. Do you, as a candidate for the nation's highest office, feel that this is an effective method of enforcing the law?
>
> If you are elected President of the United States, what action will you recommend to assure all Americans that the nation's fundamental law requiring an end to racial discrimination in education will be enforced?

Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council

Charles Morgan, Jr., Director
Southern Regional Office
American Civil Liberties Union

Hayes Mizell, Director
South Carolina Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee

John McCown, Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations

Allan Black, Director
South Central Office
Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Constance Curry
Southern Field Representative
American Friends Service Committee

Elijah Coleman, Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services Center

Bryce Joyce, Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Irwin Schulman, Southeastern Regional Director
Anti-Defamation League

Baxton Bryant, Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations

A. Wilson Cheek, Executive Director
Georgia Region
National Conference of Christians and Jews

Ralph David Abernathy, President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Mrs. Patricia Miller, Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations

Robert Valder, Director
Southern Office
Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Winifred Green, Director
Alabama Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee

Charles Wittenstein, Southeast Area Director
American Jewish Committee

Paul Matthais, Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Sherrill Marcus, Regional Youth Field Director
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Edwin Stanfield, Executive Director
Southwest Intergroup Relations Council

Will D. Campbell, Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen

Frank Adams, Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations

Kenneth Dean, Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Frieda Mitchell, Chairman
Beaufort County, South Carolina, Education Committee

URW

PETER BOMMARITO, President

KENNETH OLDHAM, Vice President

I. GOLD, Secretary-Treasurer

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFL-CIO, CLC 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET AKRON, OHIO 44308

Area Code 216
376-6181
376-6182
376-6183
376-6184

February 6, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your note dated February 4, 1969, informing me of your availability for our District 8 Summer School program.

The school will be at Blue Ridge Assembly, Black Mountain, North Carolina, Asheville Hall, July 6-11, 1969 (as it was the last time you were with us.

As soon as our program is firm, I will send you a copy.

With kind personal regards and best wishes for your continued good health and success, I am

Fraternally yours,

John D. House
Education Director

JDH:jjb
opeiu 339
cc: Int'l. Executive Officers

P.S. What honorarium do you think would be appropriate?

February 11, 1969

Mr. John D. House
Education Director
United Rubber, Cork, Lineoleum
and Plastic Workers of America
AFL-CIO, CLC
87 South High Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Dear John:

I look forward to being with you for the District 8 Summer School this summer.

Although it will not cover the cost to the Southern Regional Council, I would suggest an honorarium of $100, plus my travel expenses. We can discuss this later but the check should be made payable to the Southern Regional Council but sent to me.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

URWA Summer School

PETER BOMMARITO, President

KENNETH OLDHAM, Vice President

I. GOLD, Secretary-Treasurer

URW

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFL-CIO,CLC 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET AKRON, OHIO 44308

Area Code 216
376-6181
376-6182
376-6183
376-6184

May 8, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

This is to formalize our invitation for you to act as instructor in our District 8 Summer School at Blue Ridge Assembly during the week of July 6, 1969.

I have approval for paying the honorarium you suggest, plus your travel expense and board and room at the Assembly.

We will be using the same facilities as when you were there before - Ashville Hall - and would want you to take the first morning session on the same subject with which you dealt (updated) the last time.

As soon as you have arranged your travel schedule please let me know so that I can have someone meet you at the airport if you are coming by air.

We will be looking forward to seeing you, and to hear from you again soon.

With best wishes and kind personal regards, I am

Fraternally yours,

John

John D. House, Education Director

JDH:meb
opeiu-339
cc: International Officers

BURDEN OF TRUTH

by Patricia Eames,
Assistant General Counsel, Textile Workers Union of America

On August 9, 1962, the National Labor Relations Board decided two cases where employers in the South used the race issue to fight unionization. The unions involved requested the NLRB to nullify elections which they had lost and to hold new elections.

In one case brought by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers against the Sewell Manufacturing Company of Georgia, race propaganda of a highly emotional content was involved. The employer distributed photographs of IUE President James B. Carey dancing with a Negro. In addition, copies of the hate sheet, Militant Truth, which charged that unions demanded "racial integration, socialistic legislation and free range for communistic conspirators" were distributed to the workers. The company also said that union funds were used to promote civil rights organizations and that the union followed the communist line.

The race issue was also raised in a second case involving the Allen-Morrison Sign Company of Virginia which the Textile Workers Union attempted to organize. A letter from the employer stated that the AFL-CIO used "dues they collected from members to try and promote integration." The employer also mailed workers a one-column reprint from Militant Truth regarding TWUA's action in placing under trusteeship a local union which had sought to help finance a segregated private school.

The NLRB set aside the Sewell election and ordered that a new election be held. It stated that "the Board does not intend to tolerate as 'electoral propaganda' appeals or arguments which can have no purpose except to inflame the racial feelings of voters in the election." In the Allen-Morrison case, the Board did not set aside the election explaining that the employer's "letter was temperate in tone and advised the employees as to certain facts concerning union expenditures to help eliminate segregation."

Out of the Sewell case has come a rule which should prove of great practical importance. The Board stated that from now on "the burden will be on the party making use of a racial message to establish that it was truthful and germane, and where there is doubt as to whether the total conduct of such party is within the described bounds, the doubt will be resolved against him." The fact that any employer who raises the race issue automatically places himself on the defensive and risks a new election should considerably deter the use of the race issue.

Certainly, we can all celebrate the eventual reduction of the number of situations in which the race question is dragged into union organizing campaigns. But we should realize that this matter will not significantly advance unionization in the South. Employers have lost one weapon.. They still retain their heavy artillery of brain washing; fear of the employer's power to require employee attendance at captive audience meetings; threats of plant closing and refusal to honestly negotiate with the union. As a final overwhelming proof of his power, the employer can discharge one or two union adherents and thereby intimidate all others. The only remedy which the NLRB will order for any of these offenses except discharge is that the employer post a sign in the plant stating that he will sin no more.

The decision in the race hate propaganda case is laudable but it only scratches the surface of the problem of bringing industrial democracy to the South.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Labor fights major battle against shutdown of Darlington Mills

LABOR - SOUTH

By ALEXANDER UHL

The crucial issue of whether a corporation has the right to shut down a plant "for whatever reason" and fire hundreds of employees ruthlessly because they voted union, is now being studied by the United States Supreme Court.

The National Labor Relations Board has said "No." So have the Department of Justice, the AFL-CIO and the Textile Workers Union whose members were the victims of the Darlington textile plant closing in Darlington, South Carolina, eight years ago.

Behind the case is the Deering Milliken textile empire, which owned and controlled some 27 textile mills, of which Darlington was one. The plant was shut down after a collective bargaining victory by the Textile Workers and the case has been the center of a bitter battle ever since.

The National Labor Relations Board found by a four to one vote that the shutdown of the mill was illegal and ordered later, by a three to one vote, that Darlington's 500 former employees be awarded back pay from the time of their discharge until they got new jobs either on their own or with the Deering Milliken chain. The Board held that Deering Milliken was a "single employer" and could not plead that Darlington was an entirely independent entity.

At stake are millions of dollars in back pay. Perhaps of even greater importance is what the Supreme Court will have to say about the responsibility of an employer to his workers in the event that he shuts down his plant and goes out of business "for whatever reason he chooses."

So important are the issues that both management and labor brought up their biggest guns to argue the case.

The Deering Milliken chain hired Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. to represent it. The Senator, whose appearance has raised "conflict of interest" criticism, maintained that he was fighting for free enterprise. He argued that a corporation has the right to shut down for any reason it chooses. He further argued that the Darlington plant had been closed because it was an uneconomic operation and would have become more uneconomic if the union succeeded in winning gains for its workers. He contended that Darlington was not an integral part of the Deering Milliken chain and that, anyway, the NLRB decision was unconstitutional.

KENTUCKY LABOR NEWS FEATURE

The Department of Justice appeared for the NLRB and told a different story. It cited evidence that the real reason for the Darlington shutdown was the determination of Roger Milliken, president of the corporation, to crush the union and held that this was a violation of Taft-Hartley. It further contended that Darlington was a part of the Deering Milliken complex, which should be held responsible for the consequences of the Darlington shutdown.

Labor was represented by the AFL-CIO legal department and by Irving Abramson, counsel for the Textile Workers. In its brief, the AFL-CIO contended that the Darlington shutdown was clearly an unfair labor practice because it was in retaliation for the union vote; that the NLRB decision was in line with numerous previous rulings which forbid an employer to shut down either entirely or in part in order to avoid dealing with a union and, finally, that there is no "absolute prerogative" for an employer to go out of business or "to perpetuate an illegal discontinuance."

Abramson, speaking for the Textile Workers, cited evidence to show that Roger Milliken was determined to keep the union out of the company mills and that the Darlington shutdown was used as an example of what would happen if any other Deering Milliken mills were organized.

Abramson told the court that the NLRB decision, in fact, did not go far enough in doing justice by the discharged workers. He contended that Deering Milliken ought to be ordered to reopen the Darlington mill and to take back the dicharged workers with full back pay. Unless this is done, he declared, the effect of what happened at Darlington will not be lost on workers in other Deering Milliken mills who want to organize.

He was critical of what he called the NLRB's "attempt to strike a balance between the 'conflicting interests' of the guilty employer and the innocent victims of the discriminatory plant shutdown."

Abramson further criticized the Board for its failure to hold Roger Milliken individually responsible for what happened at Darlington.

"We submit that holding Roger Milliken personally liable for the unfair labor practices for which he was primarily responsible would not only be fully warranted by the record and entirely consistent with the Act as construed by the Board, but moreover would provide substantial deterrent value to the otherwise pathetically inadequate Board remedy," he said.

A UNION IN DANVILLE VOTES TO INTEGRATE

Labor

Special to The New York Times

DANVILLE, Va., Sept. 10—Members of the United Textile Workers Union here have voted overwhelmingly to integrate separate white and Negro lcoals at the Dan River Mills plant in this racially troubled city.

The vote, taken at meetings of the two locals on Sunday, abolished the union's last "Jim Crow" local, officials said.

Irving Burton, president of the merged Negro local, is a leading candidate for vice president of the integrated local in a union election scheduled for Oct. 6.

Howard Robertson, manager of the union's Southern Joint Board here, said about 50 members of Local 250, the Negro unit, had voted unanimously for the merger. About 400 white members of Local 248 attended that group's meeting Sunday Mr. Robertson said, and "all but three" favored the integration plan. The union claims a membership of about half of the 10,000 employes at Dan River Mills.

The mill is the largest industry in this Southside Virginia city, employing nearly a third of the local labor force.

Last month, mill executives quietly ended segregation in company cafeterias and rest rooms. Negroes have continued intermittent picketing at the mill's main plant, however, charging that the company discriminates in hiring and promotion.

NY Times 9/11/63

Labor-South

Supreme Court Studies Case:

Can Plant Shut Down to Beat Union?

By ALEXANDER UHL

WASHINGTON (PAI)—The crucial issue of whether a corporation has the right to shut down a plant and fire hundreds of employees ruthlessly because they voted union is now being studied by the United States Supreme Court.

The National Labor Relations Board has said "No." So has the Department of Justice, the AFL-CIO and the Textile Workers Union, whose members were the victims of the Darlington textile plant closing in Darlington, South Carolina, eight years ago.

Behind the case is the Deering Milliken textile empire, which owned and controlled some 27 textile mills, of which Darlington was one. The plant was shut down after a collective bargaining victory by the Textile Workers, and the case has been the center of bitter battle ever since:

The NLRB found by a four-to-one vote that the shutdown of the mill was illegal and ordered later, by a three-to-one vote, that Darlington's 500 former employees be awarded back pay from the time of their discharge until they got new jobs either on their own or with the Deering Milliken chain. The Board held that Deering Milliken was a "single employer" and could not plead that Darlington was an entirely independent entity.

At stake are millions of dollars in back pay. Perhaps of even greater importance is what the Supreme Court will have to say about the responsibility of an employer to his workers in the event that he shuts down his plant and goes out of business "for whatever reason he chooses."

So important are the issues that both management and labor brought up their biggest guns to argue the case.

The Deering Milliken chain hired Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. to represent it. The senator, whose appearance has raised "conflict of interest" criticism, maintained that he was fighting for free enterprise. He argued that a corporation has the right to shut down for any reason it chooses. He further argued that the Darlington plant had been closed because it was an uneconomic operation and would have become more uneconomic if the union succeeded in winning gains for its workers. He contended that Darlington was not an integral part of the Deering Milliken chain and that, anyway, the NLRB decision was unconstitutional.

The Department of Justice appeared for the NLRB and told a different story. It cited evidence that the real reason for the Darlington shutdown was the determination of Roger Milliken, president of the corporation, to crush the union—and that this was a violation of Taft-Hartley. It further contended that Darlington was a part of the Deering Milliken complex, which should be held responsible for the consequences of the Darlington shutdown."

In its brief, the AFL-CIO contended that the Darlington shutdown was clearly an unfair labor practice because it was in retaliation for the union vote; that the NLRB decision was in line with numerous previous rulings which forbid an employer to shut down either entirely or in part in order to avoid dealing with a union; and, finally, that there is no "absolute prerogative" for an employer to go out of business or "to perpetuate an illegal discontinuance."

Attorney Irving Abramson, speaking for the Textile Workers, cited evidence to show that Roger Milliken was determined to keep the union out of the company mills and that the Darlington shutdown was used as an example of what would happen if any other Deering mills were organized.

Abramson told the Court that the NLRB decision, in fact, did not go far enough in doing justice to the discharged workers. He contended that Deering Milliken ought to be ordered to reopen the Darlington mill and to take back the discharged workers with full back pay. Unless this is done, he declared, the effect of what happened at Darlington will not be lost on workers in other Deering Milliken mills who want to organize.

Abramson further criticized the Board for its failure to hold Roger Milliken individually responsible for what happened at Darlington.

"We submit that holding Roger Milliken personally liable for the unfair labor practices for which he was primarily responsible would not only be fully warranted by the record and entirely consistent with the act as construed by the Board, but moreover would provide substantial deterrent value to the otherwise pathetically inadequate Board remedy," he said.

1-10-65

LABOR - South

Union bid meets rebuff in South

Workers at six J. P. Stevens mills in North Carolina put crimp in AFL-CIO campaign

Labor's drive to extend unionism in the Deep South got a setback last week. Employees of six J. P. Stevens & Co. textile mills in Roanoke Rapids, N. C., rejected union representation 1,684 to 1,186.

The defeat was a heavy blow to AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Dept., headed by United Auto Workers Pres. Walter P. Reuther. IUD is engaged in a two-year, $1-million campaign to organize 26 of Stevens' plants, and it had hoped for a breakthrough at Roanoke Rapids.

Protests. The all-out IUD campaign against Stevens, in which the Textile Workers Union of America is cooperating, has been bitter from the start. Prior to the election, IUD filed more than 250 separate unfair labor practices charges against Stevens in National Labor Relations Board offices throughout the South.

Now, James W. Pierce, IUD organizing coordinator in the South, charges that Stevens "committed all kinds of unfair labor practices" in the election, including "captive audience meetings, surveillance, threats, and coercion and intimidation—even intimidating union observers in the election." He expects NLRB to order another election.

J. P. Stevens denied the charges. A company spokesman said the vote demonstrated "decisively" that a majority of employees don't want union representation.

Elections are pending in two other Stevens mills, in Greenville and Piedmont, S. C. None of the Stevens plants is organized.

Just a part. The drive to unionize Stevens mills is part of a larger campaign by IUD and cooperating unions. IUD coordinates efforts and assists in financing the work, and the unions have assigned organizers to work with IUD in the South and pick up part of the cost.

Some gains are claimed, but nothing "spectacular" has been accomplished so far, IUD spokesmen concede. They had hoped for dramatic impetus from a victory at Roanoke Rapids. **End**

BUSINESS WEEK March 20, 1965

Labor - South

3 Union Officials Arrested For Not Leaving Motel

Carolina Labor News 10/15/65

ALBEMARLE—Three union officials were arrested Monday afternoon when they refused to leave an Albemarle motel after the owner requested them to do so.

Dewey Sides, owner and operator of the Sunset Motel, signed the warrant charging the Textile Workers Union of America representatives with trespassing.

They are in Albemarle because of a strike at the nearby Collins and Aikman Corp., plant. The strike began 11 days ago.

The three men, Scott Hoyman, international representative of the TWUA, Tom Barker and Michael J. Botellho, posted $100 bonds each and were released. They went back to the motel immediately.

Sides said he did not know what his next step would be.

Meanwhile in New York, TWUA General President William Pollock asked the federal government to investigate the treatment of union representatives in Albemarle.

About 20 persons, most of them striking workers at the nearby Collins & Aikman textile plant, were standing outside when the union organizers were taken into custody by Stanly County sheriff's deputies.

Botellho told the gathering "your sheriff is arresting me under pressure from Collins and Aikman."

He said he would "use every resource at my disposal to sue the sheriff, motel owner and anyone else who participates in this false arrest."

Trial for the three was scheduled for Oct. 25 in Albemarle Recorder's Court.

Sides took the legal action after asking the men to leave on two occasions. Each time they refused. Sides said he needed the rooms and added, "some of our other regular guests are beginning to get sore."

Hoyman said they declined Sides' offer of accommodations at another motel he owns because they prefe to remain near the plant.

He said the union men can bes conduct business and see that it is conducted in a peaceful manner by maintaining rooms at the Sunset Motel, where they have been for almost two weeks.

The State 8-16-65

Labor - South

Labor Probe Of S.C. Plant To Continue

GREENVILLE (AP) — Hearings on alleged im proper labor practices at South Carolina plants o the J. P. Stevens textile chain continue here Mon day.

Six witnesses testified Saturday as the Industria Union Department continued its charges of irregu larities in the May 13 election at the Duncan plan of the company.

It appears likely that similar charges involving alleged improper practices at the Estes plant at Piedmont will begin next week as scheduled.

Testimony was received Saturday from James Pierce, coordinator for the IUD in the Southeast. He said that proper eligibility lists were not supplied by the company the day before the union election.

Others testifying for the union were Miss Bonnie Seagraves, who works in the preparation department at Duncan; John Freeman, a loom fixer; Mrs. Lois Reece, a unifill tender and Jimmy Riddle and Robert Hamblin, weavers.

The hearing before a National Labor Relations Board examiner began Friday.

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Labor - South

Price Per Copy Five Cent

Union Organizers Ordered To Vacate Mo

Carolina Labor News

Room During Strike, Invoke CR Law To St

10/15/65

ALBEMARLE — Union organizers have refused to leave a local motel, saying they were asked to leave only because of a strike at the nearby Collins and Aikman Corp. plant.

Dewey Sides, owner of the Sunset Motel, said he asked representatives of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO Friday to vacate their three rooms by noon Sunday.

He said the rooms were needed for regular guests, salesmen and others, who regularly stop at the motel.

Sides offered the four union representatives accommodations at another motel he owns, Miller's Motel, seven miles north of Albemarle.

However, Scott Hoyman of Greensboro, an international representative of the TWUA, said the union men have conducted themselves properly, and that their remaining at the motel is essential for the conduct of the strike.

Sides said that legal action to evict them—if he decides on such action—will not be taken before Monday.

Hoyman said that he believes the union men have a prior claim on the rooms under the North Carolina law on obligations of an innkeeper and under the public accommodations section of the f eral Civil Rights Act.

"If we had any other occupati we would have been allowed stay," he declared. "The only r son we are being asked to move that we are representatives of union conducting a strike, and don't think that is sufficient re son."

Hoyman is sharing a room wi another international represent tive, John Kissack of Charlotte.

Another room is occupied by To Barker of Leaksville, also an in ternational representative, and th third by Michael J. Botellho of De catur, Ga. He is assistant regiona director of the union.

The motel has 34 units. The union men have been guests since the strike began Sept. 30 after negotiations for a first contract broke down.

The union won an election in December of 1964 to represent the 750 production employees of the plant, which makes upholstery fabrics and carpeting for automobiles.

Hoyman said that only about 180 production workers have remained at their jobs.

He said there also are 250 clerical and supervisory employees at work. Albemarle is headquarters for the auotmotive division of Collins and Aikman.

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Labor - South

NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1965.

Strike Bitter in Carolina Textile Town

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

ALBEMARLE, N. C., Oct. 15—Labor and management militancy and a bitter two-week strike at the big carpet mill here have plunged this small city deeply and unwillingly into the renewed union struggle in the southern textile industry.

The situation here is regarded by many observers as typical of the revived union effort to organize workers at companies with a long tradition of nonunion employment.

For nearly three years, the Textile Workers Union of America, backed by the Industrial Union Department of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, has been waging an uphill fight. It seeks to organize the hundreds of low-wage textile mills that have been part of the Southern landscape since the turn of the century.

According to the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, North Carolina workers as of last July had average weekly wages of $74.07, the lowest in the United States, even below the average $75.40 in Mississippi. North Carolina also has the lowest percentage of union members in its labor force.

The textile industry is by far the biggest single employer in North Carolina, with about half the state's manufacturing workers on its payroll. Low wages and the nonunion shop predominate particularly in textiles, where profit margins are small and the work force has long been largely unskilled and semiliterate.

The battle here began a year ago at the modern plant of Collins & Aikman, Inc., a major supplier of automobile carpeting with eight plants in North Carolina. The textile union petitioned the National Labor Relations Board last October to hold an election among 724 eligible production workers here on certifying the union as their collective bargaining agent. Last Dec. 11 the union won the election, 388 to 247.

After an unsuccessful company challenge to election procedures, the union was certified as bargaining agent last May 3. Production workers walked out Sept. 30 and the talks were broken off indefinitely last Wednesday. Altogether, there were 18 bargaining sessions.

The company insists that it has been bargaining in good faith and that the union's demands are unreasonable. But union officials say they are now convinced the company's strategy is to "stall on the contract" until next May.

Under N.L.R.B. procedures, one year after certification the company may petition for a decertification election, in which votes could be cast by both the strikers and the new workers the company has been recruiting.

"The scabs inside would be voting to save their jobs," a union spokesman said.

In a letter dated Sept. 22 the company said:

"We would like to make it clear to you—as clear and as plain as we possibly can—that a strike will not force us to sign any contract terms which we believe would not in the long run work out to the best interests of this company and its employes. Those whose jobs are filled while they are out on strike will have no right to return to their jobs after that—or get their jobs back—even when the strike has ended."

Wages in the plant, which the company says average about $1.80 an hour, are not at issue, according to John Kissack, the union's international representative here. "We are talking about workloads, grievance procedure, seniority, safety provisions, and the most basic kind of union contract," he said.

Albemarle plainly does not sympathize with the union. There have been enough incidents of what union officials bitterly call "harassment and intimidation" that Odell Clark, chief investigator for the House Education and Labor committee, came here yesterday at the union's request to investigate.

Among others, he talked to Mrs. Donna Earnhardt, 23 years old, who is pregnant with her fifth child. She told newsmen that her doctor at first refused to accept her as a patient "because we are on strike." Later he relented, she said, provided "we pay up before delivery."

Labor-Soc

Industrial Union Dept. And Textile Workers File For Election At Four J. P. Steven's Plans

CHARLOTTE—The Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO (IUD, AFL-CIO) today made the first move for a secret ballot election for J. P. Stevens Company workers by filing a petition with the National Labor Relations Board in behalf of approximately 2,600 employees at the company's four plants in Roanoke Rapids, N.C.

The action stems from a sixteen-months organizing ccampaign directed by the IUD, AFL-CIO at 25 major plants of J. P. Stevens located in both the Carolinas, with a total employment of 25,000 workers. The announcement was made at a press conference in the Sheraton-Barringer Motor Inn in Charlotte called by ten officers of the IUD and Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, and included Nicholas Zonarich, IUD Organizational Director, William Pollock, General President of TWUA and John Chupka, TWUA General Secretary-Treasurer.

Jim Pierce, Charlotte, IUD Coordinator for the Carolinas said in a formal sttaement: "The petition which we filed today with the Eleventh Regional office of the National Labor Relations Board in Winston-Salem was supported by the signed authorization cards of a substantial majority of all workers who will be eligible to vote at the J. P. Stevens Company's Roanoke Rapids plants. They are eager for an immediate election, as early as next week if it is possible, so that they may vote in an atmosphere free of management inspired coercion and intimidation. They are ready to disprove the oft-repeated public sttaements of J. P. Stevens Company spokesmen that their employees don't want to be represented by a union."

Early last year the NLRB issued complaints against J. P. Stevens involving 153 separate actions of unfair labor practices, including discharge of 53 employees. A trail examiner started hearings on March 24, 1964 and concluded them on September 13. His intermediate report is expected shortly. Last Occt. 30 the NLRB issued further complaints charging Stevens with an additional 51 violations and the discharge of 18 employees.

Hearings on these complaints are scheduled to begin before an NLRB Trial Examiner on Feb. 1 in Rock Hill, S.C., and will be held later in the month at Roanoke Rapids on the cases involving J. P. Stevens workers in that city.

Pierce's statement added: "Since the middle of 1964 we have filed charges involving the discharges of another 50 J. P. Stevens workers for their open and active support of the union organizing campaign."

Press Spotlights J. P. Stevens Chain Anti-Labor Policies

Carolina Labor News

Labor South

10-27-65

The Washington Post, one of the nation's most respected newspapers, has concluded a four-part series by Frank C. Porter, a staff writer, detailing some of the problems entailed in organizing the textile industry in the South, particularly in the J. P. Stevens chain, second largest in the country.

Porter visited a number of southern communities where Stevens plants are located and talked with workers who have been discharged following attempts to organize their plants, to union officials and to representatives of the company, the National Labor Relations Board, and to civic leaders.

The series was syndicated by the Washington Post-Los Angeles Times News Service, and has attracted wide attention. The growing seriousness of the southern organizing problem was spotlighted recently when the House Education and Labor Committee held hearings on the subject.

Among those testifying was Nicholas Zonarich, organizational director of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, which has been spearheading the organizing drive in conjunction with the Textile Workers Union of America and other unions.

"Real Public Service"

Zonarich declared "The Post and Frank Porter have performed a real public service through this real and factual series on the J. P. Stevens Co. It is apparent that this series was stimulated by the recent exploratory hearings by the House Labor Committee at which the IUD testified. As a matter of fact, we have been getting a number of inquiries since the series was published.

"The public is entitled to all the facts honestly revealed as they were by Mr. Porter. It is clear that what we have been saying about the ugly actions of the J. P. Stevens Co. is true," Zonarich said.

The IUD, TWUA and other unions have indicated they will seek further probes.

Labor-Gov

TWUA Asks Congress to Probe Anti-Union Conspiracy in South

TEXTILE LABOR

Oct. - '65

Charging southern textile manufacturers with a "continuing conspiracy" to deprive their employees of the legal right to organize, TWUA's Executive Council urged House and Senate labor committees to open an investigation into this "pattern of intentional law-breaking."

The council pointed out that the conspiracy is "sustained in major southern textile areas by the maintenance of a blacklist through which discharged, union-minded workers are denied employment in any mill and forced to leave town."

Masterminded by lawyers who specialize in union-busting, the anti-union plot is "aided and abetted in some cases by the local press, the police and merchants eager to do the bidding of the big mill which is usually the town's major employer," the council said.

"These lawyers and their corporate clients have learned through long experience that the penalties imposed upon guilty employers by the National Labor Relations Board are so innocuous and so long-delayed that they can thumb their noses at the law with impunity," its statement continued.

"It is more than coincidence that, in every case in which one of these lawyers appears, the company's tactics are predictable and, indeed, follow the identical pattern. The anti-union notices, the threatening letters, the propaganda

(Continued on Page 19)

Probe of Southern Conspiracy Urged

(Continued from Page 24)

handed out by the company and appearing in the local press, and the plant superintendent's coercive speech just prior to every NLRB election contain the same language from plant to plant with depressing regularity."

The council cited company actions during a recent and continuing organizing drive at 25 North and South Carolina plants of J. P. Stevens & Co. as "a prime example of violations of the labor laws on a scale so vast and widespread that they can only be explained as part of a carefully-calculated, cynical plan of deliberate law-breaking designed to smash the campaign before it got started."

In addition to paying union adherents, threatening to close plants down, and "brainwashing" its employees, the company "brazenly" launched upon a plan to discharge every worker known as a union leader or committeeman in every plant at which union activity occurred, the TWUA council said. Between June 1963 and August 1965, at least 200 such discharges were recorded, the council added.

Even while an NLRB trial examiner was concluding—during the first of a series of hearings on TWUA charges—that J. P. Stevens Co. "flagrantly, cynically and unlawfully interfered with, restrained and coerced its employees in the exercise of their rights under the act," the company pursued its policy of "ruthless extermination of the union's influence," the TWUA statement said.

"Employees who gave testimony before the NLRB were immediately discharged. By the time the first round of hearings was over, a whole new set of discharges and further acts of coercion had been brought to the NLRB's attention. The labor board issued a new complaint and a second round of hearings was held.

"Incredible as it may seem, while the second round of hearings was in progress, the company still continued to flout the law and defy the NLRB. At the present time, a wholly new third round of hearings has been ordered on these additional cases and more are arising every day."

William Pollock, TWUA general president, said the southern textile worker "wants and, under the law, is entitled to a union. He is unable to get it because of the anti-union terror maintained by the conspiracy among the textile giants, with the help of their lawyers."

"These employers function securely in the knowledge that the Taft-Hartley Law they are violating has, so far, afforded their workers and the unions little, if any, effective relief," Pollock continued.

"The Congressional investigation we seek should inquire into the pattern of intentional law-breaking carried on by these manufacturers and should reevaluate the remedies provided by the Taft-Hartley Act against repeated violators, such as J. P. Stevens, with a view to amending that law to provide remedies that will deter such violations."

U.S. REPORT

Emp - Ga

Textiles Employ Most Georgians; Apparel Industry Is Second

Atlanta Constitution

12/16/65

The textile industry is Georgia's largest employer among industrial group, the U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of the Census said in a report released Wednesday.

The report, based on the bureau's 1963 census of manufacturers, showed that textile manufacturers in Georgia employed 94,000 workers at the time of the census and that their payroll for the year was $334 million.

The second most important employer among industry groups was the apparel industry with 56,000 employes, Atlanta field office director Daniel M. Paul said.

The total number of employes in Georgia manufacturing plants in 1963 was 355,000, an increase of 41,000 — or 13 per cent — since the last census of manufacturers was taken in 1958.

The report also showed that in 1963 there were 6,237 manufacturing plants in the state. Some 2,069 of them had 20 or more employes. The manufacturing payroll for 1963 totaled $1.5 billion.

NLRB TELLS J. P. STEVENS COMPANY RE-INSTATE 20 WORKERS IN CAROLINAS

Carolina Labor News 2/4/64

WASHINGTON—A trial examiner for the National Labor Relations Board has recommended that J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., be ordered to cease alleged discrimination against employes because of union activity and that it reinstate 20 fired workers.

The recommendations of the trial examiner, Horace A. Ruckel, are yet to be acted upon by the NLRB.

Ruckel conducted hearings in 1964 and 1965 in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., and Rock Hill and Greenville, S.C., upon complaints by the Textile Workers Union of America and the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.

The examiner's summary said in part:

"The record of the 1965 hearing reflects the continued, systematic determination of this employer as revealed by the record of the 1964 hearing, to destroy the union root and branch by discharging its most active members on any pretext which might come to hand, or could be invented, by threatening to discharge others unless they come to management and renounce the union, and by provoking the resignation of still others from (the) respondent's (Stevens') employment. No other conclusion can be drawn than that the respondent has largely succeeded in its purpose."

The hearings consolidated 25 cases brought by the union from two Stevens plants in the Rock Hill area, five in the Greenville area and the Patterson plant at Roanoke Rapids.

Ruckel recommended to the board that it order the company to reinstate these workers: Ben Surratt, Wylie Hill, Hubert Varnadore, John Fullbright, Oliver Durham, Willard Page, Junior Hulsey, W. O. Epps, Jake Owens, Arthur Dean, Frank Wojeck, James Hill, Leroy Reeves, Willis Young, Rufus Finley, Donald Jones, William Coker and James Rosemond of plants in the Greenville area, and John Little and Leslie Hancock of the Patterson plant at Roanoke Rapids.

The examiner recommended dismissal of complaints asking reinstatement of Juanita Faulkenberry of Republic plant No. 1 at Rock Hill; Daniel Murray of Patterson plant at Roanoke Rapids, and Bobby Spoon, Franklin Moore and Joe Manley in plants in the Greenville area.

Ruckel recommended that the board order the big textile manufacturing firm to cease altering working conditions for the purpose of defeating union organizational efforts, discharging employes for testifying at hearings, discriminating against workers in order to discourage union activities of other employes to report to the company union activities of other employes, permitting employes to engage in antiunion activity while prohibiting other employes from engaging in activities in behalf of the union, and of encouraging employes from withdrawing from the union.

Ruckel's report, asserting his belief that his recommendations do not entirely fit the situation, recommended to the board that it consider such other remedies which it might deem appropriate.

CRA - Suits — Employment

Suit Filed In U. S. Court

News Leader 1/18/66

Another in a series of suits charging employment discrimination has been filed in federal District Court here.

In a suit filed yesterday 10 Negro employes of the Friedman-Marks Clothing Co. asked that the court issue an order restraining the Richmond clothing firm from continuing its alleged discrimination on the basis of color.

Also being sought by the Negro plaintiffs is a court order that would force the company to permit transfers from the sponging department to the cutting department.

The Negroes, employes in the sponging department, say they were denied transfers to the higher-paying and more "prestegious" cutting department because of their race.

According to the Negroes, the company, with a few exceptions, has reserved jobs in the cutting department for white employes while assigning only Negroes to the sponging department.

The company has 20 days from official notification of the suit in which to file an answer with the court.

Feb. 1976 Labor - N.C.

TWUA Calls for 'Stiffer Penalties' For Stevens Repeat Union-Busting

TEXTILE LABOR

A National Labor Relations Board trial examiner's decision, upholding a second set of charges of union-busting against J. P. Stevens & Co. Inc., prompted TWUA to call for "new and stiffer remedies to bring the nation's second largest textile chain in compliance with federal labor law."

The trial examiner found that the company had illegally discharged another 19 employees for union activities and recommended that they be reinstated with back pay at 6% annual interest.

General President William Pollock said Trial Examiner Horace A. Ruckel's latest findings, released by the NLRB in Washington "clearly demonstrates that in every situation right down the line where Stevens workers have sought to form a union, the company has been guilty of violating the law."

"All of J. P. Stevens' actions are tinged and tainted with illegality," Pollock said. "Two rounds of hearings have produced the same findings. Two elections among Stevens workers in Dunean, S. C., and Roanoke Rapids, N. C., have been set aside. A third round of hearings on similar violations is already scheduled.

"The NLRB's own trial examiner, in his latest decision, takes the highly unusual step of calling for new remedies. In doing so, he confirms our union's long-held conviction that the present arsenal of NLRB remedies, developed over a period of 30 years, is still inadequate.

"At the same time," Pollock said, "the trial examiner's report renders completely ludicrous the company's frequent public protestations of innocence.

"Incredible as it seems, with two rounds of hearings completed, the com-

(Continued on page 22)

Stevens Again Tagged Union-Bust

(Continued from Page 24)

pany still continues to flout the law by discharging and intimidating workers in defiance of the NLRB. The situation clearly calls for new and stiffer remedies to bring J. P. Stevens in compliance with the labor laws of the land," Pollock said.

The eight plants involved in the present case are the Republic plants 1 and 3, located near Rock Hill, S. C., the Dunean, Blackhawk, Slate and White Horse plants near Greenville, S. C., the Estes Plant at Piedmont, S. C., and the Patterson plant at Roanoke Rapids, N. C.

At the end of an earlier hearing held in 1964, Ruckel had recommended the reinstatement of 69 Stevens workers also fired for union activity during the course of an organizing campaign conducted jointly at 25 Stevens plants in North and South Carolina by TWUA and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

The examiner's summary said in part:

"The record of the 1965 hearing reflects the continued, systematic determination of this employer, as revealed by the 1964 hearing, to destroy the union root and branch by discharging its most active members on any pretext which might come to hand, or could be invented, by threatening to discharge others unless they come to management and renounce the union, and by provoking the resignat still others from (the) respon (Stevens') employment . . ."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FYI

Retired - remove name

V

Miss Marion Hayes
U. S. Dept. of Labor
Labor Economics
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Washington, D. C. 20210

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INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA

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TELEPHONE BUTLER 5-5281
1622 N. LOMBARD STREET
PORTLAND 17, OREGON

MEMORANDUM

To: Southern Regional Council Date: December 28, 1966

From: International — Woodworker

Subject: Correction of Name

Please change name to read:

Wayne A. Scott, Editor
International — Woodworker
1622 N. Lombard St.
Portland, Oregon 97217

pulled 1-10-67 js

I shall comply although name changes create time lines unnecessary delays.

Jan: If this name does not appear in the Lab. Dept. Union Directory please ~~correct~~ correct.

E.

Unions — Worker Problem

* * *

CONSTRUCTION UNIONS in St. Louis push a roadblock in the path of "Operation Breakthrough," the Government experiment in mass-produced housing. Urged on by the unions, St. Louis aldermen refuse to exempt the prototype housing from city zoning and building codes. The waiver request will be renewed at a city council session today.

* * *

VOLUNTEER ORGANIZERS: The Textile Workers Union calls on rank-and-filers to "help us organize." Workers who sign up as volunteer organizers will provide leads to likely targets for union drives, gather names and addresses of pro-union workers.

* * *

"WORKERS' PARADISE" fails to produce enough kids who want to be workers. In Red Hungary, a survey of 2,600 students shows that 60% in comprehensive high schools and nearly 75% in purely academic high schools aim for professional careers rather than blue-collar jobs. But manpower experts say only 25% of the students can hope for higher education.

* * *

UNIONIZED TEACHERS could hamper Nixon's effort to integrate faculties.

Some locals of the American Federation of Teachers voice concern about the President's call for a racial mix of teachers in each school that's "substantially the same as it is throughout the system." "We don't want forced transfer of black teachers to white schools, or white teachers to black schools," declares a New York City union official. The president of the Chicago local vows to block "forced integration" until officials "provide safety" for white teachers assigned to black schools.

Seniority rights spelled out in some locals' contracts could slow integration. The Chicago local's contract permits only 10% of the teachers at each school to be assigned without regard to seniority rights. Local leaders warn that equal employment laws in some states prohibit the classification or assignment of employes on the basis of race, religion or nationality.

Many administrators claim they're more worried about recruiting additional black teachers than they are about the racial distribution at each school.

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: Former Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz and John Gentry, who recently left the Labor Department, form a partnership in Washington "to engage as counsellors-at-large in such matters as appear interesting and worthwhile." . . . A Washington comedy writer complains that an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ruling that supervisors can't tell Polish jokes violates the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech.

CHARLOTTE: *Speaking Up*

Better Training, Pay, Fringe Benefits Goal of Union

THE MORNING TREK: Domestics in Charlotte sometimes spend as much as two hours each morning getting from their homes to jobs.

Domestics United, Inc. of Charlotte is one of the few antipoverty organizations in the state that is operated almost entirely by poor people themselves. In this case, low-paid domestic workers have banded together in an attempt to get their pay raised and working conditions improved and, along with the benefits, to improve the skills they can offer their employers.

DU, as the agency is called by its organizers, began two years ago when an official of Charlotte's community action program, the Charlotte Area Fund, noticed a small girl escorting her even smaller brothers to three different houses each morning. The official wondered why this little girl had to take the responsibility for her brothers.

He found out that her mother was a domestic worker, and in order to get to her job across town she had to leave home practically at dawn. It was her eight-year-old daughter's job to deliver the little brothers to the homes of neighbors for the day. The case was not unique.

The official tried to start a daycare project for the children of domestics. This project didn't materialize but it did focus attention on the plight of several thousand women in Charlotte who worked as domestics. In the spring of 1966, the United Church Women of Charlotte and the Charlotte Area Fund organized a meeting that included domestics to talk about the problem.

The first meeting drew only 40 domestics, but another meeting a month later garnered around 200 women who worked in private homes. Soon the women themselves were taking over the effort to oranize and plan for the betterment of their jobs and to solve some of their family problems that went along with the jobs.

The United Church Women and the Charlotte Area Fund withdrew to the sidelines but continued to encourage the domestics because they saw that the problems of these women were woven into the very fabric of poverty and the Negro dilemma: the low pay, the children left alone at home, or the teenager who drops out of school to take care of the younger members of the family, and not least, the pervading lack of respect the women felt toward themselves and their jobs. In a few cases, a domestic worker displayed real pride in the job she was doing, but this was the exception rather than the rule. The organizers wanted to change that rule.

The early meeting raised a small tempest in Charlotte as the word spread among housewives that their "domestics" were organizing, forming a *union*, and would proceed to demand unheard of wages. Mrs. Wilhelmina Adams, a domestic who has been at the forefront of Domestics United since its inception, recalled how the group tried to stem the tide of rumors.

Underground

"We had to go underground, she said, "and keep the press out of our meetings. A union wasn't our idea at all. We never thought about striking or anything like that. Some of the girls lost their jobs because people in Charlotte thought we were forming a union."

The main idea of Domestics United, Mrs. Adams said, was to train domestics in the skills of housekeeping and in a broader range of duties such as child care, care of the elderly, and even some simple nursing skills, so they could get better jobs or better pay for the jobs they had. Many women needed to learn how to drive a car because their employers wanted them to pick up the children or do the grocery shopping. Others needed instruction in the use of new applicances. Ironing was another major skill domestics needed to improve.

Looking back, Mrs. Adams said she remembers "no real trouble" in getting employers to raise wages to $1.40 an hour and sometimes $1.60 an hour. "Most of them want to pay the going rate," she said. "I've even had people I never heard of to call me and ask what the going rate is now. They say they don't want to pay less than they should."

Monetary Benefits

Other monetary benefits such as payment of the employees' social security and a paid vacation are sought by members of Domestics United. Mrs. Adams said she believes many employers are offering these benefits now.

It is difficult to know just what role Domestics United has actually played in attaining better pay and conditions for its members, because no systematic contact is maintained between the organization and employers, or even between the organization and its members. But it seems evident that domestics' wages in Charlotte have gone up during the two-year existence of Domestics United. This may be explained partly by the publicity given to the domestics' problem through DU activities

PAGINATION INCORRECT

and partly by the fact that many domestics are more confident about asking for the higher wage, or are asking for the first time.

More concrete achievements of the organization are the training courses it has offered and the placement service it has rather inadvertently drifted into providing for its members. However, two courses involving a total of 30 women is rather meager achievement for two years of operation.

It is true, as Mrs. Adams pointed out, that Domestics United has been limited by lack of funds. This limitation was removed, to a large extent, when the organization received a grant of $12,600 from The North Carolina Fund last April. It has used the money to rent a two-room office and to hire Mrs. Adams as executive director on a part-time basis.

Training Courses

The two training courses sponsored by Domestics United were for skills in post-natal child care. Mrs. Adams said all 30 women graduated from the two courses have since been hired to care for babies during the first few weeks after birth. This job includes the usual housekeeping duties as well as baby care, and it is temporary, lasting until the new mother is able to resume these duties herself.

In addition to these two courses, Domestics United has sponsored drivers' training through Piedmont Community College. Mrs. Adams said several women have gotten their drivers' license.

The training courses were all offered before Domestics United had money of its own under the Fund grant. Resource people gave their time free of charge, and classroom space was donated by the Red Cross. There was no charge to the women enrolled.

Mrs. Adams said she is planning, with the help of her 25-member board of directors, a training course focusing on general housekeeping skills. Fifteen women are already signed up for the course with many more on the waiting list.

The board of directors, which meets monthly, is composed of an equal number of representatives from the domestics, from the Negro community at large, and from the white community.

Membership in the organization has risen from 400 in the summer of 1966 to 650 today. This is only a small percentage of the estimated 6,000 domestics in Charlotte. Mrs. Adams said many women refuse to join Domestics United for fear the welfare department will find out they are earning a little income and reduce the amount they receive from welfare.

"Nobody's going to find out they're working because our files are private," she said. "But they're scared anyhow."

Much of Mrs. Adams' time is taken up with filling placement requests from unemployed domestics and from housewives looking for help.

Placement Service

"I'm not supposed to be running a placement service," she admitted. "But it seems like that's about what I've ended up doing."

She has placed some 50 domestics since the office opened in April, she said, noting that the number might be higher but there is no accurate record.

Mrs. Adams would like to have a workshop for employers "to help them understand about the domestic worker, about how she maybe gets up at five in the morning and fixes breakfast for her family so by the time she gets to work at nine she's already tired, while her employer is fresh as a daisy."

Many domestics are always worried about family problems and "how to make ends meet," Mrs. Adams said. The employers might be more sympthetic in their demands if they understood this.

Much can also be done to improve the way domestics view their jobs, Mrs. Adams said.

"A lot of women hate the idea of training for domestic work," she said. "They say that if they're going to take training, they might as well train for something better. But I tell them this work is a profession. You even have to be a school teacher sometimes and help the children with homework. You have to do a little bit of everything. You got to be proud of your profession."

Success Story

Domestics United has its success stories. Mrs. Oneeda Webb is one of them. She started to work at the age of 15 as a domestic in Jacksonville, N.C. At the time Domestics United was organized she was working for $9 a day, or $45 a week. Now she makes $75 a week, no small increase for her and her family.

Mrs. Webb is a graduate of one of the DU child-care courses, and one of her recent employers, Mrs. Harvey Ritch, said Mrs. Webb "did anything that came to hand, the baby care and the housework. I was very pleased."

Mrs. Ritch read about Domestic United in the newspaper and called Mrs. Adams when she needed someone to take care of her new baby for a few weeks. She said she did not mind paying the higher wage required by DU.

"Not under the circumstances. I couldn't afford that on a permanent basis. But I wanted someone special and I didn't feel the wage was out of line for that," she said.

Could Do More

Undoubtedly Domestics United could do much more to train and upgrade the position of its members. Its slow progress may be due partially to the reluctance of domestics to risk their job, or their welfare check, by joining. Further, its executive director, Mrs. Adams, is new to the business of managing an office, of planning and getting things done with efficiency and dispatch. So are many members of its board of directors.

Nevertheless, DU is a pioneer in the organization of domestics and must be credited with setting a precedent for other communities. Mrs. Adams, whose fame is spreading now that she's a director of the National Committee on Household Employment, has inquiries from other cities in North Carolina and from other states. The word is getting around that the position of the household worker need not remain on the bottom of the wage ladder, that the domestic has a respected place in the labor market and rights that should be respected.

Kate Erwin

POSTNATAL CARE: Special Skills Required

RALEIGH: *Mutual Gain*

Housewives, Maids Work For A Fair Deal for Domestics

The so-called "domestic," otherwise known as maid, cook, servant, or just "help," has long been at the rock bottom of the labor market.

In North Carolina, she works for an average seventy cents an hours. Her working conditions, job benefits and protection from exploitation depend entirely on the disposition of her employer.

As more job opportunities have opened for the uneducated and poverty classes that traditionally provide household labor, the supply of domestic workers has dropped considerably below the demand.

Some people, particularly militant members of the black community, welcome the new trend, believing that the "domestic"——trailing clouds of social and economic injustice——must go. Others contend that because a need for household workers continues to exist, the position of the domestic should be upgraded with new skills, new pay, more professional employer-employees relations, and greater dignity.

The latter view is being put to the test by an experimental training program for domestic workers in Raleigh. Organized on a volunteer basis by a group of white housewives and black community leaders, Household Assistance, Inc., has trained some 60 women for domestic service since March, 1968.

North Carolina State University supplied funds under Title I of the 1965 Higher Education Act to pay a home economics instructor for the first ten-week course. The remarkable list of contributions of services and materials from the community included classroom facilities from the American Red Cross; course lectures in specialized fields by the police department, dairy council, state board of health, consumer marketing department, farmers home administration, to name a few agencies, and a local pediatrician, veterinarian, and an authority on the care of china, crystal, and silver.

A motel offered facilities for demonstration and practice; a local convalescent home, instruction in care of the elderly; a beauty school, tips on grooming; a Raleigh printing company, publicity and printing.

The twenty-three women in the pilot course met from nine to twelve each morning Monday through Friday for classroom instruction. In the afternoons they were taken to private homes where they worked as "apprentices."

The housewives for whom they worked agreed to spend time supervising and teaching their apprentices. They also filled out detailed evaluation forms every day so that the Instructor could follow the progress of each student.

CODE FOR

WAGES

A domestic employee who works full-time for one family should receive a minimum of $1.45 per hour as a beginning wage. An employee who works "by the day" should receive a minimum of $1.60 per hour as a beginning wage because of the less secure and often more strenuous nature of her work. These minimum beginning rates should rise in response to changes in the Federal Minimum Wage. Overtime that is required or made necessary by the employer should be compensated for at the rate of time-and-a-half. Optional overtime that is simply offered to the employee as a "take-it-or-leave-it" proposition should be paid for at the usual rate.

HOURS

Exception to the usual eight-hour day or five-day week may be noted in the written Contract. The Contract should also state specific hours of arrival and departure. Time spent in transit to and from work is not included in working time. All variations in the schedule agreed upon, such as overtime requests, anticipated absence, or late arrival, should be announced in advance by both parties. An adequate lunch period is expected within the eight-hour day, although it is recognized that many employees must continue to have responsibility for children during this time.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Social Security taxes will be paid in accord with Federal Law. If an employer pays an employee $50 or more cash wages in a calendar quarter for household services, the taxes apply. . ." Details and method of payment are available in Circular H, which may be obtained from the Department of Internal Revenue.

CONTRACT

The domestic employer and employee should make use of a written contract, which can spell out in detail the responsibilities for both.

Later in the spring, HAI offered a Party Aid course with instruction in the skills of serving and preparing food and drink for parties. Most of the twenty students in this course were employed during the day so they met two evenings a week for six weeks.

After getting these courses under way, the backers of Household Assistance took on the task of placement for their trainees. At the conclusion of the household assistants course, every trainee who wanted work was placed on a job. Requests for party aides flowed in more slowly, and it was decided that there is not yet a sufficient demand for party aides to justify a second course.

Money for a second ten-week course for household assistants was granted by the North Carolina Fund. This time, in contrast to the first course where all the students were drawn from the ranks of the unemployed, the twenty women participating were employed.

The shift from unemployed to employed trainees came after much discussion by the HAI board. On a practical level,

DOMESTIC WORKERS

RAISES

The domestic employee should receive periodic raises, as agreed upon in the Contract, taking into consideration the following:

* Satisfactory completion of an initial trial period
* Rise of the Cost of Living Index
* Raise in the Federal Minimum Wage
* Increased responsibility of the employee
* Increased skills gained by her in a training course
* Increased value by virtue of length of service and better understanding of family needs
* Recognition of the value of a raise in pay as an incentive as well as a reward

TRANSPORTATION

The domestic employee should ordinarily provide her own transportation. Due to the lack of a public transporation system in this community, this is open to negotiation. Should the employee be required to use her own car for her employer's business, such as car-pooling or marketing, she should receive compensation at the rate of 10¢ a mile.

VACATIONS

The full-time employee should receive two weeks of paid vacation per year. The day-worker should receive two such days each year for each day-per-week she works regularly for one employer. Employer and employee should arrange in advance a mutually agreeable vacation period for the full-time worker. However, because of the difficulty of coordinating vacation time with several different employers, the day-worker should be free to select her own two weeks, notifying her employers well in advance.

COMMUNICATION

The domestic employer and employee should strive to develop and maintain good communication between themselves, recognizing that this is essential for a mutually satisfactory relationship. They should agree to candidly and politely express what is on their minds, whether it concerns disappointment in work done or pay received; misunderstandings or mistakes; instructions or questions.

PAID HOLIDAYS

The domestic employee should receive five paid holidays a year. These would include Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Day, and two of the following: Labor Day, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Good Friday, or Easter Monday. The employer of a day-worker should provide one such holiday for each day-per-week she employs her; and it is suggested that the employee rearrange her schedule so that one family not be without her services two consecutive weeks (as happens in the case of Christmas and New Years). If a holiday falls on the weekend, the employee should be given a week day off during the week following or preceding. If an employer is out of town and does not wish her employee in the home during this absence, she is obligated for the day's wages unless the absence has been discussed and agreed upon in advance (perhaps a clause in the contract), or unless employee or employer finds an acceptable substitute job.

LEAVE

A "sick or sympathy" leave of five days per year is considered the ideal. Recognizing, however, that this is among the more controversial subjects in domestic employment, this Code simply stipulates that this will be negotiated by the individual parties. A Contract might stipulate, for example, that such leave will be granted after the initial trial period; or when the employer is confident of the conscientiousness of the employee; or perhaps, that half pay will be given for such days. In any event, the earliest possible notice should be given to the employer. (Sympathy refers to death or illness in the employee's family, and other such emergencies.)

This code was developed and published by the Chapel Hill Human Relations Council.

employed women formed a more uniform group and were easier to teach. They could practice their skills on their jobs.

The HAI directors screened prospective enrollees in the second class more carefully than for the pilot program. Several young girls were helped to find other jobs or sent to job counselors because it was felt that they had the potential for other kind of employment and would be disappointed with domestic work.

Efforts were made to educate the employer as well as employee. The instructor wrote the employers of each of her students asking their cooperation. Each employer received a copy of the HAI code of standards, adapted from the code of the National Committee on Household Employment.

The code calls for employment on a businesslike basis: sets regular hours for full-time, day and part-time work; stipulates that the employer should pay half the employee's social security, and that paid vacations and sick leave should be arranged. It also recommends a wage of $1.40 an hour, with plans to raise it later to meet the national minimum wage that stands now at $1.60 an hour.

Household Assistance, Inc., has just completed its third training course and is now looking for further sponsorship for classes. Graduates of all three of its courses are looking into the possibility of starting a business which will contract with apartment houses and private households for service.

There are also some indications that the local technical institute might offer training for domestic workers.

As one backer of HAI put it, "These things will take a long time to work out but I think they can be done. HAI has just scratched the surface of the problem. Domestic work is the lowest job of any today, and there won't be this supply of labor much longer under present conditions."

Certainly fewer and fewer Negro women in North Carolina, forty-four percent of whom were domestic workers in 1960, are seeking work in private homes. Whether they can find a living wage and a new dignity in such work in the future may depend on the success of experiments like Household Assistance, Inc.

January 5, 1969

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Vivian:

I want to thank you personally and on behalf of BLS and SRC for your participation in our conference on December 17th. We felt that it was important to get a better understanding of the information in the employment survey. You contributed significantly in this effort and in providing a meaningful interpretation as to what the data mean for Atlanta. We are all appreciative of the thought, time and effort which you put into this undertaking. We felt that we had a good representative turnout for such a conference and that this argues well for the data being constructively used.

Again our thanks and I trust we will have further opportunities to work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

URBAN EMPLOYMENT SURVEY

BLS REPORT NO. 370
OCTOBER 1969

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN POVERTY AREAS OF SIX CITIES, JULY 1968 - JUNE 1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

A STUDY SPONSORED BY THE
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

For most Americans, 1969 was a year of relative economic well being. Employment was at record levels, and the unemployment rate was near post-Korean War lows. However, a large segment of our population was not sharing in this prosperity. In the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) 1/ areas of six major U.S. cities, many of the mainly black and Spanish-American residents were plagued by high unemployment rates and low weekly earnings and annual incomes. They were also concentrated in less desirable occupations--a large proportion worked in service and nonfarm laborer jobs that are often seasonal and provide only intermittent work. In addition, many CEP area residents were not even seeking work because of poor health or discouragement over their job-finding prospects. In each of the target areas, the proportion of persons with employment problems was much greater than for persons in the Nation as a whole.

This report, which sheds new light on the employment problems of people in poverty areas, presents the first detailed results of the Urban Employment Survey (UES). The survey was conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics with the cooperation and financing of the Labor Department's Manpower Administration. It provides information on the employment status, work experience, earnings, income, and educational attainment of persons living in each of the CEP areas of six large U.S. cities--Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, and New York City. 2/ The data refer to the 12-month period, July 1968 through June 1969. Releases on the employment situation in each of these areas have also been prepared by the regional offices of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and are available on request from the Bureau.

Population

Approximately 815,000 men and women 16 years and over resided in the six poverty areas surveyed during the July 1968-June 1969 period. The New York City survey area also includes similar neighborhoods outside the CEP areas. It made up nearly half of this target population (389,000). In addition, the survey covered 117,000 persons in Chicago, 98,000 in Detroit, 82,000 in Houston, 68,000 in Los Angeles, and 60,000 in Atlanta.

1/ Concentrated Employment Program areas are target poverty areas in which the Department of Labor has combined separate manpower programs in order to concentrate the effects of these programs in specific neighborhoods. Since the boundaries of the CEP areas were made for administrative and program purposes, the areas are not entirely homogeneous in relation to one another; comparisons and conclusions concerning area differences should be made with caution.

2/ The six areas will be referred to interchangeably as CEP, UES, poverty, or target areas in this report.

November 18, 1969

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Vivian:

Enclosed is the release and back-up data on the recent BLS employment survey for Atlanta. You will note that in every case they are talking about either the CEP area or the area within the actual city limits.

If it would be useful we could get copies of the survey instruments used to collect the data. There may be further specialized tabulations produced. I will have BLS send them directly to you. Also they will send you a copy of a report digesting what was found in other cities.

We are delighted that you will be able to take part in the Employment Conference on December 17. You are to let me know, per your suggestion, how formal your presentation will be. It can either be a speech with a panel of reactors or a lead-off panel presentation with other members both reacting and doing their own thing.

If we limit the program to one long afternoon (instead of all day) we probably will have no more than 1½ hours for the panel and your presentation. I will act as chairman. Al Kehrer, a businessman and a representative of EOA (probably the CEP director) will be the other members of the panel.

Let me know if you need other information.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 1

December 1, 1969

Mr. Charles Bullock
Deputy Regional Director
U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
Uu S. Department of Labor
Suite 540, 1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Bullock:

Attached is a copy of the list of invitees to the Employment Conference on December 17th.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Katharine Martin
Secretary
Labor Program

km

Enc. - 1

December 3, 1969

Mr. Bradley N. Currey, Jr.
Sr. Vice President-Marketing
Trust Company of Georgia
20 Pryor Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Currey:

First, let me thank you for agreeing to serve as a panel member on the Atlanta Urban Employment Survey Users' Conference which is jointly sponsored by BLS [Bureau of Labor Statistics] and SRC.

Enclosed is a summary of the study and an accompanying news release. Also enclosed is a summary of the findings in the six cities throughout the U. S. where similar studies were made.

The first part of the program will be presentations by various BLS officials describing the survey, the basic findings, what they had hoped to do, and some problems regarding the use of the data. The task of the panel will be to respond to an overview presentation made by Dr. Vivian Henderson, to add your own insights and questions, and in general to discuss what public and private agencies should be doing as a result of what the data show.

I look forward to our being together on December 17 and trust that we will have a meaningful conference. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 3.

December 3, 1969

Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Director
Southern Office, Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
40 Marrietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

First, let me thank you for agreeing to serve as a panel member on the Atlanta Urban Employment Survey Users' Conference which is jointly sponsored by BLS and SRC.

Enclosed is a summary of the study and an accompanying news release. Also enclosed is a summary of the findings in the six cities throughout the U. S. where similar studies were made.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 3

December 3, 1969

Mr. Charles Pierce, Director
Atlanta Concentrated Employment Program
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Pierce:

First, let me thank you for agreeing to serve as a panel member on the Atlanta Urban Employment Survey Users' Conference which is jointly sponsored by BLS and SRC.

Enclosed is a summary of the study and an accompanying news release. Also enclosed is a summary of the findings in the six cities throughout the U. S. where similar studies were made.

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I look forward to our being together on December 17

and trust that we will have a meaningful conference. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 3

December 3, 1969

Mr. Clint Rodgers, Acting Director
Atlanta Concentrated Employment Program
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Clint:

Enclosed is a copy of the Atlanta Employment Survey and a summary of the six city employment survey. These will be the basic documents around which the discussion will take place at the Atlanta Urban Employment Survey Users' Conference.

I have asked you to be a resource person in the audience. You should feel free to participate at any point in the program but I trust you will be especially mindful of opportunities to participate following the panel discussion.

Thanks for your interest in this program and let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 3

December 3, 1969

Mr. Lamond Godwin, Consultant
Division of National Affairs
The Ford Foundation
710 So. Limestone Street
Lexington, Kentucky 40508

Dear Lamond:

Enclosed is a copy of the Atlanta Employment Survey and a summary of the six city employment survey. These will be the basic documents around which the disucssion will take place at the Atlanta Urban Employment Survey Users' Conference.

I have asked you to be a resource person in the audience. You should feel free to participate at any point in the program, but I trust you will be especially mindful of opportunities to participate following the panel discussion.

Thanks for your interest in this program and let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 3.

December 3, 1969

Mr. Stanley Alexander
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Stan:

Enclosed is a copy of the Atlanta Employment Survey and a summary of the six city employment survey. These will be the basic documents around which the discussion will take place at the Atlanta Urban Employment Survey Users' Conference.

I have asked you to be a resource person in the audience. You should feel free to participate at any point in the program, but I trust you will be especially mindful of opportunities to participate following the panel discussion.

Thanks for your interest in this program and let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 2

ROUTING AND TRANSMITTAL SLIP

		ACTION
1 TO (Name, office symbol or location) Mrs. Kathy Martin Southern Regional Council	INITIALS	CIRCULATE
	DATE	COORDINATION
2	INITIALS	FILE
	DATE	INFORMATION
3	INITIALS	NOTE AND RETURN
	DATE	PER CON-VERSATION
4	INITIALS	SEE ME
	DATE	SIGNATURE

REMARKS

Do NOT use this form as a RECORD of approvals, concurrences, disapprovals, clearances, and similar actions.

FROM (Name, office symbol or location)	DATE
Charles S. Bullock, Jr./hb BLS - Atlanta	12/10/69
	PHONE

OPTIONAL FORM 41
AUGUST 1967
GSA FPMR (41CFR) 100-11.206

GPO : 1967 O—300-455 (8-H) 5041-101

INVITATIONS TO THE USERS' CONFERENCE WERE MAILED TO THE FOLLOWING:

1. Mr. Bill Allgood
Regional Director
Office of Information
1371 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

2. Mr. William Allison
Economic Opportunity - Atlanta R
101 Marietta Street Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

3. Mr. Curtis Atkinson
Post Office Box 612
Yes Cedartown, Georgia 30125

Aide Senator Herman E. Talmadge
347 Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20110

4. Mr. Edward H. Baxter
Housing and Urban Development Agency
50--Seventh Street, N.E.
Room 645
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

5. Mr. Glenn E. Bennett, Exec. Dir.
Metro Planning Commission
120 Marietta Street, N.W. R
Glenn Building
Atlanta, Georgia

6. Mr. Don R. Bryant
Georgia Department of Labor
Yes Ga. State Emp. Service
Atlanta Area Office
No. 1 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

7. Mr. William Burson
Department of Family and Children Services
State Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

8. Honorable Sam Caldwell, Comm.
Georgia Department of Labor
State Labor Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

9. Dr. Lester Chandler
Atlanta University R
223 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

10. Community Council of the Atlanta "A" Area, Inc.
1000 Glenn Building
120 Marietta Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

11. Dr. Fred Crawford
Emory University R
1380 S. Oxford Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

12. The Most Rev. Thomas A. Donnellan
Yes Archbishop of the Catholic Archdiocese of Atlanta
756 West Peachtree Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

13. Mr. Gilbert Dulaney
Fulton County Division of Family and Children Services
165 Central Avenue, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

14. The Rev. George N. Forzley
St. Michael and All Angels Church
Post Office Box 255
Stone Mountain, Georgia 30083

15. Mr. F. O. Fulp
Model Cities Program
673 Capitol Avenue, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

16. Mr. Donald L. Garner R
Manpower Program Coordinator
Georgia Department of Labor
National Alliance of Business Men
Metro Atlanta
127 Peachtree Street - Candler Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

17. Dr. Malcon Getz
Sec'y of Inter-Faculty R
Committee of Economics
Spelman Gollege
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

18. Mr. Jacob H. Henderson
Yes Economic Development Admin.
Bona Allen Building
133 Luckie Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

19. Mr. Cary Hall, Regional Dir.
Health, Education, and Welfare
404 - 50 Seventh Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

20. Mr. Charles A. Hicks
U. S. Department of Labor
Yes Manpower Administration
1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

21. Mr. Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director
Yes Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Room 440 - 1776 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

22. Dr. Joseph C. Horvath
Sr. Research Associate
Bureau of Business and Economic Research
Georgia State University
33 Gilmer Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

23. Mr. Johnny C. Johnson
Executive Director R
Model Cities Program
673 Capitol Avenus, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

24. Mr. John A. Kazmaier, Jr.
Bureau of the Census
Yes 75 Forsyth Street
Room 301
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

25. Dr. Richard Long
Georgia State University
Department of Economics
33 Gilmer Street, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

26. Mr. Charles E. Prothro, Jr.
919 Falcon Drive, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30311

27. Dr. Romney Robinson
Spelman College
350 Spelman Lane
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

28. Mr. K. R. Schenkel, Ph.D.
Sr. Industrial Research
Psychologist
Professional Personnel &
Education Division
Lockheed-Georgia Company
Marietta, Georgia 30060

29. The Rev. Ralph Seikel
No Secretary of Education
Archdiocese of Atlanta
753 West Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

30. Mr. Samuel J. Steen
Metro Area Director R
Georgia Department of Labor
Manpower Center - Atlanta Area
Office
No. 1 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

31. Mr. Ovid H. Stephenson
Georgia Department of Labor
Research and Analysis
State Labor Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

32. Mr. William W. Suttle
Office of Economic Opportunity
730 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Room 1100
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

33. Honorable Herman E. Talmadge
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

34. Honorable S. Fletcher Thompson
No United States House of
Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

35. Dr. Benjamin Trooboff
Yes Atlanta University
School of Business
223 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

36. Miss Peggy Wade
Manpower Center
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

37. Mrs. June Wakeford
Women's Bureau
1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

38. Mr. Thomas W. McWhirter
Bureau of the Census
75 Forsyth Street
Room 301
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

39. Mr. Charles L. Weltner
Attorney at Law
First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

40. Mr. Alan Wexler
Model Cities Program
673 Capitol Avenue, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

41. Dr. Robert E. Willard
Federal Reserve Bank of
Yes Atlanta
104 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

42. Mr. Wiley S. Messick
Area Administrator
U.S. Small Business Administration
401 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

December 12, 1969

Mr. Ed Bridges
Alliance for Labor Action
1135 Spring Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

Here is the invitation to Genoese.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 1

December 12, 1969

Mr. Malcolm J. Meredith
Sears Roebuck & Company
Department 107-T
675 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meredith:

Enclosed is the announcement of the employment conference jointly sponsored by BLS and SRC. We would very much like to have you serve as an in-audience resource person. We are asking five other people to serve in a similar capacity. They will include representatives of EOA, SRC, Atlanta Urban League, NED and an economist. We are asking these resource people to look at the data in advance of the conference so that they will be specially prepared to either raise questions or to add their own interpretations as to what the data mean for their own programs or for Atlanta in general. The degree of such participation will, of course, be left entirely to each individual resource person.

I have enclosed a copy of the Atlanta survey and a summary of surveys in other cities.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 3

December 12, 1969

Mr. Bill Genoese
Alliance for Labor Action
1135 Spring Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Genoese:

Enclosed is the announcement of the employment conference jointly sponsored by BLS and SRC. We would very much like to have you serve as an in-audience resource person. We are asking five other people to serve in a similar capacity. They will include representatives of EOA, SRC, Atlanta Urban League, NAB and an economist. We are asking these resource people to look at the data in advance of the conference so that they will be specially prepared to either raise questions or to add their own interpretations as to what the data mean for their own programs or for Atlanta in general. The degree of such participation will, of course, be left entirely to each individual resource person.

I have enclosed a copy of the Atlanta survey and a summary of surveys in other cities.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - 3

R E M I N D E R N O T I C E

ATLANTA EMPLOYMENT SURVEY USERS CONFERENCE

December 17, 1969 1:30 P.M.

240 Chestnut Street, S. W.
KRESGE HALL
CLARK COLLEGE

sponsored by

U. S. Department of Labor
Bureau of Labor Statistics
US DEPT LABOR

Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
SOUTH

PARKING

Please indicate if you plan to attend

Ket & V

SRC ROUTING SLIP (11)

		EXT.
1	ALEXANDER, STANLEY Yes	
	ANDERSON, R. E. Maybe 7	24
2	ANTHONY, Paul Yes	26
	BARKER, Horace	29
	~~BARTLEY, Glonda~~	20
	~~BOONE, John~~	0
	CAMPBELL, Art yes 6	28
	CLECHORN, Reese yes 5	37
	COOK, Bernice ?	25
	EDDY, Priscilla	34
	GRIFFITH, Kitty yes 4	4
	HINTON, Jesse	25
	HOWARD, Ruth – no 9	8
	JACKSON, Barnetta Yes	7
	JOHNSON, Mildred No	36
	KNOX, Luesta	22
	LEWIS, John Yes 3	35
	MANDERSON, Marge	8
	MEEKINS, Joyce Yes 8	20
	MARTIN, Kathy – Yes 2	5
	~~MORGAN, Susan~~	33
	MORRISON, Bernice	21
	~~MOSTELLER, Robert~~	29
	PRITCHARD, Warren ?	7
	REED, Doris	32
	SHORTT, Janet	31
	SMITH, Janet no	9
	SMITH, Moreland yes 1	27
	~~TILLY, Mrs. M. E.~~	29
	VARNER, Mozelle NO	38
	VICK, Ruth House	39
3	VIA, Emory F. – Yes	30
	WATTERS, Pat	32
	WOOD, James N. Jr. No	6

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
SUITE 510, 1371 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

ANNOUNCING

ATLANTA URBAN EMPLOYMENT SURVEY

USERS' CONFERENCE

sponsored

by

Bureau of Labor Statistics
U.S. Department of Labor

and

Resource Development Center
Southern Regional Council

Time: 1:30 P.M.

Date: Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Place: Clark College
Kresge Hall
240 Chestnut Street, N.W.

The initial findings of a year-long survey of work-related problems of two populations of the City of Atlanta were recently released. Samples of residents of the area designated as the Concentrated Employment Program target area and the rest of the City of Atlanta were interviewed by trained Bureau of the Census interviewers on a broad range of subjects including labor force status, hours of work, occupation, earnings, income, barriers to employment, employment needs, etc. Staff of the Bureau of Labor Statistics will describe the surveys, including future plans and experimental work, and first findings. A panel comprised of representatives of the Southern Regional Council and other community organizations will present their reactions and interpretations of those findings. All persons attending are invited to participate in a free and open discussion of this first report.

- Please return enclosed card -

For

ATLANTA URBAN EMPLOYMENT SURVEY

USERS' CONFERENCE

1:30 P.M., December 17, 1969

Clark College

WELCOME	Brunswick A. Bagdon Regional Director U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
	Paul Anthony Executive Director Southern Regional Council
URBAN EMPLOYMENT SURVEYS	
Background and Purpose	Ben Burdetsky Deputy Commissioner U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
Experimental Surveys	William Milligan Special Advisor on Urban Employment Statistics U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
Problems and Precautions	Howard Stambler Chief, Division of Employment and Unemployment Analysis U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
The Atlanta Findings	Charles Bullock Deputy Regional Director U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
THE ATLANTA SURVEY: What Action is Indicated?	Dr. Emory Via, Chairman Director, Labor Program Southern Regional Council
An Overview	Dr. Vivian Henderson President Clark College
The Panel	Bradley N. Curry, Jr. Sr. Vice President-Marketing Trust Company of Georgia
	E. T. Kehrer Civil Rights Department AFL-CIO
	Charles Pierce Director Atlanta Concentrated Employment Program

OPEN DISCUSSION

January 5, 1970

Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Director
Southern Office, Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
40 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

I want to thank you personally and on behalf of BLS and SRC for your participation in our conference on December 17th. We felt that it was important to get a better understanding of the information in the employment survey. You contributed significantly in this effort and in providing a meaningful interpretation as to what the data mean for Atlanta. We are all appreciative of the thought, time and effort which you put into this undertaking. We felt that we had a good representative turnout for such a conference and that this argues well for the data being constructively used.

Again our thanks and I trust we will have further opportunities to work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

January 8, 1970

Mr. Charles Bulloch
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Department of Labor
Suite 540, 1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charles:

All in all, I think the Employment Survey Conference went reasonably well. Certainly the Bureau of Labor Statistics folks, including you, did very well by us, indeed.

At some point an informal post-mortem might be useful, especially if it would assist us in determining how further to make the data relevant to Atlanta's needs.

Personally, and on behalf of SRC, I want to thank you for your cooperation and work and trust that we will have other opportunities to work together.

Give my good regards and appreciation to the other members of the BLS staff.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

NEWS
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20210

Southeastern Regional Office
Bureau of Labor Statistics

Atlanta, Georgia
404-526-5418

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Editions, Friday, October 24, 1969, or thereafter

SERIOUS EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS PLAGUE SOME ATLANTANS

In a period of high economic activity, residents of Atlanta's Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) target area[1/] are experiencing serious employment problems, according to Brunswick A. Bagdon, Southeastern Regional Director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. During the 12 months ending June 1969, unemployment among CEP residents averaged 8.6 percent as compared to an average of 5.2 percent for the City of Atlanta. Moreover, nearly one of every four workers residing in the CEP Area was unemployed at some time during this period, as compared to one in six for the City.

Announcing the initial findings of a 12-month's survey of the City of Atlanta, Mr. Bagdon said that:

-------The median annual income of CEP Area families was $4,900 as compared to $7,600 for all families in the City and $8,600 for the United States.

1/ Concentrated Employment Program Areas refer to target areas in which the U.S. Department of Labor has combined separate manpower programs in order to concentrate the impact of these programs.

-------Median weekly earnings of CEP Area residents working full time were $81.00 as compared to $106.00 for Atlanta.

------In the CEP Area full-time Negro workers had median weekly earnings of $77.00, more than 20 percent below the $98.00 median for white workers.

-------More than one-sixth of the adult men in the CEP Area worked as laborers and more than one-fourth of the women were domestics in private homes.

These are some of the major findings of the Urban Employment Survey in Atlanta--a comprehensive study of residents based on household interviews conducted during the 12-month period ending with June 1969. The primary focus of the survey is the Concentrated Employment Program target area of Atlanta. The CEP Area lies roughly within a 2½-mile arc around downtown Atlanta on the west and south sides. Residents of the CEP Area have more employment problems and lower incomes than residents in the City as a whole. The Urban Employment Survey (UES) is designed to identify and measure these and other social and economic problems of CEP Area residents.

Begun in the summer of 1968, the UES is a continuing survey directed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics with the cooperation and financing of the Manpower Administration. The Bureau of the Census is collecting the information. In addition to Atlanta, similar surveys are underway in the CEP Areas of Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, and New York. Atlanta and Detroit

were selected for parallel surveys of the remainder of the City not included in the CEP Area.

The population of Atlanta's CEP Area is predominantly Negro. Of the approximately 60,000 persons 16 years of age and older living there, 46,300 are Negro and 13,800 are white. This population is, then, about 77 percent Negro as compared to a ratio of 44 percent Negro for the City.

Nearly two-thirds (64 percent) of the surveyed residents in the CEP Area were in the labor force, that is, working or seeking work. Of those not in the labor force, 21,700, more than half were keeping house and nearly one-fifth were unable to work.

Annual money incomes were sharply lower in the CEP Area than in the City as a whole. They were also lower for Negroes than for whites. Nearly one-third of the families of 2 or more members in the CEP Area had annual incomes of less than $3,500 as compared to about one-sixth of the families in Atlanta. More than half (54 percent) of the target area Negro families had incomes of under $5,000. For white families the ratio was 39 percent.

Educational attainment was found to be low in the CEP Area. Median years of school completed by men 25 years of age and over in the target area was 9.4 years; in sharp contrast to the 12.2 years found for the City. The median for the CEP Area women was 10.2 years, two years fewer than the median for women in Atlanta.

This Atlanta release is being issued simultaneously with releases for CEP areas of Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, and New York and a combined report covering all six areas. More

detailed information concerning work experience, reasons for nonparticipation in the labor force, earnings, education and related data will be available in reports now in preparation. Copies of all releases and reports may be secured from the Southeastern Regional Office of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 1. Employment Status of Persons in CEP Area and City of Atlanta by Age, Sex, and Race, July 1968 - June 1969

Employment Status	CEP Area		
	Total	Negro	White
BOTH SEXES, 16 YEARS AND OVER			
Civilian noninstitutional population.....	60,100	46,300	13,800
Civilian labor force.....	38,300	30,700	7,600
Civ. labor force participation rate.	63.7%	66.3%	55.1%
Employed.....	35,100	27,800	7,200
Unemployed.....	3,300	2,900	400
Unemployment rate.....	8.6%	9.4%	5.3%
Not in the labor force.....	21,700	15,600	6,100
In school.....	1,900	1,600	200
Keeping house.....	11,800	8,000	3,800
Unable to work.....	4,000	3,300	700
Other.....	4,100	2,700	1,400
BOTH SEXES, 16-19 YEARS			
Civilian noninstitutional population.....	6,800	5,600	1,200
Civilian labor force.....	4,200	3,400	1/
Civ. labor force participation rate.	61.8%	60.7%	-
Employed.....	3,000	2,400	-
Unemployed.....	1,200	1,000	-
Unemployment rate.....	28.6%	29.4%	-
Not in the labor force.....	2,700	2,200	-
MEN, 20 YEARS AND OVER			
Civilian noninstitutional population.....	21,700	16,400	5,300
Civilian labor force.....	17,300	13,400	3,900
Civ. labor force participation rate.	79.7%	81.7%	73.6%
Employed.....	16,800	12,900	3,800
Unemployed.....	500	400	100
Unemployment rate.....	2.9%	3.0%	2.6%
Not in the labor force.....	4,400	3,100	1,300
WOMEN, 20 YEARS AND OVER			
Civilian noninstitutional population.....	31,600	24,300	7,300
Civilian labor force.....	16,900	14,000	2,900
Civ. labor force participation rate.	53.5%	57.6%	39.7%
Employed.....	15,300	12,500	2,700
Unemployed.....	1,600	1,400	200
Unemployment rate.....	9.5%	10.0%	6.9%
Not in the labor force.....	14,700	10,300	4,400

1/ Data not shown when the base of the percentage in at or below 1,000 in the CEP Area and 2,000 in the City.

Table 1. Employment Status of Persons in CEP Area and City of Atlanta by Age, Sex, and Race, July 1968 - June 1969--Continued

Employment Status	City of Atlanta		
	Total	Negro	White
BOTH SEXES, 16 YEARS AND OVER			
Civilian noninstitutional population.....	310,700	135,700	175,000
Civilian labor force.....	206,200	96,000	110,200
Civ. labor force participation rate.	66.4%	70.7%	63.0%
Employed.....	195,400	89,000	106,300
Unemployed.....	10,800	7,000	3,800
Unemployment rate.....	5.2%	7.3%	3.4%
Not in the labor force.....	104,500	39,700	64,800
In school.....	12,400	4,800	7,700
Keeping house.....	59,000	20,600	38,300
Unable to work.....	11,400	7,400	4,000
Other.....	21,700	6,900	14,900
BOTH SEXES, 16-19 YEARS			
Civilian noninstitutional population.....	32,600	16,100	16,600
Civilian labor force.....	18,600	9,700	8,900
Civ. labor force participation rate.	57.1%	60.2%	53.6%
Employed.....	13,900	6,600	7,300
Unemployed.....	4,700	3,100	1,600
Unemployment rate.....	25.3%	32.0%	18.0%
Not in the labor force.....	14,000	6,400	7,600
MEN, 20 YEARS AND OVER			
Civilian noninstitutional population.....	119,000	50,200	68,800
Civilian labor force.....	99,900	42,400	57,400
Civ. labor force participation rate.	83.9%	84.5%	83.4%
Employed.....	98,200	41,600	56,700
Unemployed.....	1,600	800	800
Unemployment rate.....	1.6%	1.9%	1.4%
Not in the labor force.....	19,200	7,800	11,400
WOMEN, 20 YEARS AND OVER			
Civilian noninstitional population.....	159,100	69,400	89,700
Civilian labor force.....	87,700	43,900	43,800
Civ. labor force participation rate.	55.1%	63.3%	48.8%
Employed.....	83,200	40,900	42,300
Unemployed.....	4,500	3,000	1,500
Unemployment rate.....	5.1%	6.8%	3.4%
Not in the labor force.....	71,400	25,500	45,900

Table 2. Occupational Distribution of the Employed in the CEP Area and the City of Atlanta by Sex and Race, Workers 20 Years of Age and Older, July 1968 - June 1969

	CEP Area			City of Atlanta		
	Total	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White
MALES, 20 YEARS AND OVER						
Number	16,800	12,900	3,800	98,200	41,600	56,700
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	18.2	15.5	27.1	43.3	22.2	58.8
Professional and Technical	3.7	3.5	4.4	12.4	6.3	17.0
Clerical	8.5	8.4	8.9	9.5	10.7	8.7
Managers, Officials & Proprietors	4.0	2.5	9.2	14.9	3.5	23.3
Sales	1.9	1.1	4.6	6.4	1.8	9.8
Blue Collar	68.0	68.4	66.7	47.9	63.5	36.5
Craftsmen and Foremen	18.0	13.8	32.0	17.4	13.4	20.3
Operatives	32.6	34.4	26.7	21.9	33.2	13.7
Nonfarm Laborers	17.4	20.1	8.0	8.6	16.9	2.5
Service Workers	13.7	16.1	5.7	8.6	14.2	4.5
Household	0.1	0.1	.0	.0	.0	.0
Other Service Workers	13.6	15.9	5.7	8.6	14.2	4.5
Not included elsewhere	.0	0.1	0.4	0.1	.0	0.2

Table 2. Occupational Distribution of the Employed in the CEP Area and the City of Atlanta by Sex and Race, Workers 20 Years of Age and Older, July 1968 - June 1969--Continued

	CEP Area			City of Atlanta		
	Total	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White
FEMALES, 20 YEARS AND OVER						
Number	15,300	12,500	2,700	83,200	40,900	42,300
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar	25.6	20.0	51.2	55.6	32.4	78.0
Professional and Technical	6.5	6.0	9.0	14.7	12.0	17.3
Clerical	15.0	11.6	30.8	32.2	17.0	46.9
Managers, Officials & Proprietors	1.6	1.0	4.5	3.6	1.5	5.7
Sales	2.4	1.5	6.8	5.1	2.0	8.0
Blue Collar	18.4	16.5	27.0	14.1	17.7	10.5
Craftsmen and Foremen	1.2	0.9	2.3	1.6	1.5	1.6
Operatives	16.3	14.5	24.6	11.5	14.6	8.6
Nonfarm Laborers	1.0	1.2	.0	1.0	1.6	0.4
Service Workers	56.0	63.5	21.8	30.3	49.8	11.5
Household	27.5	32.5	4.5	12.5	24.2	1.2
Other Service Workers	28.5	30.9	17.4	17.8	25.6	10.3
Not included elsewhere	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0

Table 3. Extent of Unemployment During Previous 12 Months--
CEP Area and City of Atlanta by Age, Sex, and Color
July 1968 - June 1969

	CEP Area			City of Atlanta		
	Total	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White
BOTH SEXES, 16 YEARS AND OVER						
Total working or looking for work..	43,300	34,700	8,600	232,000	106,400	125,700
Percent with unemployment.....	22.9	24.2	17.4	16.8	22.1	12.3
Total with unemployment:						
Number.....	9,900	8,400	1,500	38,900	23,500	15,400
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1-4 weeks.....	55.0	54.1	60.0	59.3	55.5	65.0
5-14 weeks.....	28.0	28.2	26.7	26.0	29.7	20.8
15-26 weeks.....	11.1	10.6	13.3	9.0	8.9	9.1
27-or-more weeks.....	6.0	7.1	.0	5.7	5.9	5.2
BOTH SEXES, 16-19 YEARS						
Total working or looking for work..	5,500	4,500	1/	26,600	13,000	13,600
Percent with unemployment.....	50.9	51.1	-	43.6	55.4	32.4
Total with unemployment:						
Number.....	2,800	2,300	-	11,600	7,200	4,400
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
1-4 weeks.....	67.9	62.5	-	68.1	62.5	77.3
5-14 weeks.....	21.4	25.0	-	20.6	25.0	13.6
15-26 weeks.....	7.1	8.3	-	7.0	6.9	6.8
27-or-more weeks.....	3.6	4.2	-	4.3	5.6	2.3

1/ Data not shown when the base of the percentage is at or below 1,000 in the CEP Area and 2,000 in the City.

Table 3. Extent of Unemployment During Previous 12 Months--
CEP Area and City of Atlanta by Age, Sex, and Color
July 1968 - June 1969--Continued

	CEP Area			City of Atlanta		
	Total	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White
MEN, 20 YEARS AND OVER						
Total working or looking for work..	18,100	13,900	4,200	104,100	43,800	60,300
Percent with unemployment.....	14.9	15.8	11.9	10.6	13.7	8.3
Total with unemployment:						
Number.....	2,700	2,200	1/	11,000	6,000	5,000
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
1-4 weeks.....	44.4	45.5	-	50.0	50.8	52.0
5-14 weeks.....	33.3	31.8	-	30.9	33.9	28.0
15-26 weeks.....	14.8	13.6	-	12.7	10.2	14.0
27-or-more weeks.....	7.4	9.0	-	6.4	5.1	6.0
WOMEN, 20 YEARS AND OVER						
Total working or looking for work..	19,700	16,200	3,400	101,300	49,600	51,700
Percent with unemployment.....	22.3	24.1	17.6	16.1	20.8	11.6
Total with unemployment:						
Number.....	4,400	3,900	1/	16,300	10,300	6,000
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
1-4 weeks.....	54.5	54.1	-	58.9	54.4	66.7
5-14 weeks.....	29.5	29.7	-	26.4	30.1	20.0
15-26 weeks.....	11.4	10.8	-	8.6	8.7	8.3
27-or-more weeks.....	4.5	5.4	-	6.1	6.8	5.0

1/ Data not shown when the base of the percentage is at or below 1,000 in the CEP Area and 2,000 in the City.

Table 4. Weekly Earnings for Persons 16 Years and Over in CEP Area and City of Atlanta by Sex and Race, July 1968 - June 1969

(Percent distribution)

Weekly Earnings	CEP Area			City of Atlanta		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
ALL PERSONS WITH EARNINGS						
Number	32,900	17,300	15,600	181,700	98,300	83,400
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
$ 0-49	28.2	12.8	43.5	17.7	8.9	27.1
$50-64	14.4	9.4	19.7	9.7	5.3	14.6
$65-74	11.1	10.7	11.6	7.8	5.6	10.0
$75-99	20.5	26.2	15.0	18.5	16.8	20.4
$100-149	18.1	28.2	7.5	25.2	30.1	19.8
$150 or more	7.7	12.8	2.7	21.1	33.2	8.1
Median Weekly Earnings	$72.00	$91.00	$55.00	$94.00	$120.00	$73.00
ALL PERSONS WORKING FULL TIME						
Number	23,700	13,500	10,200	141,600	81,800	59,800
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
$ 0-49	12.8	3.4	24.0	7.5	3.2	12.7
$50-64	16.1	8.5	26.0	9.6	4.4	16.1
$65-74	13.3	11.1	15.6	8.2	5.0	12.2
$75-99	25.1	29.9	19.8	20.6	17.4	24.7
$100-149	22.7	31.6	11.5	29.4	32.8	25.1
$150 or more	10.0	15.4	3.1	24.7	37.2	9.2
Median Weekly Earnings	$81.00	$97.00	$64.00	$106.00	$129.00	$82.00

Table 4. Weekly Earnings for Persons 16 Years and Over in CEP Area and City of Atlanta by Sex and Race, July 1968 - June 1969--Continued

(Percent distribution)

Weekly Earnings	CEP Area			City of Atlanta		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
NEGROES WITH EARNINGS						
Number	26,100	13,300	12,800	82,300	41,900	40,400
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
$ 0-49	30.2	12.7	47.1	23.3	10.1	36.0
$50-64	16.0	10.2	21.5	14.7	7.9	21.4
$65-74	11.8	12.7	10.7	10.8	9.6	12.2
$75-99	20.2	28.8	11.6	19.7	24.3	15.1
$100-149	16.4	26.3	6.6	20.2	31.4	9.3
$150 or more	5.5	9.3	2.5	11.3	16.7	6.1
Median Weekly Earnings	$68.00	$85.00	$52.00	$76.00	$97.00	$61.00
NEGROES WORKING FULL TIME						
Number	18,500	10,400	8,100	62,400	33,900	28,400
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
$ 0-49	13.9	2.2	27.6	10.9	3.4	19.2
$50-64	18.7	9.9	28.9	16.2	7.4	26.0
$65-74	14.5	13.2	15.8	11.9	8.7	15.5
$75-99	25.3	33.0	17.1	23.2	26.2	19.6
$100-149	20.5	30.8	7.9	24.4	35.2	12.5
$150 or more	7.2	11.0	2.6	13.4	19.1	7.2
Median Weekly Earnings	$77.00	$92.00	$61.00	$85.00	$105.00	$67.00

Table 4. Weekly Earnings for Persons 16 Years and Over in CEP Area and City of Atlanta by Sex and Race, July 1968 - June 1969--Continued

(Percent distribution)

Weekly Earnings	CEP Area			City of Atlanta		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
WHITES WITH EARNINGS						
Number	6,800	4,000	2,800	99,400	56,400	43,000
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
$ 0-49	20.3	12.5	28.0	12.6	7.9	17.9
$50-64	8.5	6.3	12.0	4.9	3.0	7.4
$65-74	8.5	6.3	12.0	4.9	2.5	8.0
$75-99	22.0	15.6	28.0	17.3	10.4	25.8
$100-149	25.4	34.4	16.0	29.9	28.9	30.8
$150 or more	15.3	25.0	4.0	30.4	47.2	10.2
Median Weekly Earnings	$88.00	$118.00	$75.00	$115.00	$145.00	$90.00
WHITES WORKING FULL TIME						
Number	5,100	3,100	2,100	79,300	47,900	31,400
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
$ 0-49	8.7	4.0	15.0	4.4	3.3	5.9
$50-64	6.5	-	15.0	3.8	2.2	6.3
$65-74	8.7	4.0	15.0	5.0	2.2	8.9
$75-99	26.1	20.0	35.0	18.4	10.1	29.6
$100-149	30.4	40.0	15.0	33.7	30.5	37.8
$150 or more	19.6	32.0	5.0	34.6	51.8	11.5
Median Weekly Earnings	$98.00	$130.00	$77.00	$125.00	$150.00	$98.00

Table 5. Annual Money Income of Families and Individuals Living Alone in CEP Area and City of Atlanta, July 1968 - June 1969

(Percent distribution)

Money Income	CEP Area			City of Atlanta		
	Total	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White
FAMILIES (2 OR MORE MEMBERS)						
Number	22,200	17,400	5,000	111,400	50,200	61,300
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-$3,499	31.7	33.3	22.4	16.9	24.1	11.6
$3,500 - 4,999	19.2	20.7	16.3	12.5	16.8	8.6
$5,000 - 7,999	26.8	26.4	26.5	24.3	27.7	21.4
$8,000 - 9,999	10.7	10.3	14.3	14.3	12.6	15.3
$10,000 or more	11.6	9.2	20.4	32.0	18.8	43.1
Median Income	$4,900	$4,700	$6,200	$7,600	$5,900	$9,000
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS						
Number	9,800	7,200	2,500	54,700	19,200	35,500
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - $1,999	49.0	49.2	48.0	33.5	42.7	28.6
$2,000 - 3,499	25.0	25.4	24.0	18.6	26.0	14.3
$3,500 - 4,999	12.5	12.7	12.0	15.5	15.1	15.6
$5,000 - 7,999	10.4	9.9	16.0	20.7	11.5	25.5
$8,000 or more	3.1	2.8	-	11.7	4.7	16.0
Median Income	$2,100	$2,100	$2,100	$3,300	$2,400	$4,200

Table 6. Educational Attainment of Workers in CEP Area and City of Atlanta by Age, Sex, and Race, July 1968 - June 1969

(Percent distribution)

Years of School Completed	Both Sexes 18 years and over		Men, 25 years and over		Women, 25 years and over	
	CEP Area	City	CEP Area	City	CEP Area	City
All persons: Number.....	36,600	199,000	14,400	86,100	14,100	70,100
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No school years completed.....	0.8	0.6	1.4	1.0	0.7	0.4
Elementary:						
1 - 7 years.....	26.2	14.3	35.4	19.5	29.6	15.0
8 years.....	7.9	5.3	9.0	6.1	7.7	5.7
High school:						
1 - 3 years.....	30.3	20.4	27.8	19.0	28.9	21.9
4 years.....	25.1	33.0	17.4	24.5	23.9	33.4
College:						
1 - 3 years.....	5.5	12.5	4.9	11.5	4.9	10.7
4 years or more.....	4.1	13.9	4.2	18.3	4.2	12.9
Median years of school completed	10.5	12.3	9.4	12.2	10.2	12.2
Negro: Number.....	29,400	92,000	11,000	35,600	11,500	36,100
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No school years completed.....	0.7	1.1	1.8	2.3	0.9	0.6
Elementary:						
1 - 7 years.....	27.4	21.3	37.5	30.4	31.6	22.8
8 years.....	6.8	6.1	8.0	6.8	7.0	7.2
High school:						
1 - 3 years.....	30.8	25.3	27.7	23.4	28.9	26.4
4 years.....	24.7	29.8	15.2	23.1	22.8	24.2
College:						
1 - 3 years.....	5.5	8.0	4.5	6.5	5.3	7.5
4 years or more.....	4.1	8.4	5.4	7.6	3.5	11.4
Median years of school completed	10.5	11.5	9.3	10.4	10.1	11.2

Table 6. Educational Attainment of Workers in CEP Area and City of Atlanta by Age, Sex, and Race, July 1968 - June 1969--Continued

(Percent distribution)

Years of School Completed	Both Sexes 18 years and over		Men, 25 years and over		Women, 25 years and over	
	CEP Area	City	CEP Area	City	CEP Area	City
Whites: Number.....	7,200	107,000	3,400	50,500	2,600	34,000
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No school years completed.....	.0	0.2	.0	0.2	.0	0.3
Elementary:						
1 - 7 years.....	22.2	8.2	27.3	11.9	19.2	6.8
8 years.....	12.5	4.6	12.1	5.8	11.5	4.1
High school:						
1 - 3 years.....	29.2	16.3	27.3	15.9	30.8	17.1
4 years.....	26.4	35.8	21.2	25.6	30.8	43.2
College:						
1 - 3 years.....	5.6	16.3	6.1	15.1	3.8	14.1
4 years or more.....	4.2	18.6	6.1	25.6	3.8	14.4
Median years of school completed..	10.6	12.6	10.2	12.6	10.9	12.5

TECHNICAL NOTE

The Atlanta Urban Employment Survey is designed to measure social and economic characteristics of residents in the Atlanta Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) Area. The surveyed area, referred to as the CEP Area, consists of the CEP Area 1/ less two Census tracts (F-61 and F-62) in the West End area; and, as such, the UES and CEP Areas do not coincide. The parallel survey for the balance of the City includes all additional areas within the political boundaries of the City of Atlanta.

1/ The Atlanta CEP Area contains 30 census tracts located within about a 2½-mile radius around the center of the City. These tracts cover essentially five Neighborhood Service Center Areas established by Economic Opportunity Atlanta. The centers and census tracts are as follows:

Neighborhood Service Center Area	Census Tracts
Nash-Washington	F-22, -23, -25, -26, -36, -37, -38, -39, -43.
West End	F-41, -42, -59, -60, -61*, -62*.
Pittsburg	F-57, -58, -63, -49**, -50**, -55B, -67.
Summerhill-Mechanicsville	F-44, -45, -46, -47, -48, -55A, -56.

* Excluded from the CEP Area and, thereby, covered in the balance-of-City survey.

** Not served by Service Center.

The Neighborhood Service Center Areas include, in addition to neighborhoods of the titles, the following neighborhoods and communities.

Neighborhood Service Center Area	Neighborhoods Included
Nash-Washington.....	Vine City, Lightning.
West End.....	Oakland City West, Smoky Hollow, Bush Mountain, Oakland City East, Adair Park, Heard's Bottom, Woody Hill, Center Hill.
Price.....	Carver Homes, People Town, Joyland, South Atlanta, Primrose Circle.
Summerhill-Mechanicsville.....	Oakland, Grant Park, Capitol Homes.

Although the CEP Areas covered by the Urban Employment Survey are sometimes described as slum areas, it should be noted that these are diverse neighborhoods which often include a substantial number of persons and families who are not living in slum or poverty conditions and who do not have serious employment problems.

In this report, data for Negroes and other races have been used to represent the situation for Negroes who comprise over 99 percent of the group 16 years of age and over in Atlanta.

The data upon which this report is based were collected by Census Bureau interviewers over a 12-month period (July 1968-June 1969) from a sample of about 3,500 households in the Atlanta CEP Area and a like number in the balance of the City of Atlanta. Since the estimates in this report are derived from a sample, they may differ from measures that would have been obtained had a complete census been taken. Therefore, differences between levels and rates, particularly for small estimates, should be interpreted with caution.

The standard error is a measure of sampling variability, that is, the variations that occur by chance because only a sample of the population is surveyed. The chances are about two out of three that an estimate from the sample would differ from a complete census by less than the standard error. The chances are about 19 out of 20 that the difference would be less than twice the standard error.

Following are statistical tables for Atlanta CEP Area and for the City of Atlanta. Tables A and C show the average standard error of the levels presented in this report while Tables B and D show the standard error of the rates and percentages.

Table A

Standard Errors of Level of the Annual Estimates for Atlanta CEP Area

Size of estimate	Standard Error
5,000	200
15,000	400
20,000	450
30,000	550
35,000	600
40,000	650
50,000	700
55,000	750
60,000	770
65,000	800

Table B

Standard Errors of Level of the Annual Estimated Percentages for Atlanta CEP Area

Base of percentage	Estimated percentage						
	1 or 99	2 or 98	5 or 95	10 or 90	20 or 80	25 or 75	50
5,000	.4	.6	1.0	1.3	1.8	1.9	2.2
15,000	.3	.4	.6	.8	1.0	1.1	1.3
20,000	.2	.3	.5	.7	.9	.9	1.1
30,000	.2	.3	.4	.5	.7	.8	.9
35,000	.2	.2	.4	.5	.7	.7	.8
40,000	.2	.2	.3	.5	.6	.7	.8
50,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.6	.6	.7
55,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7
60,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.6
65,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.5	.6

Table C

Standard Errors of Level of the Annual Estimates for Atlanta City

Size of estimate	Standard error
30,000	1,200
65,000	1,800
95,000	2,200
130,000	2,600
160,000	3,000
190,000	3,300
225,000	3,600
255,000	4,000
290,000	4,300
320,000	4,600

Table D

Standard Errors of Level of the Annual Estimated Percentages for Atlanta City

Base of percentage	Estimated percentage						
	1 or 99	2 or 98	5 or 95	10 or 90	20 or 80	25 or 75	50
30,000	.4	.5	.8	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.9
65,000	.3	.4	.6	.8	1.0	1.1	1.3
95,000	.2	.3	.4	.6	.8	.9	1.0
130,000	.2	.3	.4	.5	.7	.8	.9
160,000	.2	.2	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8
190,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.6	.6	.7
225,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7
255,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.6
290,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.5	.6
320,000	.1	.2	.3	.3	.5	.5	.6

SRC – BLS –
Conference on
Atl. Urban
Employment
Survey –

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
SUITE 540, 1371 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

January 26, 1970

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 - Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Rough draft transcripts of the remarks of the program participants for the Atlanta Urban Employment Survey Users' Conference are enclosed. As we discussed, the transcripts are just as they came from the tape. The speakers have not seen them nor will they unless it is decided to publish a proceedings of the Conference.

We have an additional set of the transcripts which would be available for editing, amending, and extending, etc., should you decide that publishing verbatim proceedings is desirable.

Transcription of the questions and comments following the formal presentation has begun. Should you need this record immediately, we can expedite completion of the tape. Otherwise, I expect it will be finished by the end of the week. Finally, as a precautionary note, should you decide to do any kind of publication, whether complete production or a summary, I would especially want to present Mr. Burdetsky with an opportunity to review his remarks.

If you have any questions or we can otherwise help, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles S. Bullock, Jr.
Deputy Regional Director

Enclosures

Bullock

Atl UES
Users Conference
12/17/69

December 17, 1969

The first findings of the Atlanta Urban Employment Survey are presented in the brochure you now have. They are principally in the form of numbers. I do not intend to cite all of them to you. I might say that the Survey findings do seem to have something for every one. There are some things in Atlanta which one can point to with pride and others which should be viewed with alarm. Users will find examples of both in the initial report of the Survey.

In this report, data are presented for the CEP Area and for the City (A map is included in the report.). I would caution you explicitly that this is not the Atlanta Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. In time we expect to release information for that part of Atlanta not in the CEP Area, i.e., the rest of the City.

The Survey deals with the non-institutional population 16 years of age and over. These populations --for the CEP Area and the City--are described in terms of color, sex, and age for a variety of characteristics relating to labor force status, earnings, income, and educational attainment. Later reports will present more detail and will include information concerning modes of transportation, job hunting intentions and methods, barriers to employment as identified by the respondents and findings relating to motivational factors and attitudes towards work.

The plan of this first release was to present data for the CEP Area and for the City. For each of these two geographic areas data are shown for the total population, the Negro population, and the white population. It is now my belief that data for Black and white combined serve no useful purpose and that eliminating them might avoid some misinterpretation. It appears to me now that maximum understanding ~~would~~ will be better assured by restricting the tabulated data to that for Negroes and whites separately.

Another note regarding publication--in the interest of reasonable accuracy, data are not shown if the aggregate is 1,000 or less for the CEP area or 2,000 or less for the City. Unpublished data will be available to serious users with the understanding that they will not be published.

As is immediately evident from Table 1, the CEP Area population is predominantly Negro--close to 3.5 Blacks to 1 white, while the split for the City is 44 Negroes to 56 whites. Interestingly, the recent City election found 40 percent Black registrants and 60 percent white on the basis of 215,000 registrants.

Separate tabulations available for these agers

Another interesting aspect of the population estimates concerns the ratio of men to women. In the CEP Area, the Survey indicates 16,400 Negro men 20 years of age and over and 24,300 Negro women in the same age

group. The number of males exceeds the number of females by 48 percent. For the white CEP population, the ratio is 38 percent. For the City, the differences were 33 percent more Negro women than men and 30 percent more white women. This can be explained and forgotten in terms of the well publicized Census report of the under count. But I wonder if there are other explanations.

I expect some people will be surprised by the labor force participation rates shown by the Survey. This is the proportion of the population that either has a job or is looking for one. In general, Negroes have a higher labor force participation rate than whites in both the CEP Area and the City. The difference in rates is much more pronounced for women that for men. It was interesting to note that the labor force participation rates for Black and white women was higher for the City than for the CEP Area residents.

The situation with respect to unemployment is probably pretty much what was expected. Negroes have higher rates of unemployment than whites. This is especially true of women and teen-agers. Black men have higher rates than white men but not sharply higher; for men 20 years of age and older, 3.0 vs. 2.6 percent in the CEP Area and 1.9 vs. 1.4 percent for the City.

Negro men in the Atlanta CEP Area experienced the lowest unemployment rate of the 6 areas (4.3 - 10.1 Los Angeles. Not precisely comparable).

Negroes also tended to experience more unemployment over-time. About one of every seven Black men was unemployed sometime during the year as compared to a proportion of 1 of every 12 for white men. For women the ratios were 1 in 5 for Black women and about 1 in 8 for white women.

The occupational distribution probably confirms what most people here would expect. The proportion of white adults in white collar jobs--whether male or female--is significantly higher than the proportion of Blacks. A much higher proportion of Negro men is engaged in laborer and service activities. Very small proportions of Negroes--male or females--are engaged in sales occupations or as managers or proprietors--in the range of 1 to 3.5 percent.

In terms of industries in which employed, while most of us are wage and salary workers, a higher percentage of whites are self-employed. More Negroes work in Government than do whites. As the occupation statistics indicate--the service industries, including domestics service in private households, employ the most Negro

women. The manufacturing industries employ the largest proportion of men regardless of color. The trade industries require the next largest proportion.

Income data coming from the Survey suggest strongly that some of Atlanta's residents live in poverty. Negro women of the CEP Area working full-time had median earnings of $61.00--the median for all Negro women with earnings was $52.00. For Black men the medians were $92.00 and $85.00. In sharp contrast, 7 of each 10, white male CEP residents working full-time earned $100.00 per week or more. Median weekly earnings of CEP Area Negro male household heads were $91.00 and for Negro women household heads $52.00. For their white counterparts, the medians were $112.00 and $75.00 respectively.

The annual income data suggest there are also some wealthy people living in Atlanta and perhaps in the CEP Area as well. Median incomes of families of 2 or more persons ranged from $9,000 for whites in the City down to $4,700 for Black families. Those who favor income maintenance plans should find support for their view in the fact that one of each three Black CEP Area families had an annual income of less than $3,500--for whites a little more than 1 in 4 were at this level. Fewer than 1 of every 5 Black families in Atlanta enjoyed

incomes of $10,000 or more in contrast to more than 4 of every 5 white families. The relationship between the two racial groups in the CEP Area was about the same--9.2 percent for Black families and 20.4 percent for whites. Almost half the unrelated individuals living in the CEP Area has annual incomes of less than $2,000.

CEP Area residents, regardless of color, have completed fewer years of schooling than their counterparts in the City. This says nothing for the quality of the schooling. Only 1 in 4 CEP Area Negro males 25 years or older has completed high school--37.5 percent have completed fewer than 8 years of formal schooling. For females, the proportion is 1 in 3. For one of the more striking comparisons--consider that 66 percent of the white men in the City and 72 percent of the white women have completed high school or better. Given the larger proportion of women in the adult population, one can better understand the often cited need for a higher share of vocational training programs for adult women.

These are a few of the findings of the Atlanta Urban Employment Survey. After you have read the initial report, I hope you will give us some indication of the kind of additional information you would find helpful.

We expect a considerable flow of additional information in the next several months. We would be happy to include you in planning its use.

Thank you.

Mr. Charles Pierce Speech Before the UES Users Conference

Most of what I have to say maybe should be saved for next year around this time. Based on what Dr. Henderson said, it seems like we could possibly have the same problem next year. Emory will be calling asking me to justify what is happening in ACEP during the year. I'm here primarily, I was sitting here thinking, to gather suggestions as to how we can use the data. One thing that I'm pleased about, I'm certain that all of us at EOA are pleased about, is that over the past few years, it looks like every month a usrvey is being conducted and if you cooperate well with the persons conducting the survey, you sort of impose on staff, the counselors, and what have you in the program to participate. But, all of a sudden, once the survey is done, you never see it again. I believe the fact of the matter is that this doesn't help over the years. What we ended up doing is not having the data that was collected based on those surveys. You had to pick up a piece of data here, a piece of data there and build as we have done on developing proposals. The sad part about it is that we have to admit the proposals developed are probably the best we could do with the information that we had. But the question is that to serve the people in the community - there are pros and cons about that - and inasmuch as we are going to get additional information, it certainly would help the CEP staff, EAO as well as others. Because there is another point I would like to make here, that there are a number of agencies involved in Manpower programs throughout Atlanta, specifically the CEP area, and I think it is high time we stopped operating, and we are guilty of some of this - it is high time we stopped operating in our own little hives and developing projects and get the other

guys to try to see what they are doing, too see if we can't concentrate on the residents of a community and not on how well we are going to be evaluated at the end of the year. Because usually what happens is that based on the evaluation, we all come out looking bad anyway. It is high time that we get together, and my hope is that with the additional data that will be distributed that we will not take it and read it in our own little biased ways and adapt it to the needs of ourselves just as individuals. So often you can get into that kind of hangup, If Ican use that expression, in taking such such a document and others. The first question a lot of people ask is how will it benefit me? We are not the persons who would really benefit from what is selected, but the persons in the community. The other point I would like to make is the information collected and distributed in Atlanta, Houston, Los Angeles, and other cities to me is of no value if only the persons on the local level are subject to the needs of the poor people, black people, white. It if of no value because there is another element that we all know about once we develop a proposal and some other points and send a check and if these persons are not sensitive to what is projected in figures like this, that is if they are not going to fund the program based on actual needs for their community, I see very little hope for it. So I gues I am quite obviously talking to Congressmen. Unfortunately we don't have any here with us but if you have any good friends you might want to pass that on to them. Very seriously, though, we here in the field can take the document, review it, put heads together by agencies and try to come up with the best proposal that we can based on actual needs in a community. But low and behold the next week you submit it and when it comes

back it has been narrowed down to some activity that really does not serve the purpose. So anumber of people have to be sensitive, and trusted to being sensitive that we all start living up to the fact that the community hasn't failed but the system has failed the community. There are a number of people in this town right now, as certainly the gentlemen preparing this information are aware of, who frown on what is collected. But that is not the thing to do - sit up frowning and say that I'm not to blame. The point is that there is a problem, how are we going about correcting it. As Dr. Henderson said, not only correcting it but preventing it in the future. So I will stop as I don't want to preach and I will listen to you.

Mr. E. T. Kehrer Speech Before the UES Users Conference

Thank you Emory, Vivian Henderson, Bradley Currey, Charles Pierce and other speakers and participants in the Conference. My response to Vivian was that we accept the challenge of Atlanta's business community and Clark College and the Atlanta University system for a solution to the labor problems. They raised the conditions to the point that when unions are no longer necessary, we will be glad to fade out of existence. In our lifetime, however, I guess that won't happen. I want to talk just a moment or two about my reaction to the figures and the study because I found it very exciting, very useful. I fould it so useful in going past the kind of simple thing that Brad Curry talked about. We are accustomed to Atlanta as the cite of one of the lowest unemployment rates in these United States. As a matter of fact, just by coincidence the Goergia Labor Department's latest figures came out and got to my desk the same day as this study did. And low and behold, to find that Atlanta unemployment is listed for the month of October as 2.3 percent. Our business and governmental leaders have, I'm afraid, been going around the country selling Atlanta on this basis. It is totally without foundation and doens't begin to realistically examine the true picture we find in our community. One of the things that I think this study does, and I'm hopeful that the additional statistics will give us, is the capacity to zero in part this 2.3 percent figure which we have been handing out for years. I hope that this is what you gentlemen do, in the Labor Department, in the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is take a copy over to Sam Caldwell and suggest that he read it. It is kind of required reading for he and his staff at this time, because they are going around selling

us on this basis. As long as we do that, that doesn't get after problems which are facing our communities. I find further that the survey is very helpful to us in doing some serious thinking about what is our local and state and Federal economic and social policy to be in the years ahead. I was aware of the figures generally on unemployment among teenagers in Atlanta. We found this out when we were out trying to put an end to Dixie Hills back in 1967. When we began to count heads and found that one of the elements in Dixie Hills rioting, if you want to call it that, was the enormously large group of teenagers who were unemployed and walking the streets. But I think that anyone serious about this should spend a great deal of time going over the figures of this study particularly for that group of 16 to 19 year old citizens. And what is said for us in terms of what we are doing and what we are not doing. Now if Mr. Agnew will permit me to say it, my view is that thepresent course of the Nixon administration and his economic policy will absolutely require a higher level of unemployment. The question then comes as to which and on whom this unemployment falls. And if we are saying that in the central part of Atlanta we have 16 to 19 year olds already induring some 30 percent unemployment and we have an economic policy which is going to escalate unemployment, clearly what does that figure turn out to be and what have we done for our city? If the administration's economic policy is to shut down job corp, main neighborhood type youth corp, to stimulate such interest that at the very time we are trying to provide greater job opportunities and training in the whole construction contract field, we are in fact putting the lead on housing and building.

If the administration policy si to cut title one money and then permit the states to abuse and misuse money, where they do have it and where we find the call for education absolutely requires once and for all the abolition of the bill school system in our city. And find the administration in fact taking the opposite course than this study for me indicates that we face in this town, in this state, in this country, a disaster of major proportions. Because I don't know whether that document shows a relationship between Atlanta and Houston, Chicagl, Los Angeles, and New york. One of the documents I received has and it absolutely impreative that we study the relationship between figures for each of these communities. The story is not meat to Atlanta. It is true throughout the entire nation. So I applaud the issue of this document and look forward earerly to the additions to it. Because I think what we have here is an opportunity in terms of the hard cold facts to be able to think more clearly and plan programs to meet the extremely urgent and serious problems for our nation.

Thank you.

Mr. Bradley Currey Speech Before the UES Users Conference

Dr. Henderson made one reference to the good old days, the fact that "don't go North, things aren't what they used to be". We found out and Don Garner and a bunch of other folks who were working in the earlier NAB effort, one thing about the good old days I would like to pass along to you. Things weren't ever what they used to be. We found out that they weren't that good back in the good old days and what we had to do was to create some new days that were a little better. Let me start off by making a couple of economic comments because that is where Dr. Henderson started. Productivity - we must be living in a tremendously productive economy or else you and I wouldn't be able to be here. We would be out marginally ekeing out a living, scratching out dirt or harvesting. We do live in a tremendously productive economy. Now the answer, the only answer, to the solution of the employment problems has got to be this question of productivity. The historical method that business is using to increase productivity is to invest in fixed assets, invest in equipment and machinery, so as to multiply the productivity. One thing that has been suggested here this afternoon that I would like to hone in on a little more precicely is that also tied and just as essential to productivity, is the element of training. Somehow or another that has gone without saying in the businesses - investment in machines because it has to have trained people to use these machines. But, please understand that the decision to train people was not a decision to train people to enable those people to be more productive. Rather, to enable them to use the capital good. Thereby increasing productivity. I think there is a fair distinction here and nothing immoral about it. I'm not accusing anybody of

doing anything wrong. I'm simply saying that the productivity of labor thus far has been a function of capital investment in large measure and to a degree of training teken place somewhat as a matter of necessity in terms of using the equipment, Now we are in a situation where the productivity of labor, the productivity of people relating to the ability to support themselves is going to require some investment in order for those people to become sufficiently productive, to be able to use all the equipment, machinery and technology, and ability that they themselves have at their command. Now there are some apptitudenal questions that we found in the earlier NAB efforts and I'm confident that they are still around. Now we have apptitudenal questions as far as the general public is concerned. Don Garner and some of the others of you may remember, the speeches we had to make on the various ways that people are paid not to work. There is a big, big misconception here that there is a foundation somewhere in this country where people go who don't want to work and they pay them. We found that there wasn't any such thing. That there was unemployment compensation. That beyond unemployment compensation which ran for a fixed period of time and some right strict rules which apply to it, there were only those elements that you all know about, old age assistance, disability, and aid to disadvantaged children and aid to the blind. These were four that were clear and distinct and distinguishable and did not apply to the able bodied person who had a job offered to him. Now that was a simple misapprehension to have to be corrected in the effort to try to get business men to make commitments for the hard core unemployed. But, it happened to be just one misaprehension I'm sure confused many people. The general public is no different from a lot

of business people. I venture to say that there are similar, although I don't know directly because I don't know enough about it, misapprehensions and incorrect use just as common in the labor movement as there are in the business sector. There is though no doubt and misapprehension now relevant to the people in the CEP area. In order to do anything about these things we have got to define what those are and then we have got to get enough facts to deal with them. Now that leads us to the subject of these data, these statistics. There have been very imprecise definitions of our problems. There have been these impresice definitions not because anybody wanted to be imprecise, but because all we had were approximate raw data. We talk about the unemployment rate and the national economy and it turns out to be different than in Atlanta, and it turns out to be different in such and such a Census tract and even more different in such and such a block within the Census tract. So, in order to get agreement on the facts, we have got to have precise data. We have got to overcome these simplistic views of complex situations by breaking down the problems in their component parts and defining them very precisely and highlighting them outside the pages of statistics which so few people understand, so that people that don't deal with statistics can understand them and plan to carry out and chanhe some of the situations. Now we found in the NAB effort that there is a tremendous shortage of skills. There are a lot of jobs around and many of them are good jobs, but there is an inadequate number of people sufficiently skilled to fill those jobs. We found that there were a lot of people around who wanted work, wanted meaningful work, wanted work that was on a job ladder and that sort of thing, but didn't have the entry level skills. We then

set about trying to figure out occupational training and that sort of thing, how to go about this problem. We found that in order to find a solution to, and let's just take this simple training problem, that we had to understand that the solution to a problem was practically possible. That is, that we were not dealing with something that is totally out of the question. For example, making a Ph.D. out of me Dr. Henderson - now practically out of the question and no use trying. If there is no way to do so, there is no point in devising the program on how to make a Ph.d out of B. Curry. It won't work. On the other hand, if the job is to teach me one more level of an economics base, one that I already know a little something about, it might be possible to do that given the proper inclination. Now we have got to understand that there is a practical solution to the problem, it can be done. It's not impossible. In order to do this, you have got to break down the problem into its component parts. Secondly you have to understand that it is economically feasible. This it is profitable to the economy, and productivity to solve this problem. The problem for example of mothers. It is not economically feasible and practical to train for employment a 25 year old mother with three children when you know darn well it is going to cost more to keep her children in day care than she could possible earn? I think it is not economical at that point. I think you should work on somebody else to provide her with adequate living so she can support her children, so that they won't go into that next stage. So it has to be practically possible and economically feasible. And thirdly, it has to be the solution or there has to be this thing, this solution within context of an agreed upon problem. If you can't get the City Government,

State government, and Federal government and business sector and community leaders in the CEP area all to agree that this is the problem and that this is the solution to it, then it doesn't make any difference who it is even if it is practically possible and economically feasible, it won't be done. Now here is something the Archbishop would understand. I recall from early theology that you have to save the world one man at a time. Don't you Archbishop? You can't save it all at once and everybody at one time. You have to go one man at a time and chew up an elephant in little bites. You have to solve this problem a little bit at a time and man or a human being at a time, and that leads me if I may to my last point - the problem of recruiting, training and following up on people in order to make them more productive in the economy is one in which we have to have a much more precise definition of responsibility. This business of having serious overlapping of employment training and serious overlapping of vocational training with nobody knowing who is responsible. In fact, nobody being responsible because everybody is responsible simply won't work. In the long run the field of vocational education is going to be one that has to be concentrated in the schools. It's got to be concentrated into the situation where an individual gets the training that will qualify him to get up the job ladder. That is part of business responsibility and I'm here in part because I'm trying to work within the context of business organizations, chambers of commerce, NAB, and these other sorts of things to get the business organizations to deal with these responsibilities effectively. I know the rest of these people are in the same position so far as their own organizations are concerned and I respect them for it. Back to my original point. Productivity is the answer.

Productivity in individuals, in you and me, and the others just like us. Productivity is a function, a part of the investment in equipment and fixed assets. But, it is also a function of training people. And I think that if these figures can be brought to bear with a very bright light, with a very intense light on some of these very fine, narrow areas, we may be able to get some place. And, for that purpose, for that very simple, elementary purpose, these figures will be more precisely defined and more clearly stated so far as the conclusions are concerned.

Thank you.

Dr. Vivian Henderson Speech before the UES User's Conference

Thank you very much Emory. Let me say first of all that we are pleased that you are here at Clark College and the University Center and let me add my word of welcome to you. We have a great interest in social problems and a new operation called Southern Center for Studies and Public Schools which has a great deal of interest in the problems we have discussed. So you came to our campus and we are pleased that you are here.

First of all, I will say very quickly, nothing in the survey, of course, as done and the materials presented surprised me. A few years of looking at the problems of employment, unemployment, labor force participation, etc. have lead me continaully to the conclusion that in the Concentrated Employment Areas, now called the various poverty pockets of our society, and in cities like Atlanta, these findings simply substantiate what we have known for some time. I think in many ways they sharpen our focus on one or two points. They certainly sharpen focus on where we have to put a greater part of our efforts if we are going to solve problems and bring some of these people in these neighborhoods into the mainstream of our society. I noted in the New York Times yesterday, I have not checked in terms with any official publication, that we are in the fourth month of our economic recession. It said that we are actually now in the fourth month of recession. I'm not too sure that this is factual in the sense of a recession or that rather we are going downhill. But I think this was reported yesterday if anybody saw it. Now I mention this only because of the findings here, in this paper, which suggests to me the problem will get worse before it will get better; Not only because of the fourth month of the recession and the possibility that this will continue or will become wores and I hope it will not. Hope is

simply, what do you call it, a sort of stopping action for the moment, hoping we can recover and move forward again. But also, because every time we have a depression, and this depression comes about 95 months after our last serious depression, it becomes more difficult for people who are trapped in poverty circles, trapped in unemployment situations, trapped outside the labor force, to get back into the labor force. It is more difficult for them to move from the point where they are, in terms of low occupational totem pole, etc. Well I think this is timely, and the users of this knod of information not only have to think in terms of a corrective measure at this particular point in time, but have to correct what is there. I think there is a preventative concept which is extraordinarily important particularly as it relates to the marginal worker. What this study says to me is not really my concern, but it does suggest to me real concern about those who are in captive unemployment. That concern, of course, I have always had. But what really concerns me about this study is what it shows, what shock is brought out in the data. The marginal employers and employees, those who can go one way or the other, and this is where the large number of people are today - to me this is what Atlanta's problem is - the marginal worker. This is reflected not only interms of income but it also reflects occuaptional statement. Secondly, I will argue that this study has shocked my views about the whole occupational structure of the Atlanta labor force, black and white, concentrated employment and otherwise. We have obviously a fairly good occupational structure in Atlanta. We have heavy industry; we have government, we have the services industries, we have a lot of education, etc., etc.

But the study somehow or another, as I read the material and looked up the data, made me reflect again on whether Atlanta can continue to boom with the kind of occupational structure it has, which has really grown out of a service type of industry and tremendous service base industries. I say that when I'm talking about service producing and service base because I am including here things like government. I am thinking here not just of household services, but of professional services, police and so forth. I suppose, in other words, that I'm trying to say here that these things suggest to me something about the City of Atlanta that I can't quite put my hands on. It disturbs me because I'm sure there are people who are trapped in in these various positions of sub-employment, unemployment, marginal status, and I wonder whether there is enough of a grip in the economy, enough of the thrust in the economy that they can be absorbed. With a recession, or a concept of a recession I read about the other day, it disturbs me even more.

Now the second part of this is, that it also reflects what has been traditional about Southern economics and Southern regions or Southern cities and communities. It reflects very clearly that the South has traditionally benefited in the national image and the national eye from misleading data regarding occupations, industries, etc. In this sense, and that is the traditional reports on employment and unemployment dealing with two and three percent unemployment, for example, that simply misleads us and doesn't tell us the real truth about how the problems of unemployment and employment have different impacts on different groups.

Now that I have made the two points, the South has also been in the economy which traditionally has, using the words again, "high levels of underemployment". People have been able to get a job, but the fact of the matter is that they don't get a job worth a damn. They can be employed, but, if you take these occupational data here and look at them, you will find that a tremendous part of the problem is that they can get a job, be employed, but they don't go anywhere and they don't make any money. Consequently, you end up with a lot of people, no, you end up with a city really, that reflects an extraordinarily good image in terms of its employment status and underemployment status. But the fact of the matter is that beneath the data, you will find that there are problems involving the quality of employment people have. Now I don't know what is going to happen in the future in terms of the occupations and labor turnover trends. But certainly one of the real problems we have about a city like Atlanta, and I was pleased that Mr. Bullock pointed out that we would be getting this kind of data, is the whole question of those who are not counted, those outside the labor force. The whole question of the rise in the costs of services, employment, the rise in wages, which I hope will continue, is what this does to many people. The younger people as well as the middle-aged people, simply do not have the level of productivity. In the words of the economists they don't think they ahve it and people aren't prepared to pay for it if they don't. This seems to be a growing group in terms of those who will not be counted in the traditional labor force participation and labor force statistics. For those not counted and those outside the labor force have become extraordinarily important. Now we are reminded here of the study that was done, I believe, by The Georgia

Department of Labor for Mr. _____, the man previously before Mr. Caldwell. I don't know how many people saw this study, but I'm sure the people in the Labor Department did. It was kept rather secret for a long time. This was a very interesting peice of work. It dealt with several poverty areas and with the question of those outside the labor force if I recall correctly. It involved some 44 thousand or 45 thousand people. Now it seems to me insofar as the implications of this survey are concerned with the City of Atlanta, that one thing that it did and the one thing that the Nixon Office ought to do is to bring together what is the status of the people outside the labor force, the status of people who are unemployed, those two groups, particularly the hard core, and let's get some notion as to what kind of training needs these people need themselves and are entitled to. The study that was done by this group for example, on the female side of the question, pointed up the fact that most people are not interested in them. I don't know whether it is 51.1 percent of whether it is 49.9 percent, so I will just say that it is many, many people who are involved here who had worked and were not interested in guaranteed income per say. They wanted occupations that will lead them somewhere, not dead-end jobs. A lot of what we see in these data here are not detailed enough. Based on previous experience, they suggest that people are locked into dead-end jobs and they can't go anywhere in terms of occupationas and in terms of money. I will argue in other words that the implication here combined with other pieces of research which have already been done, would suggest that we really don't need a whole lot more inquiry to establish the fact that we have got to have a revolution in our thinking about occupational training and in the preparation of people

for mobility in the labor market. I will argue that one of the implications here for the City of Atlanta is what would the private sector do in terms of occupational training in terms of those on the job. Those who are at the marginal level of employment, where can they go in the present employment situation to move them further up the ladder and recude their vulnerability to the recession that I described or to reduce their vulnerability as to marginal employment. I'm convinced that we have not done enough of this in the City of Atlanta. I had the good fortune, or misfortune, to chair the President's Task Force on Occupational Training in Private Industry. I'm always afraid to go back and read it because I think we made so many boo-boo's in it. But there was one that we did not make and that is that the private sector has a tremendous challange before it to train people who are already employed and are in marginal positions and locked into marginal positions but have the potential of moving up the ladder and reducing their vulnerability to certain aspects of our society and economy. I think this is one of the major implications I find in this data. Now if you take that implication, in places like banks, insurance companies, Clark College and places like the Atlanta University Center, where we employ a lot of marginal people, what is it that we do with people in this category in certain types of industries to move them up the ladder?

Moving on very quickly, it means also that implications with regard to the whole credentials game, and we have heard this story before. I am concerned here that as we talk about the whole question of employment, unemployment and the marginal worker, I continue to emphasize this marginal worker - the guy

who is in and out of the labor force, the guy who is on the job every day and can't go anywhere. The question that really comes to my mind now is what are we really doing about the question of credentials and licensing? In the health professions, for example, we look at these service occupations here, we look at the funds being channeled to them in terms of wages, we look at the patterns in terms of distribution of these services. A lot of these people in the health occupations, for example, are employed for sure, but because of the credentials game, because of the licensing procedures, many of these people simply can't go anywhere. I don't find enough concern on the part of labor economists, people in the CEP programs, people who would be using this data of trying to structure ways and means whereby we can get around the licensing game, if we can't alter it. For example, here at Clark College, we are always looking for Ph.D's, the credentials game. I am citing this as an example of the credentials game and what it can do to you. We know that we have a lot of good people who do not have a license, or a union card, as we call it. My point though is that this whole question of high school certification - I think there are implications here for the vocational education program. I am convinced that there is still too great a distance between the realities of the employment world and what is going on in our vocational and technical development program.

Moving on very quickly, then, I think the whole question of Job training is still one before us. I don't think we have done enough here really to alter some of these specifications we impose in regard to jobs and people holding jobs. Cities like Atlanta, which again in spite of Al Kehrer, are not unionized to the extent that you want it unionized, have a change

to beat the game before it becomes unionized. All I'm saying here is that we really do have something here about altering job arrangements so that we can make more opportunities for people. I did have a note here about the National Alliance of Businessmen, but I won't say anything about that but just that I do believe that the next stage of that program development has to be the problem of marginal workers. And I'm sure that more is going on than what I'm familiar with here, but I do think that conservative programs to get people moving up the ladder, not just to get the hard core which is unemployed which I think is a minor part of the problem, still is not as great as some of the problems we have with mobility.

Now finally, when it comes to the research questions, we cannot avoid the fact that leads off here in terms of the concentrated employment. Read in terms of the virtue of the number of data there is obviously the question of racial discrimination in employment. A lot of people will argue that we don't have racial discrimination in employment. Well, this is, of course, not true. Jim _____ has been doing some researching and will maybe comment on it later on. But there is certainly the whole question of opening up jobs in top management, second addition arms, third addition, and fourth and fifth addition arms of management, the professional, white-collar jobs so that we can push people further up the ladder who are down at the bottom. All of these are very serious questions and at least I find these implications from the data that is here.

You have already talked about the underemployment problems which I hope we will further refine on the basis of research for a City like Atlanta.

Now the question of subemployment. You know we have three categories here - subemployment, the unemployed, those outside the labor force, and those so-called underemployed. I think a city like Atlanta can be a laboratory for the researchers. To come up with a definition that we are probing for is so hard.

Finally, we come to the question of immigration. I think that we know today that there is a kind of reverse trend in immigration patterns. It is not a question anymore of the brother leaving the lower South and moving North. We find now that the message up North to the brothers down South is to stay home, don't come up here, things ain't what they used to be. The point to be made is that a City like Atlanta is a very attractive place for the rural migrant, the immigrant from the smaller cities and the smaller towns. We don't know enough about them. We don't know enough about their adjustment tothe labor market. We could talk about the Concentrated Employment Areas to be sure but I'm not too sure of how many immigrants are inducted in these kinds of areas. But the fact is that there is training in terms of labor market policies, in terms of private policies, in terms of action, in terms of the whole host of questions. The City of Atlanta will become more and more attractive to the rural non-metropolitan migrants to come into the City looking for employment opportunities. We need to really think seriously about how this City will adjust to this. This will require the thinking of a team of Commerce people, the public and the private sectors, if we are going to do anything about it. We have a little something going here at Clark College tonight, a migration study that is generally

what this is leading up to. We got a $50,000 grant from the Manpower people and the State Department of Labor to do some work on the whole question of, what do you call it, the work adjustments or something to that effect, of the migrants into the City of Atlanta. What I'm really getting her is that we are talking about research. I don't know how much it involved the migrants. I was pleased to get those cards. We are going to invest in the UES cards. I hope we will anyway. We would like to get all of them that we can afford. We buy and use your government money and give it back to you. Well you know, that is the way it goes. So that I do think we have a lot to do here. The other part about this is the migration, not of the rural guy, but his employment. But I'm really interested and concerned about this data and what it means in terms of the migrants into the City of the marginal worker again. The guy who has just enough to get into the City and live for a while. The multiplier of all this is and finally is a whole lot of policy questions that go beyond the question of employment when it comes to labor market adjustments of migrants and other kinds of workers.

You also have housing policies. The City of Atlanta has for a long time had some kind of a legal shenanigan that they did but I understand there is nothing to it. A person now does not have to be a resident for a whole year before he can qualify for public housing. I don't know if it is true or not, but for a long time you had to be a resident of Atlanta for X number of months or a year or two years before you could qualify for public housing. Well, look at the relationship here, the housing policy and employment policy, a very definite relationship between the relationship of the workers to a local job market and this whole question of adjustment in terms of

housing. The relationships to help and help services. I would hope the CEP people and the users of the data will get their heads out of the sand and just the whole question of job marketing analysis. That they would bring into greater relationship these things I tried to mention - about how the housing, health, etc. But we always bring in education. We never have any problems here. I'm going to prove that everybody is not qualified, particularly blacks. I'm arguing that we need to go beyond that. We need to talk about policies involving housing, health, transportation policies and so forth and so on. And I must say we have done a little bit here. Finally we could do a great job by putting more money in the Atlanta University system to build this kind of research.

Thank you.

Dr. Emory Via SPEECH BEFORE THE UES USERS CONFERENCE

Being the co-sponsors of the program, I would like on behalf of the Southern Regional Council and its Resource Development Center to add my voice of appreciation to the various members of the BLS staff, both nationally and regionally for their contribution to this program.

It is perhaps not completely remiss to remark on the fact that so many distinguished specialists, and let us say bureaucrats, were able to make so many presentations in so short a period of time. Because I have known at least one or two of them alone to go longer than the total took. But, in any case, we appreciate that and those of us on this part of the panel will make the same effort to do likewise, except that we are under the special injunction to get through faster so that those of you in the audience who have had to sit quitely will have a chance to comment on any aspect of the afternoon's program. I do think that the surveys that have been done in the six cities, especially the one in Atlanta, provide us with a really new opportunity to focus on the kinds of problems we still need to work on. I trust that the panel this afternoon and others of you will pick up on some of the remarks that the BLS staff people made in terms of both what is indicated for further research interests and how to tie down some of the tough problems of either conceptualization or interpretation. Also, what are some of the kinds of action different groups, business groups, governmental agencies can and should be taking in order to meet the kinds of problems revealed. To start us off on the panel this afternoon we have asked Dr. Vivian Henderson, who is president of Clark College, host university this afternoon, and who is in his

own right a labor or manpower economist and has given distinguished service on a number of national and regional panels dealing with the problems of manpower, welfare, and economic development, to lead off this afternoon's panel presentation. He will give us a rather quick overview, I think, pointing up some of the problems as he sees them and then we are asking other members of the panel to respond either to his comments, to what has already been said by the BLS staff people, from their own reading of the data or to talk about what it means for Atlanta, what it means for the particular programs they are interested in. Let me, having said this about Dr. Henderson, quickly introduce the other members of the panel, Mr. Bradley N. Curry, Jr., is the senior vice-president in charge of the marketing offices of the Trust Company of Georgia. One reason that he is on the panel is that up until the new regime in the group called the National Alliance of Businessmen, he was quite active with that program and has had a very serious interest in problems of employment, hard-core employment and what this means to the Atlanta community as well as to the larger communities. E. T. (Al) Kehrer, to my left here, heads the Southern Regional Office of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. As such, and because of his own interest as a citizen, he has had a good bit of experience in problems on employment and discrimination, the problems of unemployment and also the kinds of programs that might be utilized to remedy some of the difficulties that we still have in our society related to manpower.. and to my far left, Mr. Charles Pierce, who has been with the Economic Opportunity Atlanta Program for several years now and more recently has become the director of the Atlanta Concentrated Employment Program and those of you who are still finding your way in some of these things will note that this is a major manpower effort operating largely in the area where the most intensive

part of the survey was conducted. I'm very pleased that these gentlemen have consented to be here and take part in the panel. I think it gives one of real quality. And now having gone through this lengthy introduction, Vivian Henderson if you will, tell us what is on your mind.

In talking about these problems, reservations, etc, about the data, I just want to make it clear that we are not downgrading the survey, or the results, or the methods or anything else. What we are simply trying to do is put the results of the survey, that Mr. Bullock will be talking about, in perspective, so that the results can be used properly, they can be understood properly and so there can be no, what amounts to, massive misunderstanding of the data. Because this, like any new survey, does have its essential problems. It has problems which like anything else which is fairly new, or begun in recent times which has been evaluated to the extent as many of our other surveys which have been conducted for quite a few years. Now, as I say, all new surveys have some problems of this kind, but in this particular survey, we have this type of problem plus some others. I would like just to mention fairly briefly some of these problems to give you an idea of what to keep in mind when you look at the data itself and what to keep in mond when you try to understand what it is that these figures show and perhaps how to attack some of the problems that we are all concerned with. Now first, of course, I think we might want to step back very quickly and describe the fact that this is a survey conducted in households as Mr. Milligan said, bs being conducted by the Census Bureau, who is probably, in my opinion, the finest organization of its kind in the world and conducted with trained, full-time interviewers. These are people who have been through the mill, have been in situations that they have been trained for and they have a program of reinterview of the people who respons. They have a program of editing the responses, an allocation program which in a sense covers those people who don't respond to particular questions.

So, the survey itself is built on a tremendously long history of accurate and reliable collection of data. But we really have to go beyond that to look at this particular vehicle because the vehicle that is being used, which we call the Urban Employment Survey, is a new schedule, it is a very long schedule, it asks questions, many of which are fairly new, although the basic part of the schedule is the same as we use every month in collecting the information that we read in papers on employment and unemployment in the nation. We have used essentially the same schedule. But, we have gone beyond that in asking questions, as you will se in the report itself, on many delicate, sensitive items. on many items that it is difficult to respond to. These questions are indepth kind of questions and when you have new questions like these which ask for, not only things like getting to work and the cost of it, and how much do you walk to work, what method did you use to find a job, and things like income and work experience that goes back a year in time, you are going to get responses which are often not exactly precise. But, nevertheless, they are the kind of responses that can give you a very good, a very strong view of what the real situation is.

There are a couple of other things I would like to mention very quickly. As Mr. Milligan pointed out, there is this whole question of the undercount. That is, the sample is drawn and we use the normal methods of collecting the data. But, as we know, for the Negro population and for the white population, there is a certain part of the population that is missed. This is something that again has to be kept in mind in evaluating the data and understanding it, because we don't know to what extent we have missed certain parts of the

population. We know nationally about the proportions of men and women which would show up as Negro, white, etc. We don't know anything about what takes place though in a particular area. There are many considerations such as the military service, which takes men out of a particular area, more in some areas than in others. There is the problem of aged people, wodowed women, which would obviously give you a larger number of women than men. Things such as people not wanting to be counted for one reason or another. So that these are some of the things to be kept in mind.

The non-response for this particular survey, that is people who don't respons to the questions or households of people who can't be found is fairly small. So that unlike many other surveys, I think this is not a major consideration here. It is a fairly small amount of non-response, about equivalent to what we are getting, and again in our national survey, which covers completely different population, largely white middle class farm or urban or combinations. This does not seem to be a problem although it is still something to be aware of.

But, there is one thing and I think we should keep it in mind, that is that this is an area survey. It is not a survey of poor people or a survey of Negroes persay, or even a survey of any particular kind of group. It is a survey which is measuring the conditions, the employment proglems, the employment situation in a particular geographic area. This is something that again does have to be kept in mond because this relates to all the comparisons that can be made to other data, comparisons that can be made to data which is applicable to Atlanta and to many other areas.

So that in many respects what we have to think about is the question of looking at the results sometimes at three different levels. That is, we look at the area and see what this particular Concentrated Employment Program area shows. We look at a second level at what the area shows in terms of the differences between poor people with low incomes, low education and others with higher education, higher incomes. That is, a comparison essentially of the poor and the nonpoor. Then at a third level, in many ways we have to look strictly at the poor. What are the problems, not of the area, not of the difference between poor and nonpoor but specifically of those people who have employment problems, who have large families and low income, who have poor work experience and high unemployment. So these again are very important in understanding what it is we are dealing with.

In this whole area context we have something which is a problem at one time, yet, it is a fantastically useful possibility and useful tool in another way. That is that Atlanta, unlike four of the other six cities is being surveyed in the rest of the city outside the slum or CEP area. So that the data, as you will notice in the volume, covers not only the City of Atlanta as a whole, but also the CEP area. So comparisons can be made between the two. The problem is that the rest of the city is not made up entirely of completely 100 percent different kinds of people as the CEP area, a particular small area of what we like to think of as poor. But there are many poor outside these areas. As we have seen from the results, there are some people who are not necessarily very poor or not necessarily bad off living inside the CEP area. So this calls for a little bit of

of caution in making comparisons between the City as a whole and the CEP area. Again, this provides additional insight. If you look at the tables, you can see for example that the unemployment rate, as one measure, is something like 8.6 percent in the CEP area. You take out this particular CEP area from the City itself, and the remainder for which we will have unemployment tabulations in the future shows an unemployment rate of less than half of that. So that you always have to keep in mind that the City itself includes the particular target area, the CEP area that we are very much concerned with.

There are a few other things that we have to be aware of, and that is essentially the comparisons that are going to be made by us in Washington and Atlanta and by you people who are using the data; the comparisons that we want to make once we get the data and try to understand what it means; the fact that these comparisons can be made with a wide variety of things and they can be made with U.S. figures which have a certain meaning. A much more important use is comparisons with the rest of the UES for the whole city. There are comparisons that will undoubtedly be made to national figures and many other things. There will be other figures brought in, such as health records, to try to understand the health problems in the area. But all of these have to be viewed with a great deal of caution simply because the survey vehicle here obviously differs.

We have a time period here which is somewnat different. This is the data in the UES for the particular set of results covers the July 1968-June 1969 period which, of course, you will find very, very little other data available for that same period. Incidentially, we will be shifting

to a calendar year for our next set of results probably in February or March of this year. But, in making this kind of comparison we also have to keep in mind that the sample on which the survey is based differs substantially between the city and the CEP area. Although the size of the sample is the same, 3,500 households, in each of these two areas because the universe from which samples are drawn are considerably different, this means that a particular finding for the CEP area or a small group of people may be particularly meaningful. We move to the City itself as a whole and that same finding may be washed out in the sampling error and sampling reliability. So this is a means of trying to alert you to the fact that sampling error is one consideration,difference in time between this particular survey and other surveys is a consideration and there are quite a few others.

I think one of the major things, of course, and you may be very well aware of this, is that you can't look at the area and talk about the area's problems and say that unemployment is 8.6 percent which is what I just did, of course, and the unemployment rate somewhere else is 4 percent. You have to look far beyond this. The problems are not for everybody; they are for young people, they are for middle aged people, they are for blacks, for whites, they are for household heads and women. So that in order to really understand and to see what is in the figures, we often have to go far, far beyond just a few topside figures. We have to look and see, well, what is the problem? Is it predominantly one for teenagers? Is the problem predominantly one of the young people who should be going to college, who have very high unemployment and won't work steadily. Is the problem one

of the household heads, the women in the area who cannot find the kinds of jobs they need to support the family. So really all I am actually leading to, is that no topside figures should be used to determine or to try to understand the problems as they exist in these areas or for programs for that matter. It is all a matter of disaggregating and getting down to the particular unit of people, of income or anything else that provides for you the real clue that is needed to an understanding.

Now there are other minor things that have to be kept in mind, I think. There are other comparisons which I am sure everyone will want to make just as soon as you see that, as an example, an income is $3,500 in this area, and the national income is $8,000 for the average family. This automatically starts triggering re-ponses. But of course, this necessarily isn't a good response simply because, the time frame of most of our other data which you are using to compare with are different. Most other figures that you will use to compare it with are on an annual average basis as a whole. In other figures that relate to employment problems, most are on an annual basis. Yet on the other hand the UES figures are on what amounts to a fiscal year basis. Most of the comparisons are slightly different. This doesn't mean that you can't look at Atlanta and say here is a very low income area because not many people are in the high level jobs and there is a tremendously large proportion of household workers. What you have to do is give yourself a little additional leeway in evaluation of the data so that you can understand it properly without drawing very, very fine lines of distinction between things. This is very important not only in this survey, I might add, but

in the work that we are doing in Washington on a national basis and in the other cities as well. It is extremely important to be cautious in using the data but when the results warrant it to feel that you do have something that you can really grab hold of and use.

There are a few other areas again which create a few minor difficulties! The fact that it is a relatively sensitive survey, that it asks sensitive questions and asks questions on income. We know from many years of experience that income questions are touchy, not only for the Negro neighborhoods, not only for the slum areas, but for any particular group. It is a touchy question for everybody. So again, in trying to evaluate what we have, we just have to take it and make sure that what results appear here are warranted by wide differences between groups or among areas, or between the City and the slum area.

The main thing we are trying to get across is that in a new survey of this kind we often take a few years before we understand every little in and out of it. But when we do, we have to recognize that there are problems in the use of it, and these problems do not in any way derrogate the results of it. It just cries out for caution! Simply because we know from the results already that it has provided tremendous insights into the problems that exist in not only the Atlanta area but in other areas as well.

For program purposes and for other purposes, we have seen fairly clearly, I think, the whole array of employment problems, whether it is part-time work, whether it is people not in the labor force, whether it is low earnings

for a particular job, whether it is unemployment, whether it is large families, whether it is a large number of families headed by women. We have seen that these things are problems, We have seen the relative severity of these many things, which Mr. Bullock will be talking about. What is provided again, is a systematic approach to the problem of collecting the data, a good vehicle, that is the survey schedule itself, responses which seem to make quite a bit of sense, results that do give us insights into the employment situation, and then in the upcoming months, expansion of the amount of information available. I don't know if you have seen it, but the report itself is just barely the beginning results. This covers the basic demographic, education, unemployment and employment statistics. We will be getting in the near future the kinds of information that will go far beyond this; not only providing information on what is happening, but in many cases, why. What are the employment problems and what are these problems caused by in many respects.

I will just say again, that I hope I haven't scared you in any way. We are making great use of the data in Washington and in the regional offices. We are making very good use of it and I think we could go ahead with this kind of survey to understand the problems , focus programs better and simply try to get a better hol- of what we all agree is a situation we ought to know more about.

Thank you.

Mr. Milligan

Urban Employment Survey Users Conference

Experimental Surveys

It has been often remarked that "the more things change the more they are the same." Over thirty years ago, the Federal Government launched a household data collection system chiefly in the interest of deriving more objective measurements of unemployment and employment than were previously available.

The new, and in many ways unique, Urban Employment Survey Program was also launched to meet the need for accurate, current data covering the urban slum areas to aid in program planning and evaluation. The order of events cataloging the birth of the UES would go something like this: The UES Research Program was developed as an adjunct to the current ongoing Urban Employment Survey which resulted from the 1967 UES Experimental Program, which was launched from the results of the November 1966 Slum Surveys of "Subemployment Fame" which had its roots in the 4 year research effort of the Monthly Labor Survey. The MLS was an outgrowth of the recommendations of a Presidential commission which was formed as a result of a national publication's criticism of the Current Population Survey. I won't attempt to trace back the CPS's origin to the Work Progress Administration days as time will not permit. However, in the CPS which is the monthly household survey producing the monthly employment and unemployment estimates we have had the vehicle for many research efforts which have become part of the yearly picture of the American labor force. Such studies as dual or multiple

job holders, detailed investigations of the characteristic of the unemployed, and the impact of overtime hours and premium pay have been developed as supplements to the ongoing household survey. They have produced new data which have been very useful in better understanding the changing economic picture.

However, the standard methods of collecting data, characterized by the household interview conducted by a typical white middle class female were not appropriate for the information needs of the administrators of the new manpower programs which were being designed to aleviate the economic problems of the poor residents of the large cities. The results of the 1966 special surveys while showing higher unemployment rates for ghetto residents as compared to the national data, suffered from the lack of special information for this part of the population; for example, it reflected the problem of the undercount, i.e., the black male was not properly represented in these surveys and the number of women as household heads was out of proportion when compared to national data or even comparable data for white neighborhoods.

With these facts in mind an experimental program was undertaken in the Bureau of Labor Statistics, funded by the Manpower Administration and with the cooperation of the Census Bureau. Experimental surveys were located in Boston, New York, and New Haven. The latter was in conjunction with a complete Census of the city. The results of these research efforts are contained in a report, "Pilot and Experimental Program on Urban Employment Surveys" issued earlier this year. The content of the present

UES was developed from this experimental program. The experiences of the 1967 surveys also indicated what many had thought was obvious. We needed a different type of interviewer. We recommended that the visible characteristics of the interviewer should as nearly as possible be the same as those of the respondents. We learned that the information we were attempting to collect on nonparticipation in the labor force and methods used in seeking employment had to be obtained from the persons themselves and not from a random respondent who answered

the knock on the door.

We also learned from our casual interviews in New Haven and New York that many of the respondents did not have same concept of economic activity as the technician and bureacrats who have been defining "work" since the great depression of the thirties.

From these experimental surveys we also learned that the youngsters of these neighborhoods play a larger role in their version of "economic activity" than we had ever been able to measure. We became aware of this but we could not measure it.

As a result of these earlier experiences we have designed a few more projects directed at those problems we were unable to solve. At the present time we have an experimental survey being conducted through the BLS West Coast Office by a San Francisco group, PACT, Inc., (Plans for Action in Contemporary Times). This project which we have entitled "Meaning of Work" is concerned with the perception of work.

Specifically, it is an attempt to find out what are the differences among men who take a job and stay on it; men who take a job but won't stay at it very long; and men who won't take a job. The objective is to develop a method by which the differences among these 3 groups can be recognized. Three different groups of black men will be identified, each having one of the labor force performance characteristics described above. Each respondent will be interviewed on a wide range of subjects, such as his attitudes toward work, jobs, and black and white supervisors and coworkers; and his work and nonwork activities. Comparison of results among the

respondents may provide insights into the characteristics that differentiate the 3 groups.

Another project "Work Experience of School Age Youth in Urban Slum Areas" is being reviewed by the Bureau of the Budget and is slated to be located in Kansas City, Kansas. In this UES research project, we are concerned with investigating the phenomenon of youthful labor force activities. Our objectives are to develop methodologies which will identify the incidence and kinds of work activities in which young people engage, and which will test the differences in obtaining labor force information about young people indirectly and directly. This project will be accomplished by interviewing approximately 600 black male youth, aged 10-19, including those still in school and those out of school. The household interviews with the youth will be preceded by an interview with the parent-preferrably the Mother.

A third project, "Measuring Some Characteristics of Persons in Poverty," tentatively to be located in Boston, is also being reviewed by the Budget Bureau. In this UES research project we are attempting to develop a methodology which will obtain retrospective social and economic data about persons in poverty from current household interviews. The effort is designed as an alternative to costly surveys which entail visiting the same population each year for the duration of the period required--e.g. 5 years. The UES project is designed to obtain 5-year data on mobility and 2-year data on income. Additionally, it may be possible to examine the effects of such things as family composition and multiple jobholding on income and mobility.

We hope that these three projects will be accomplished by the end of 1970. There are other areas of investigation which require more resources than we have at our disposal at this time. Some may be even more important. For example, we would like to undertake a study on the measuring the extent and effects of underemployment and underutilization particularly for those persons living in urban poverty neighborhoods. However, this study, like others, will have to wait for more resources to be made available.

[Urban Employmt. Survey]

MR. BEN BURDETSKY SPEECH TO THE UES USER'S CONFERENCE

I, too, am delighted to be able to participate in this Conference. As Mr. Bagdon said, I came down to Atlanta for somewhat a different purpose, although, I think it is very much related. I have made it a point to visit each of our regional offices, and we have eight of them now, about twice a year mainly to talk to our regional people about the work that we do and try to find out what it is we ought to be doing.

One of the things that I became aware of very early, when I joined the Bureau of Labor Statistics about three years ago, was that there were a lot of people, some in the Department at high levels, who felt that the statisticians were out collecting a lot of numbers for statistical series. We were also accused of collecting all kinds of statistics and publishing vast volumes of data which had no relevance or which were really not useable by administrators. There was a kind of conflict that was developing between administrators of programs and the statisticians.

One of the things that we are conscious of and are trying to improve certainly is the ability to produce information that is needed and used. A meeting like this is certainly a good device for getting our information known and passed out and for discussions of its value. I hope as a result of this Conference, we can get some feel of your opinions as to how this material meets your needs and if there are other areas which we are not covering, what they are.

In October 1966, I joined the Bureau of Labor Statistics. One of the very first things that I was faced with was the problem of helping to mount

rapidly some ad hoc survyes of urban areas. This was a real crash program that involved hundreds of people in the Department of Labor, all the bureaus and offices of the Department of Labor, and lots of state agency people in the employment security system. We studied 13 major cities, of which Atlanta was not one at the time. These were called the Urban Employment Surveys and the name experiemental was put on them because it was the first time that the Bureau of Labor Statistics had developed a technical method for examining the indepth neighborhoods of some of our cities. Now, it might seem that this was only three years ago; yet, in the Department it was apparent that there were debates and these debates also existed with other agencies as to whether or not these problems were really as serious in the cities as some people were saying they were.

One of the purposes that the former Secretary of Labor had was to get an indepth picture of what was really happening in the slum areas of these major cities. A lot of interesting things were found and I think Mr. Milligan will be covering some of them. But this, I want to repeat, was the first major effort to get at the indepth problems of these areas and something about the people living there. Before this time, we had also been accused of producing vast arrays of aggregated data to come out with a national unemployment rate, to come out with a national CPI; these are all well known indicators. But we found out what we had to think about was what was necessary for the local communities. As a result of this great pressure, and I can assure you that it was pressure because a lot of people hadn't yet awakened to the fact that there really was a great need for local area data, state data and regional data, there was a conflict for a while between the natural statistician and those interested in local data.

So, we were launched into the Twentieth Century with this survey and a number of other things that we are doing which will help to pinpoint the problems of the local communities and this also leads to, we think, a kind of restructuring of the role of our regional offices. I discussed this also with Mr. Bagdon this week. We want our regional offices to be BLS's in the field, to get a real handle on what is happening in the local communities and to provide whatever service and support is needed or that we can possibly provide in getting data to the people who need it, serving as technical consultants for any research efforts that are underway.

Let me tell you, one of the problems that we have is that literally hundreds of surveys are being conducted, some of you may know that a lot better than I do, but all kinds of surveys are being conducted by all kinds of people, some of which are fairly good and some of which are poor. But they are being used as a basis for discussing problems or presenting proposals. We had hoped to come up with a reasonably sophisticated system so that others would be willing to ride our survey and use these results to get some of the other surveys stopped that were really bothering the people. Because, as you know, people are being surveyed to death, we recognize that and so it is one of our other goals to come up with a sophisticated survey system that would help to eliminate the need for all these other surveys that have been going on and to come up with some comparable data that could be used to examine city-to-city or within-cities and the rest of the cities which you will learn today. I do think that maybe we have had some success with some of the regional people who have managed to become part of research efforts intheir regions.

I would like to mention that one concept that emerged from the 1966 survey was the concept of subemployment. I am sure that any of you who have had a chance to look at the 1967 Manpower Report of the President found this concept expressed there. Here again, I say that it seems to me we have been in this manpower development training business, we have been in all kinds of social action programs for a lot of years now, but very recently we have learned a lot of things that we never knew before. It was kind of shocking to some people to see that we came up with a sub-employment rate of 45 percent in a place like New Orleans, 29 percent in New York and 42 percent in Phoenix. By sub-employment, we kind of pointed up the fact that there were a lot of people who were, not only out of work, but were working part-time and wanted full-time work or who were earning, and we have some criterion, $60 a week. We considered this sub-employment by various family sizes and found that there were some people who weren't even being counted in the labor force and all kinds of factors that are presented in National aggregated figures. An unemployment rate of 3.4, which we have now, doesn't tell you what is happening now in North Philadelphia. We came up with some figures and some ideas, as a result of those studies, and some new thinking went into the development of the survey design and also into the whole process of allegating money for projects. I know that a byproduct of the 1966 studies was the immediate allocation of about another 175 million dollars in training funds in some of these cities that needed help very badly.

Another thing that we think is very important to do is that when you look at a set of data, they tell you something and when you know all the limitations and restrictions you can understand these and analyze them.

We suggest to our people that you try to get a handle on all other available data in an area, try to get a total picture of what is happening and try to utilize information on prices that are produced by us and by others on interarea family budgets that are produced and various other statistics that are prepared on a social and economic nature. So you can get kind of a package of information which will give you a much better indepth view of what is happening in the cities.

Now, I want to summarize the major purpose of these surveys, to identify, to describe, to measure, and to understand the employment problems of people living in these areas that are being surveyed. In addition to the basic deomgraphic information which we have always collected in great quantities, we are trying to get information about earnings, about education, and training, about migration experience, barriers to employment, problems of looking for work, participation in manpower and training programs, life-time work experience, and attitudes about work and expectations about work. I can remember, as an example, that suddenly everyone was interested in transportation to and from work. As a trainee back in 1955, I worked in a local employment office in Washington, working with trade and industrial people and I used to recall the blank stares that I would occasionally get when we found a job that we thought someone might be qualified for and wanted to send him on a job quite far away. It took me a little while to understand that the individual didn't have the money to get to the job or there was really no transportation to get there. So you know, you learn as you go. But, that was a long time ago and now we are talking about studies to find out about the transportation problems in getting people

back and forth to work. There are all kinds of factors that enter into reasons why people are working, why they are not working, how they feel about work, what their expectations are, why they give up even looking for work; things that we are now all of a sudden trying to find out.

What we have so far is just the beginning of a vast array of data that will be produced as a result of this survey. I think Mr. Stambler will talk with you some about some new tabulations which will be available some time in the future. Also, he or Mr. Bullock will tell you how you can get copies of these tabulations for such uses that you might have.

I want to thank you for coming together and for the opportunity to present with the Southern Regional Council the results of the Urban Employment Survey. I hope that with this exchange we can find from you what further we can do to produce information that is really useful to you as people working in the field.

Thank you.

W.S.J 11/27/72

Letters to the Editor

BLS Statistics

Editor, The Wall Street Journal:

Your editorial "The BLS Fuss" (Nov. 6) commented on charges in the press that the present administration has moved to politicize major parts of the Federal Statistical Program. You take as your point of departure a letter by Geoffrey Moore, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), chiding the press for making such a charge, particularly in connection with the discontinuance of the press briefings on employment, unemployment and prices, while the press failed to give equal coverage to a report which purportedly exonerated the administration.

Your editorial conclusion is that the press complaints "die hard," and you offer a simple suggestion to lay the complaints to rest: Resume the press briefings "so that reporters could ask their own questions about the statistics."

I could not agree more with your conclusion. As you know, the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, of which I am chairman, has been holding regular monthly hearings on the BLS statistics ever since the press briefings were discontinued over 20 months ago. We recognized from the start that our hearings, while helpful to the press, were not a satisfactory substitute for the regular meetings between the BLS technicians and the press. What was missing was opportunity for the press to freely participate in a "give and take" with the technicians.

Our committee has for 20 months asked the administration, through Commissioner Moore and others in the Executive Branch, to resume the press briefings, but with no success.

You say in outlining why reporters suspected politicization: "The discontinuance followed close on the heels of a briefing in which the top BLS statistical expert at the time, Harold Goldstein, apparently in all innocence, had termed an unemployment decline only marginally significant. Secretary of Labor Hodgson, the same day, had preferred to call it a significant sign of economic improvement. Mr. Goldstein later left his post as an assistant BLS commissioner."

This statement does not do justice to the reporters' case. Harold Goldstein was not an "innocent"; he was speaking as a technician and he was completely correct, as a matter of fact, that the decline in unemployment was "only marginally significant." There has been no contradiction of this fact by any technician, including Dr. Moore. It was Secretary of Labor Hodgson who was playing fast and loose with the statistics.

If Harold Goldstein had waffled on this point, he should have been punished. Instead, he was punished because he did not waffle; He was demoted without advance notice and in effect forced into retirement before his desire. And Secretary Hodgson, who misinterpreted the data, was allowed to go scot-free.

The discontinued press conference between technicians and the press has in effect been replaced by the White House conference. Witness the experience just this past month. The press was informed that Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers would discuss the employment numbers. The BLS news release was made available to the press with a political statement by Mr. Stein superimposed on it. Politicization?

I hope reporters will continue to "police" the reporting and interpretation of economic news. The integrity of economic policy is at stake.

WILLIAM PROXMIRE
Chairman
Joint Economic Committee
U.S. Senate

Washington

Scientific Effort

Editor, The Wall Street Journal:

As a past participant in several reviews of potential environmental hazards due to the SST, I read with some interest William Magruder's comment (Nov. 1) to the effect that he is 95% sure of the environmental safety of the SST. I guess he thinks he knows something that nobody else does, including every scientist that has been looking into this question. I started out as a skeptic of Harold Johnston's ideas, but the more I look at the problem the more I feel that instead of being 95% sure of the SST's environmental safety, we should be 95% unsure of it.

Particularly worthy of disdain was Mr. Magruder's gratuitous reference to the current expenditures in studying this question: $400,000 to Professor Johnston, as against $5.5 billion envisaged for the ultimate program. Big deal!

What in fact is called for is a research program on a much larger scale than our little-science administration is capable of contem-

Selective Unemployment

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz's forecast that the unemployment rate may fall to 3.5 per cent by the end of June gives ammunition to both sides in the present argument between those who favor continued economic expansion and those who think that restraint is overdue. According to the restrictionists, the nation is approaching virtual full employment; they contend that any efforts to expand jobs further can only create manpower shortages and lead to rising costs that will trigger inflation. The expansionists maintain that the ranks of the jobless can be trimmed still further without serious inflationary strains.

An analysis of just who are the unemployed suggests a need for a shift rather than a reversal in policy. There is little justification for expanding aggregate spending to spur demand. With the unemployment rate for married men down to 1.8 per cent, the lowest level since statistics have been kept, further over-all stimulation might be harmful, generating a rise in prices faster than it increases job opportunities. NYT 1/31/66

But there is surely room for specific measures tailored to relieve selective pockets of unemployment—the 13 per cent rate among teen-agers, for example, and the 7.3 per cent among nonwhites. Because many of these job seekers lack skills, they present a very difficult problem that calls for a more imaginative effort than any now existing to provide training and jobs. The Administration's manpower-training programs have helped, but their significance has been limited by the stress on general measures of expansion. Now, the emphasis must be on expanding the size of the skilled labor force, which will strengthen the defenses against inflation.

Latest figures on those receiving Aid to Dependent Children funds emphasize the social side of the same problem. Although the number of families on general relief is steadily declining, the number of women and children on A.D.C. rolls continues to soar. The chief reason is that Negro men who are unemployed or irregularly employed are deserting their families. A concerted program to find more jobs and better jobs for these unemployed men would pay social as well as economic dividends.

February 7, 1966

Miss Dianne McKaig, Chairman
Regional Staff Committee
U. S. Department of Labor
Women's Bureau
516 - 1371 Peachtree Street, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Miss McKaig:

I have your letter to Mr. Paul Anthony of January 31. We will be pleased to participate in your planning meeting on February 18. I expect to be there representing the Southern Regional Council.

We look forward to this meeting and to your proposed conference in March.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

Rec'd 2/1/66

EV - please answer & plan to go or send a representative

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
516-1371 PEACHTREE ST., N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

January 31, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Regional Staff Committee of the U.S. Department of Labor is concerned with improving communications with minority groups and members of the Negro community. For this purpose we propose sponsoring a regional conference (at the Progressive Club on March 22) to: (1) discuss available Department of Labor programs; and (2) explore methods of improving dissemination of information on these programs.

We are asking the Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the NAACP, the Southern Regional Council and the Urban League to cooperate with us in this endeavor. If your organization is interested in this conference, we would appreciate your meeting with us to plan the program and discuss appropriate group and individual participants. Our planning meeting is scheduled for February 18 at 10 o'clock in Room 317 at 1365 Peachtree Street. Please let us know if you - or a representative - can attend.

Your cooperation in this matter would be sincerely appreciated.

Most sincerely,

Dianne McKaig

Dianne McKaig, Chairman
Regional Staff Committee

February 15, 1966

Mr. W. H. Montague, Sr., President
Georgia State AFL-CIO
Room 208
15 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Brother Montague:

I would like to invite you on behalf of the Southern Regional Council to be our guest at a luncheon at which the Attorney General of the United States will be the featured speaker. Mr. Katzenbach will be with us on February 28, 1966. Lunch will be at 12:30 in the Marriott Motor Hotel in Atlanta, at the corner of Courtland and Cain Streets.

The Attorney General will address a group of persons from throughout the South who are especially interested in voter registration and citizenship participation for all peoples. Mr. Katzenbach will speak to the entire region about the Justice Department's plans and commitments in these important areas.

I hope that you will be able to join us for this occasion. It would greatly assist our planning if you would let me know if you will be with us on the 28th.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

SAME LETTER SENT TO:

All names on attached list marked II.

FORM 3A

Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Barney Weeks, President
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

SRC Bd.
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
J. Bill Becker, President
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Florida AFL-CIO
Art Hallgren, Vice-President
P. O. Box 537, Allapattah Station
Miami, Florida

Georgia State AFL-CIO
W. H. Montague, Sr., President
James Moore, Secretary-Treasurer
15 Peachtree Street, N. E., Room 208
Atlanta, Georgia

Louisiana AFL-CIO
Victor Bussie, President
429 Government Street, P. O. Box 58
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70821

SRC Bd.
Mississippi, AFL-CIO
Claude Ramsay, President
133 S. Lamar Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

North Carolina State AFL-CIO
W. M. Barbee, President
P. O. Box 10805
Raleigh, North Carolina

Bill
South Carolina Labor Council, AFL-CIO
E. T. Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer
119 South Parker Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Tennessee State Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Matthew Lynch, President
226 Capitol Blvd., Room 205
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

SRC Bd & VEP Ala. Com.
Texas State AFL-CIO
H. S. Hank Brown, President
308 W. 11th Street, Box M. M.
Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

Abie
Abercrombie, -
Teamsters - Tony Zillovich

United Steel Workers of America
M. C. Weston, Jr., Director
Suite 334
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Charles
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Charles Gilman, Regional Director
Hurt Building
Atlanta, Georgia
or Someone else (Wyatt)

Atlanta Labor Council
R. J. Butler, Secretary
250 - 10th Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

International Chemical Workers Union
J. Harley Thomas, Vice-President
Carnegie Building
Atlanta, Georgia

International Ladies Garment Workers Union
not Martin J. Morand, Regional Director
1065 Gordon Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Council of Atlanta City Employees
AFSCME - AFL-CIO
Al Gross
160 Central Avenue, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

International Chemical Workers Joint Council #3
Jerome Levine
1014 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Retail Wholesale & Department Store
Union AFL-CIO
Guy Dickinson, Representative
1014 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

United Automobile Aerospace and Agricultural
Implement Workers of America UAW
Herbert Butler
Earl Henderson
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

United Packinghouse Food and Allied
Workers AFL-CIO
353½ Luckie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia ?

Vincent
(John Henry Hall)

E.T. Kehrer

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Miss Dianne McKaig, Chairman
Regional Staff Committee

DATE: February 21, 1966

FROM : William S. Harris

SUBJECT: Planning Meeting on Proposed Regional Conference

The Planning Meeting for the proposed conference of March 23, 1966 to explain Department of Labor programs and to improve communications with groups and organizations representing disadvantaged individuals was held on February 18. Those in attendance were:

William I. Allgood, Information Office
John Speer, BAT
Julian Colquitt, BES
Phenizee Ransom, BES
Brunswick Bagdon, BLS
William Harris, NYC
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council
Mamie Reese, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs
Sam Harvey, Urban League

The participants unanimously agreed that a conference of this matter is necessary and will serve a useful purpose. It was pointed out that private groups know relatively little about Government programs, and once you get away from the regional level it is even worse. It was the opinion of the group that we would need to reach and to invite a greater variety of representatives, including several informal-type organizations. In discussing the plans of the conference, it was agreed that this first effort could only be the beginning and that follow-up would be required. It was felt that the conference could identify many of the problem areas and hopefully provide recommendations for accomplishing our goals.

The group agreed on the March 23 date at the Progressive Club for the conference. Committees were established and chairmen and members appointed to each. The Committees were as follows:

Arrangements Committee

William I. Allgood, Chairman
John Speer, Member

Invitation Committee

Phenizee Ransom, Chairman
Mamie Reese, Member
Emory Via, Member
Urban League Representative, Member

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

Program Committee

Dianne McKaig, Chairman
Julian Colquitt, Member
Emory Vie, Member
Brunswick Bagdon, Member

I will work with all Committees. It was agreed that the Committee Chairmen would submit their recommendations by February 28.

It would seem appropriate to me that we give full discussion to this conference at our next scheduled Regional Staff Committee meeting. Particular attention should be given to the types of presentations that would be given by the Department of Labor offices and bureaus.

A copy of this memorandum will be given to each participant of the Planning Meeting and copies are available for the other members of the Regional Staff Committee.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Julian Colquitt
Emory Via
Brunswick Bagdon

DATE: February 23, 1966

FROM : Dianne McKaig, Chairman, Program Committee
Conference on Improving Dissemination of Program Information

SUBJECT: Arrangements for Committee Meeting

Let's get our committee together to plan the program for the subject March 23 conference to be sponsored by the D/L in cooperation with representatives of disadvantaged groups. As a date, I propose February 28 at 10:30 in my office (room 516, 1371 Peachtree). Please let me know if this date will be convenient.

Brief reports —
to the point of reaching disadvantaged people

Questions & Answers —
Re program
Re reaching the disadvantaged
Re response by Dept. programs or their
Cooperating agencies —

Essential to have substantial give and take —
yes, impact info — but sit still to listen —

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

February 24, 1966

Mr. Phinizee Ransom
Bureau of Employment Security
U. S. Department of Labor
1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ransom:

Enclosed are some suggestions of persons to be invited to the proposed conference on March 23.

I have not made an exhaustive list in the various categories. For instance, I have only listed managers of public housing projects currently occupied by Negroes and not those that are predominantly white -- I think a good argument can be made for including the latter.

I have included a number of full time union persons. In my mind they fall into two categories for which the conference might have relevance. They are either persons who have contact with low income people and are concerned with their problems or persons who are related to training opportunities, or both.

I trust that this list will be of some help.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

SUGGESTED INVITEES TO

LABOR DEPARTMENT REGIONAL CONFERENCE

March 23

Atlanta Urban League
Harold Arnold
Richard Lyle

N.A.A.C.P.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Regional
Mr. Joe Tucker, State
Mr. Sam Williams, Atlanta

Anti-Defamation League
Someone from office is coming + perhaps Melinda too; they'll contact DMCK.
— Mr. Theodore Friedman
— Miss Melinda Friedman

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Emory F. Via
Paul Anthony
Al Ulmer
Sam Adams
Vernon Jordan
Ed Stanfield

Atlanta Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Eliza Paschal

Georgia Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Frances Pauley
EU — Mr. Oliver Holmes Coming tell D. McK.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
330 Auburn 522-1420
Martin Luther King, Jr. X75
— Andrew Young B'bank
— Randolph Blackwell
— Rev. Fred Bennett — Rev Dorsey
(Operation Breadbasket)
Talmanade Bag'

Joe Boone - 525-6320
Rush Mem. Church

AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept.
Southern Office

E. T. Kehrer

523-7646
Laundry Workers Union
157 Forsyth SW
— E. L. Abercrombie
— W. T. ~~Archer~~ Bailey
Greater Atl. District 14

~~Textile Workers~~ Union of America
ASSCME 160 Central Ave
— Mike Boethlo

Vine City Community Council

— Mr. William Williams
NO + Mr. Hector Black 107 Elec Ave
— Mrs. Helen Howard 525-7355

874-4405
Operation Breadbasket
— Rev. J. D. Brier
562 Boulevard Avenue
Fort Street Methodist Church
— Rev. Joel Boone

Metropolitan Atlanta Civic Council (5 Forsyth Street)
Mr. Benny Smith
Mr. John Hood (Via talked with)

Carver Vocational School
Mr. Clevdard Dinnard
Rev. C. D. Colbert

525-0114 NO
Union Baptist Church
— Rev. J. A. Wilson

794-0451
Radcliff Presbyterian Church
— Rev. William Mercer
NO ans.

George Caudelle
Business Manager
Atlanta Building and
Construction Trades
Council
250 10th St., NE

E. J. Holden
Business Assistant
Bricklayers Local # 8
121 Memorial Drive

E. C. Hamilton
Business Agent
Carpenters Local # 225
250 10th St.

Jim L. Cooper
Business Agent
Millwright Local # 1263
250 10th St.

Salina Burch ✓
George Gill, Director
District 3, Communication
Workers of America
40 Pryor Street

Clitheral
William Clotheral
I. A. M. 525-3576
Room 808
Glenn Building

Harry Bexley
Business Manager
IBEW # 613
250 10th Street

525-2793 No ans.
EV NO
W. H. Montague, Sr., Pres.
James Moore, Sec-Treas.
Georgia State AFL-CIO
15 Peachtree Street
both out of City for 2 wks

Charles Mathias
A. C. Weston, Jr., Dir.
USWA
1776 Peachtree Street

Charles Gilman, Reg. Dir.
AFL-CIO

R. J. Butler, Secretary
Atlanta Labor Council
250 10th Street

J. Harley Thomas, Vice-Pres.
Int'l. Chemical Workers Union
Carnegie Building

— Martin J. Morand, Reg. Dir. 753-1151 (calling for it)
ILGWU
1065 Gordon Street
~~ONE PERSON~~ from L.G.

Al Gross
Council of Atlanta City Employees
AFSCME - AFL-CIO
160 Central Avenue

Jerome Levine
Int'l. Chem. Workers Joint Council # 3
1014 Edgewood Avenue

EV — Guy Dickinson, Representative 522-1884
RWDSU
1014 Edgewood Avenue
part-day - emling ahead reg.

Herbert Butler 874-3868
EV — Earl Henderson
UAW
1776 Peachtree Street

EV — T. H. Vincent 523-7891 no ans.
United Packinghouse Food and Allied
Workers Union
353½ Luckie Street

Tony Zillovich
Teamsters

Marshall Race
Hotel & Restaurant
Workers

will ~~send~~ someone

ATLANTA HOUSING PROJECT MANAGERS

— T. J. Crittenden
University-John Hope Homes
668 Fair Street
524-7528 ↗ to call back at EOA

— Arthur Smith
Perry Homes
1041 Kerry Drive
794-1591
- 9 meeting
- will come after 10 AM

— Mrs. A. R. Hill
Carver Homes
140 Meldon Avenue
622-4426
- morning appt.
- may come for p.m.

— Mortimer Cox
Bowen Homes
2804 Yates Drive
794-2456 Yes.

— H. B. Michael
John Eagan Homes
821 Play Lane
524-0851
1. busy
2. will come either am or pm
not entire day

— Carl Brown
Henry Grady Homes
100 Bell Street
523-1233
- No
- would like to come
- will confirm Tues p.m.

— David McNair
Herndon Homes
511 John Street
523-7188
1. busy
2. No longer there - now w/ Urb. Ren.
523-6074
3. wl ret. p.m.

E.O.A. Manpower
1. 181 Marietta
+ each branch-
Centers-

Summit Corp.
1. Sam Williams
2. Local U.L.
Mr. Arnold

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
516-1371 PEACHTREE ST., N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

March 3, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is a copy of the draft program. Since the Secretary can't fit our conference into his schedule, I am now checking on the availability of Dr. Henderson as our keynote speaker.

We would appreciate your asking Mr. Uhlmer - is this the correct spelling - to serve as recorder of Workshop 3. (If Ruby Hurley is substituted for Sam Williams, perhaps we will shift the workshop assignments to avoid having two gals in the same group.)

Thank you so much for taking time out of an especially busy day to meet with us on Monday. Your assistance - and insight into special areas - was indeed helpful.

Most sincerely,

Dianne McKaig

Dianne McKaig, Chairman
Regional Staff Committee

Encl. 1

Lab Dept – Reg Conf –

Progressive Club

DRAFT PROGRAM

CONFERENCE ON EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES
(Sponsored by the Department of Labor in cooperation with representatives of disadvantaged groups.)

Progressive Club - March 23, 1966

8:30 - 9:00 a.m.	Registration
9:00 - 9:15 a.m.	Greetings (McKaig) Introductions (Harris)
9:15 - 9:45 a.m.	Keynote Speech (Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College)
9:45 - 10:15 a.m.	Coffee
? 10:15 - 11:30 a.m.	Workshop
? 11:30 - 12:45 p.m.	Workshop
12:45 - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch
? 2:00 - 3:00 p.m.	Workshop
3:00 - 3:30 p.m.	Special address (Commissioner Ross, BLS)
3:30 - 4:00 p.m.	Workshop summaries

rotate?

WORKSHOPS

Chairmen, recorders and resources will rotate among three groups into which the participants will be divided.

1. Chairman - Clarence Coleman, Urban League
   Recorder - Roger Martinson, SOL
   Asst. Recorder - Grace Moon, WB (Training)
   Resources - BES, BAT, NYC, VES

2. Chairman - ~~Sam Williams~~ Ruby Hurley, NAACP
   Recorder - ~~Mamie Reese, Colored Women~~ Al Ulmer
   Asst. Recorder - Anne Newsome, IO
   Resources - LMWP, OVRR, WHPC, SOL (Employment)

3. Chairman - Charles Hicks, NYC
   Recorder - ~~Al Ulmer, Southern Regional Council~~ ~~Ms~~ Hattie Harden
   Asst. Recorder - Pat Pulaski, LMWP
   Resources - ELS, WB, LSB, IO (Service)

Each workshop will include a five-minute presentation by each resource person followed by discussion of availability of program, unmet needs, and improved dissemination of information. (Presentations will be brief, limited to specific interests of the disadvantaged, and will include any program problems which the speaker may wish to raise.)

~~EV~~

~~AH~~

~~JB~~

for your information - please return to EV.

SA

~~BA~~

~~ES~~

8 MAR 1966

EV follow up—

Cleveland Dinnard

has 2 people that should come

Elija Pastral—

Will go & bring others

To tell Vica of others to get notice

" " " if need reges. fee for some.

James Pauley—

Interested— needs follow up—

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL STAFF COMMITTEE
1371 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

March 8, 1966

Dr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

The Department of Labor in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the Urban League and the NAACP is holding a one day conference at the Progressive Club on Techwood Drive, Atlanta, March 23, 1966. The purpose of the Conference is to attempt to improve communication between the Labor Department and the groups and organizations who are working with disadvantaged people.

We would like very much to extend to you and appropriate members of your staff an invitation to attend and participate in this Conference. We feel that the subject matter to be discussed is of interest to your organization and that this opportunity for an exchange will assist the Department in doing a better job of reaching people who do not know about our services and have need of them.

Enclosed is a program for your information. We would appreciate having an indication from you as to the number of individuals that we may expect to be with us. The attached card on the enclosed program together with a self-addressed envelope may be used for furnishing us this information.

We sincerely hope you can attend this Conference.

Very truly yours,

Dianne McKaig

Dianne McKaig
Chairman, Regional
Staff Committee

Enclosure

REGISTRATION FORM

CONFERENCE ON EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

Progressive Club March 23, 1966

Name	Organization	Address
Emory F. Via	Southern Reg. Council	5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Joan Browning	" "	
Al Ulmer	" "	

Registration fee—$4. (including coffee break and luncheon)
Please make checks payable
to: Progressive Club

Please detach Registration Form
and return in enclosed envelope
by March 18, 1966

PROGRAM

8:30 A.M. Registration

9:00 A.M. Greetings

Dianne McKaig, Chairman
S. E. Regional Staff
Committee

Introductions
William S. Harris
Conference Chairman

9:15 A.M. Keynote Address

Dr. Vivian Henderson
President, Clark College

9:45 A.M. Coffee

10:15 A.M. Concurrent Workshops
Session 1

11:30 A.M. Concurrent Workshops
Session 2

12:45 P.M. Lunch

2:00 P.M. Concurrent Workshops
Session 3

3:00 P.M. Special Address

Dr. Arthur M. Ross,
Commissioner
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Washington, D. C.

3:30 P.M. Workshop Summaries

Conference On

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

Sponsored By The

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

In Cooperation With The

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Progressive Club
10 Techwood Dr. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

March 23, 1966
8:30: A.M. - 4 P.M.

WORKSHOP PANELS

Panel 1—Manpower Program

Chairman—Clarence D. Coleman Director, Southern Field Division, National Urban League

Recorder—Roger Martinson
Attorney
Office of the Solicitor of Labor

Resources—Charles N. Conner
Regional Director
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training

Ernest L. Marbury
Regional Director
Bureau of Employment Security

William S. Harris
Regional Director
Neighborhood Youth Corps

Thomas J. Harvey, Jr.
State Representative
Veterans Employment Service

Panel 2—Enforcement Programs

Chairman—Ruby Hurley
S. E. Regional Director
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Recorder—Al Ulmer
Director, Community Organization Planning
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Resources—Joseph Young Chennault
Regional Director
Office of Labor-Management & Welfare Pension Reports

WORKSHOP PANELS

Panel 2—Continued

Harvey Driscoll
Regional Director
Office of Veterans' Reemployment Rights

Beverly R. Worrell
Regional Attorney
Office of the Solicitor of Labor

Henry A. Huettner
Regional Director
Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division

Panel 3—Service Programs

Chairman—Charles A. Hicks
Deputy Regional Director
Neighborhood Youth Corps

Recorder—Hattie Harden
National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.

Resources—Brunswick A. Bagdon
Regional Director
Bureau of Labor Statistics

William I. Allgood
Information Officer
Office of Information, Publications & Reports

Harold L. Smith
Regional Consultant
Bureau of Labor Standards

Dianne L. McKaig
Regional Director
Women's Bureau

In workshop sessions 1-3, each panel unit will work with each of three workshops into which the participants will be divided.

Labor Dept Corp —

3/8/66

Al:

I am just realizing that Joan's absence has kept me from getting a memo to you. The Regional Labor Department Meeting about whcih you were circularized earlier for names of potential attenders will be held on March 23.

I have put your name in as a recorder for a workshop from which slot I am trusting you will make a great and needed contribution during and following the meeting.

Can you do it? If not let me know post haste.

Program runs from about 9 am until mid afternoon. Aim is to get labor department types to tell briefly how their programs relate to disadvantaged and their problems and for them to field questions, take suggestions, and listen to criticism. One special aim is to upgrade the effectiveness of such programs in actually reaching the disadvantaged.

My pleasure

A.M.

One condition

I'll do it if you get AFL-CIO To endorse R. Dugger.

one View
unions are adaptive
not constructive — perhaps
not even innovative —
adapted to the changing
pol. & econ facts of the
nat'l scene —
Could be said of

St Patt — ILA
Robert Sarles OEO

Al Glaskin
St. Pat
360 Bldg (St Ave S)

Com. Action Funds
Neighborhood Fam. Prog. etc.

if to Civil Rts & Poverty
~~ILA — Staff~~
~~Human Interest~~

I. L. A. Hall

E. B. ~~Brown~~
Breitmann
921 21st St. (?)
Organizational Office

11
60
550

~~Electrical Contractor~~
C.A.P. — or Community Council —

Employment
Social Justice
Black Family Life
Sum — Job
Quasi Welfare
Jobs in Neighborhood

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

REGION NO. 8, PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.
524-7481-2

March 15, 1966

Ms. Dianne McKaig , Chairman
Regional Staff Committee
U. S. Department of Labor
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Ms. McKaig:

It is encouraging to know about the March 23 conference in Atlanta described in your letter of March 9, when the Department of Labor in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the Urban League and NAACP will explore ways and means to improve communications between the Labor Department and other groups and organisations concerned with working with disadvantaged people.

I deeply regret that prior commitments make it impossible for me to join you in this one-day conference. I will be in Knoxville all day for purposes of addressing and working with the United Packinghouse Workers of America in a Convention which was planned many months ago.

Perhaps my associate Regional Director of the AFL-CIO, Mr. Charles H. Gillman, and Mr. E. T. Kehrer of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, both of Atlanta, will be able to attend and participate. I hope so.

With best wishes for a successful and productive conference, I am

Very truly yours,

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Region VIII Director

PRC:lr
oeiu 144 afl-cio

CC: Paul Anthony
Carey E. Haigler

Labor Dept Conf -

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SOUTHEAST REGIONAL STAFF COMMITTEE
1371 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

March 16, 1966

Mr. Al Ulmer, Director
Community Organization Planning
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

We certainly appreciate your agreeing to serve as a workshop recorder in the Conference on Expanding Opportunities scheduled for March 23 at the Progressive Club. We would also like to thank you and your organization for your cooperation in this effort to improve communication between the Labor Department and groups and organizations who are working with disadvantaged people.

For your information, we are enclosing a copy of the conference program. As you will note, each workshop panel will work with a third of the conference participants during the scheduled sessions, rotating from group to group.

The workshop panel you have been asked to serve as a recorder will be concerned with enforcement programs. The resources will include the regional directors of the offices of Labor-Management and Welfare Pension Reports, Veterans' Reemployment Rights, Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division, and the Solicitor of Labor. Each of the regional directors has been asked to give a five-minute presentation on the programs of his bureau specifically related to services for the disadvantaged - particularly Negroes. They have been asked to limit their remarks since we would like to reserve panel time for given-and-take on developing better ways of reaching people who do not know about our services and have need of them.

The panel recorders will, at the end of the day, summarize the discussion which took place during each of the three sessions and present any recommendations which may have developed. They will be assisted by clerk stenos provided by the Department. Since many of the participants will be regional representatives of

interested organizations, we hope that the recommendations will include suggestions on improved communication on a state and local level.

Thank you for your participation in this conference. We are looking forward to working with you.

Should your organization wish to include any publications in the conference kit, please send me 75 copies at your earliest convenience.

Yours very truly,

Dianne McKaig, Chairman
Regional Staff Committee

Encl. 1

March 18, 1966

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Frances:

The enclosed announcement is of the program we talked about. I think it will give a good opportunity to find out how Labor Department Programs can be related to disadvantaged folks as well as a chance to make suggestions and criticism regarding those programs.

Would you circulate the enclosed announcements to people you feel would especially profit from and/or contribute to such a meeting?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

Hanna — Bill's NYC

Julian Coldwell
Employment

Bagdan —

John Spears — BAT

Ragsdale —

Bill Allgood
Info officer

Mrs. Reeves —

Thomas Honey — Urban League

W-S —

L Spec. Project

Miss Diane McKaig

1365 Peachtree St.
Room 317

To discuss conference re:
available Dept of Labor Programs
methods of dissemination

Lab Dept - Regional Conference (3/23/66)

2/18/66

Planning meeting for Labor Department Regional conference

How to reach the deprived with labor department sefvices

Conference for March 23, probably Progressive club

EFV: look beyond offcial and customary channels, look beyond the more established groups to less formal, action oriented, groupings Recognize difficulty within bureauracracy(competition/ among programs, traditional methods of work, individual prejudice) as well as recognizing that individuals they want to reach may not respond in traditional ways, there may well be class and cultubal differences.

Program should be aimed at regional groups plus Atlanta local and state Groups telling them about what is available, with focus on what the conference wants to do -- reach the poor and not just an exhaustive run down of services. Program committee should provide a "focusing memo" to go to each of the Lab. Dept. program people who will be participating.

EV give some thought to how break up conference by type of labor dept service. Perhaps "manpower and training", equal employment opportunity(if Sylvester's agency is to be included) and technical services such as labor standards, bls, buruea of lab. mgt reports,

CONFERENCE ON EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES

March 23, 1966, Progressive Club - notes

HENDERSON:

1. bring a concept of realism to "opportunity".
2. more effective communication USLD & community groups
3. more effective programming to reach unreached groups, disadvantaged groups.
4. bring unreached and d-a groups into the mainstream.

MANPOWER AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND USE:

1. maximization of human resources - education, productivity, remove barriers : Negro, women.
2. objectives of manpower: education, job development, training and retraining.

imperatives are moral and humanistic as well as economic.

UNemployment office must become EMployment office.

Need apprenticeship informations centers (must be approved by Labor-Management committees)

WORKSHOP SESSION 1. Panel 3.

Chairman: functionally informative.

BLS: started in 1884 with work on prison reforms. gives an economic profile, available for consultation and interpretation.

1. Labor force -- wages and industrial relations; non-agricultural work force by each industry by state and 150 selected cities; national figures since 1919; state, 1930; cities, 1947-50.
2. Monthly report on labor force -- on national. Measurement of civilian labor force by sex, race, occupation, industry, married or not-married; Occupational Outlook Manual: trends on a two-year basis; also Quarterly.-- these are for vocational counselors.

- occupational rage rates by industry; industry-wage statistics, community-wage statistics: both include fringes.
- 100 citiex: union scale (quarterly)
- Monthly: gross weekly, mo., yrly. by city .
- labor turnover.
- consumer-price index "cost of living"
- wholesale-price index.

22222

- accident rates and productivity
- foreign labor conditions.

INFORMATIN OFFICE _ Allgood

If you want something from the Department and don't know where to get it, come to us.

USLD:

1. Assistant Secretary for International Affairs
2. Labor Standards
3. Labor-Management Relations
4. Policy Planning and Research
5. Administration
6. Solicitor of Labor
7. Manpower Admi nistration (may soon be made Asst. Secty.)

I. Office of Legislative Liason
II. Office of ??
III. Office of Information, Publications and Reports.

issued quite a cordial invitation to call on him anytime.

SMITH- Labor Standards.

Started in 1934 under Secty. of Labor Perking(?)

Concerned with working conditions improvement in gen. and specif:

Wage-hour
child labor
discrimination
private employment agencies - some regulation
job safety
workman's comp.
labor legislation
migratory workers
work with International Labor Organization

prepare seminars on labor legislation, usually where more protective labor legis. is needed. offer these to groups.

Tough guy, and hospitable.

McKAIG

Women's Bureau started in WWI. 27M women at work.

Why so many women are working:

life span is greater

early marriage, fewer kids

37% of women work

most women work for the money

motivation of young girls is important - many don't think they will every want to work.

types of jobs - 1/10 of 1 % over $10,000/yr.

equal pay for women - only in interstate commerce industries

state min. wage and equal pay laws: only North Carolina of South. ($1.00). Georgia, 1966 equal pay law.

day care facilities for working mothers' children.

labor legislation, training, etch.

QUESTIONS:

1. statistics on migratory workers from Florida to Carolinas - "East Coast Stream"

   see BLS, also AFSC, Noyes Collinson

   - BLS: new state laws for migratory and other agric. workers
   - public health, special education needs and problems, general welfare.

2 2. Medicare will create more jobs for women -- as practical or licensed nurses - so why is the pay scale in these jobs so uninviting16 low?

SESSION 2. Panel 1.

TAYLOR _ BAT

A. oldest form of training known to man, 2000 B.C. transfer of skill from one hand to another.

BAT- Fitzgerald Act of 1936.

usual a-s perios 3-4 years; BAT standards: 40 hrs/wk on job, 4 hrs more /wk. classroom related to job.

- testing and referral
- age 17-24; h.s. graduates; strong math; moral character; willingness to work; under close supervision; paid wages on journeyman's scale while in training.
- On-the-Job-Training (OJT): MDTA/62 as amended. - BAT with HEW.
  1. Institutional (school)
  2. On the job

33333

BAT reimburses companies for training costs only, keeps in mind the equal opportunities clause of Title VI.

JULIAN COLQUITT, BES:
cooperating outfit
a new program: Wagonner-Carr Act, 1943
MDTA/62, education and department of labor
1. state employment security agencies and D. C. BES determing needs
2. recruit and refer
3. determine eligibility
4. placement
sgates provide training
- farm families
- un and underemployed
- training allowances - preference to heads of house
through July '66: 10% state financing; '67 100% fed fin.
State agencies cooperate in recruiting for NYC and Job Corps, Youth Opportunity Centers.

HARSIS, Neighborhood Youth Centers
- Job Corps - education, vocational training and work experience.
  - resident centers, through OEO.
- College work-study program: part time jobs sponsored by the college and HEW
- NYC: DL: jobs and income for men 16-21; they do work not being done (parks, etc.) to benefit the comminity:
  A. in-school: part time work
  B. Out of School: full time work for drop-outs, remedial education may be included.

cost-reimbursable basis:
146 regional projects, with 17,000
- change in attitude toward education and training
- draftee rejects
- back to school of confirmed drop-outs
- stay in school of potential drop-outs

HARDLEY. State representative, Veterans Employment P.....

44444

- small agency, part of BES.
- provide maximum opportunity to vets of war-time service
- vets assistance act/46 (GI Bill)
- orderly readjustment of 15M vets into civiliam forces
- preferential employment and counseling, placement provided by law in federal operations.

QUESTIONS:

COLEMAN (ULeague): why not preferential employment to Negroes?

1. How do you get information to potential trainees?
   - state employment services carry on "High School Programs"
   - full time counselors in schools; career days
   - counseling and testing programs
2. A-s Information Centers?
   - BAT and BES team efforts in Memphis, New Orleans, Atlanta, Nashville, Houston, and other cities to set these up.
   - funding through BES and STaffed by BES and State Employment Office.

   Suggestion: mobile unit.

   (Atlanta has only 350 apprenticeship opportunities each year)
3. How to improve image of Employment Service to trainee?
4. How has NYC involved other youth-serving organizations? in-school by board of education; out of school: agencies, encourage volunteer groups to take trainees.
5. IN NYC is there a method of publicizing through YM/Wca, etc.
   - recruitment is a big problem
   - recreation agencies, libraries, etc. oriented toward jobs within agencies they are enrolled in.
6. MDTA training agency could design trainee motivation program, and more effective placement - jdon't train for a job, only to have trainee return to domestic work.

The need is toward more individualized treatment. BES trend is in this direction.

SESSION 3. Panel II.

Sara Craig - Weltner's office

Virginia Harbin - MacKays Office

LABOR-MANAGEMENT .....

Landrum Griffin Act - internal union activity; ensures union democracy, equal rights for all unionists(then summarized law).

55555

Welfare pPlan Disclosure Act/58 - summarized.

Public disclosure good cure for crookedness (my work)

More democratic participation in Labor-Management and welfare pension plans - so people can know exactly what they have coming at retirement.

AFL-CIO - organizing no more separate locals in South.

1959: fact gathering arm of DLre: discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed in unions .

MCDONALD: Office of Veterans reemployment rights.

talked forever, not really pertinent to our interests.

HUETTNER: Wage and Hour and Public Contracts

much of poverty comes from cruelly low wages; Fair Labor Standards Act covers 29½M with minimum wages.

Exemptions:

restaurants, hotels, hospitals, retail stores, laundries, others.

proposed amendment would add 7 M more

1. floor - $1.25'
2. Ceiling - 40 hrs/week, other 1½time
3. children working under 16 - health standards, etc.
4. equal pay for equal work

have made 5,000 FLSA investigations in N.C., S.C., Ga., and Fla.

anonimity of complainant is assured

inform inployer and employee of complaints

provide speakers

9 minority investigators in 4 states noted above.

Labor-Management: NLRB, non-LDept.; Taft- Hartley; FMCS also non-LDept.

TRUITT: Solicitor, advisory and litigative services to Dept, not for public consumption.

only relevant question: do apprentices have the right to complain to the Department of inadequate instruction from journeymen? Legal recourse? (esp. when they come out of the program unqualified for a job in the craft) try EEOC or your congressman.

Selina Burch, regional agent, Communications Workers of America

March 25, 1966

Miss Grace Maxwell
Director, Region VI
Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.
680 W. Peachtree Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Miss Maxwell:

Enclosed is the SRC map showing Negro population distribution in the southern states which you requested at the Labor Department Conference Wednesday.

Under separate cover I am sending a variety of our publications, some information about the Council, and a subscription form for our new quarterly magazine, New South. If you have any other questions about the Council I would be more than happy to discuss them with you.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program

/jb
Enclosure

March 25, 1966

Miss Addie B. Crutcher
P. O. Box 699
Manpower Project
Florida A & M University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Miss Crutcher:

Enclosed is the map you requested at the Labor Department conference last Wednesday. Also enclosed is a flyer containing information about the Council and a subscription form to our magazine, New South, which is now a quarterly.

If you have any other questions about the Council, fire away.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program

Enclosures

Girl Scouts of the United States of America

REGION VI
NATIONAL BRANCH OFFICE
680 WEST PEACHTREE ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308
TRINITY 5-8041
Area Code 404

April 5, 1966

Miss Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Browning:

Thank you so much for the SRC map which you sent to me last week. It will be most helpful in our work and I am deeply grateful to you.

We do subscribe for the magazine, New South, and find it very informative. Thank you for the other publications you sent.

I was so glad to meet you at the recent Conference at the Progressive Club and look forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,

Grace Maxwell

(Miss) Grace Maxwell
Member National Field Staff
Director, Region VI

GM;aic

FOUNDED MARCH 12, 1912

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS MARCH 16, 1950

April 7, 1966

Miss Dianne McKaig, Chairman
Regional Staff Committee
U. S. Department of Labor
1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Miss McKaig:

Thanks very much for your letter of March 30th regarding the recent Conference on Expanding Opportunities. It was a pleasure to work with you and to get to meet other members of the Labor Department's regional staff.

I think you have every reason to feel that this first venture was successful. Certainly many of us who participated in the conference look to further cooperative efforts with programs in the Labor Department.

Would you please send me a list of those attending the conference with their identification and addresses where available? I would also be happy to see any summary of the conference which your staff might have prepared.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL STAFF COMMITTEE
1371 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

~~LAU~~
Return to EV
File

March 30, 1966

Dr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

Just a note to express the appreciation of the Southeast Regional Staff Committee of the U.S. Department of Labor for your cooperation, and that of the Southern Regional Council, in our recent Conference on Expanding Opportunities. We feel that this conference was most successful in establishing improved communications relating to programs for the disadvantaged, and this success is largely attributed to the efforts of our co-sponsors.

Thank you for your assistance at our planning meetings and on the day of the conference. We hope to have an opportunity to work with you on future projects of mutual concern.

We would also like to make note of the special assistance of Al Ulmer who served as recorder of the work shop on enforcement. Al was most helpful in coordinating the information and suggestions during the day.

Most sincerely,

Dianne McKaig

Dianne McKaig, Chairman
Regional Staff Committee

Opening for Reg Lab Dept.

Two problems

1) Training & Sensible employment policies, & legis enforcement for all.

2) Attacking special problem of disc. as related to these —

Both problems raise a third: How do you reach disadvantaged people & especially those of color —

Civil Rights movement has awakened us as slow before as a nation to the fact that people were being left out of our Society — Sally Whitty Olay this line to 4th Nat'l Conference of Plans for Progress.

Labor Dept responsibility in all its Programs —

1) To inform people of what they offer, how to take advantage of it

2) To affirmatively, as in this Conference, to explore the problem of making effective contact with the disadvantaged —

but much more than this Conference is required.

[over]

Citizen & groups

duty is to
to understand current programs

1) Demand services &
a) Training Program
better services b) Law enforcement

2) To suggest remedies
in approaches made

3) To cooperate where
possible — within purview
of own organization —

4) In sum: to recognize
govt's agencies as citizen services
not implementation of our policies

not outside

BAT

Only advisory & technical to JAC's

Mgt - Labor in Atlanta did not see need for center — thought would lessen control —

Hays Howard
Tenn A&I

Response — Everyone a participant — but groups & individuals
Labor Dept Personnel especially —

Appreciation for
effort + time — imagination — initiative

We will make use of info —
Look to future cooperation
Channel of communication

Look to
Possibly further, more local conferences
Production of useful materials

Didn't cost anything but time & Taxes

MRS Harden
Mrs. Henly
Mr. Coleman

Ross – BLS –

much of Atlanta N. empl. seems to be "spasmodic & low paid

250T Prof & Tech Wages N – U.S –

out of 6.5M –

Teachers & Soc. Wks. growing even faster –

(of N in occupation relative to prop in pop.)

Proportional rep. is a statistics used for

showing progress or lack –

Skilled trades –

proportion of growth less for N. than whites –

not much statistical change –

Sign of progress that N. in some jobs have gone down

domestic, porters,

at current rates of progress –

Prof & Tech – would see double employment for N. in 1976.

* Pilot study –

may be doing for Atlanta with OEO

(local research of this sort expensive

Chicago study already underway –

why not analog – house-to-house survey –

Attendees —

Tallahassee — Miss Cratcher

Tenn Adl — Hayes Hill (?)

BLS

Adl —

Do poor pay more — study — not out yet —

B Labor Standards

Strengthen State Labor Depts.

Migrant labor —

Esther Peterson —
Labor Dept
Consumers Affairs

Tenn — almost got Min Wage
missed by 3 votes in House
& would have included
domestics at lower rate —

Seminars on protective labor legislation
Usually where state labor legislation is needed —

Adl — government can you help — yes.
you have state data — bulletin probably on its way —

Women's Bureau

Household helps employment (Nat'l Com. on Household Empl)
Surveyed 60 cities —
included Atlanta —

Atl. Council 42 wks of clerical training — still
lack type adequately —

Beatty — Office of Labor Mgt & welfare Pension Reports.

[redacted]

L-G Equal rights for Labor Union members —

Freedom of Expression & assembly —

Invitation to Speak —

? Regional Complaints against unions —

Special interest in South in election procedures —

Negroes taking part — seeking office —

affected by Merger

Welfare & Pension Plans

if over 25 people — must provide description of plan & report

Unions usually proud of plans —

? Enforcement of rights — his office can do? Disclosure only?

Widows — individuals

Solicitor

Assists administrators when normal channels not yielding results — Sol. acts directly or through U.S. Atty.

Federally aided construction — min wage —

specially labor standards included in contract

* Solicitor's office is proper #5 contact —

If any doubt about construction work

T. VI LRA — BES.

Veterans Reemployment Rights — Look at Field letter 20 —

Lab dept after 1947

? Any special problems re reaching & keeping contact with minority people or low economic status

4 states

FLSA
Min wage
Overtime
Child Labor
Equal Pay

Lot of Poverty comes from cruelly low wages —
Lot of exemptions —
Restaurants, Agric, Hotels, Motels, Laundry (Largely)
Invitation to help disseminate info if there is a new bill —

Need complaints —
Complainants identity can stay hidden
Complaint can come from any source
All investigations are handled the same, whether from compl. or routine.

? Back pay — how much collected in 1965 in region

9 minority groups investigators working for Wage-Hour
handle complaints like all others —
recruiting problems — need more
Speakers to appear before groups

What to do about (Raised by Richmond Espesit.)
Short term employment — less than 40 hours
& get no pay —

Only recourse is Legal Aid Society.

Procedure
Reinstatement Selec —
&

1st Group.

Q's — What's being done to expand Wage-hour coverage

Ans — Current Amends being proposed —

Q — What about failure to pay for less than 40 hours of work —

2nd B.A.T. has no way of instituting program —

Title #29 obligation to inform Schools —

BES — Calgiuti

? Difficulty in recruiting for MDTA

MDTA Training.

Counseling program —

Screening —

Placement

Training by in-state ed. agencies.

Eligibility —

Unemployed

Farm families less than 1200

Underemployed

} Preference to heads of household

* — Reasonable expectation of employment

? significance of training — his evaluation —

household Service —

NYC — Harris

Safety Lab Dept —

? Difficulty in recruiting ?

Drop outs —

Veterans Employment Service as part of B.E.S.

Q How disseminate info —

Ans.

B.E.S. has high school program — not all are covered

Some better than others —

Career days — State Agencies ask to participate —

In past: schools needed the most, saw the least —

Now trend is to go to schools

Info Center System —

Joint Labor Mgt Committee turned down in Atlanta —

Nat'l average for placement is 70% MDTA —

Region is 55-70%

Nashville — T&I (?)

Mobile Unit to publicize MDTA —

Use assembly hour at schools —

Coop. with agencies — e.g. Unions (Coming) re recruitment for pre-apprenticeships.

NYC — (Harris) School handle most of training —

Used neighborhood centers for recruiting —

very effective —

U.S. Manpower Guidance Com — Edward Billingsley —

Humphrey

Manpower policy —
1) develop jobs
~~[illegible]~~ 2) Train for jobs
3) Matching people with jobs —

opportunities have expanded greatly
evidence: Avg. income, profits, unemployment decline, GNP.

But many do not share —
1.95 M workers are part time involuntarily —
hard core unemployed
Negroes are 20% of unemployed — rate of unemployment is double.

Watts youth not as bad off as decade ago or worst whites in 1932
But now we have know-how & resources —

Development of Nat'l Manpower policy emerges post WarII

BES (V-H on Winty Task force to study — report on Dec 15, 1965)
problem of mismatch of Unemp'd.
decentralization needed —
Report.
New legis. markets for Fed-State Employment Service
To transform to a comprehensive manpower service agency —
Controversial part (to get agency resistance)
Separate physically & functionally Unemployment claims from rest —
(Some of this being done) (Also separating for special population served)
Coordinator for counseling
Better job market info — & distribution — community to disadvantaged
Some labor mkt. specialist these fall short —
2 business men called for Federalization of E.S. — Some state directors think go too far already —

Henderson —

BAT —

movement to expand — also to reach disad.

* Apprenticeship Info Centers —

To facilitate info & Comm

Atl. — turned down by Gov-Mgt. Committee

Nashville — has one ready to go —

C.W. Rts groups need to know more — Be more practical —

to accept a new climate, framework

Exp. important to bridge gaps in South —

Eddie Billingsly —

Manpower

Revs.

1) Benny Smith — Joel Brown Cong. Chur

2) Cleveland Dirzard — Conven Voice Garland

3) Rev C. D. Colbert
(next Starke — Mechanicsville)

4) Having Prayers Mgrs —
→ (Third Olive
T. J. Cretthorton — John Hope Univ
McNabb, Herndon (?)
~~Herndon,~~
Martinez Cox, Bowen Home
5) Arthur Smith, Perry Home
Crosby,
Mrs Annie Lou Field, Carver
Michael,

5) Ministers
J. A. Williams — Univ Baptist
Wm Mercer, Radcliff Presby
Joe Crosier, Ft. St. Meth

Ed. 3/12/66

Bill Olive

To Lab Dept early

Berry Jones with

Henderson —

L Jimmie Howard.

SNCC Letter to

ACLU

John — 2/23/66

U see if Sara Sherrill

can tell you the number & address for 241-2511

Mike Boethlo (sp?) BO HTELO moving to ATLANTA with

Textile workers here in Atlanta.

Perrie High School
Community Center
(EOA)
Joe DRAPER
Al.U. will get name —

~~Hector Black~~ —

~~Williams~~

X John Hood —
Metropolitan
Atlanta Civic Council

Add these Atlanta
based Union people to
Lab Dept list plus the
names on attached slips.

George Gill, Director
Dist 3, CWA
40 Pryor St. SW.

Wm Clitheroe,
I. A. M.
Room 808
Odeon Building

Harry Bagley, Bus. Mgr.
IBEW # 613
250 10 St N.E.

George Cardelle, Bus Mgr.
Atl. Building & Construction
Trades Council
250 10 NE

E. J. Holden, Bus Agt.
Bricklayers Local # 8
121 Memorial Drive, SE

E. C. Hamilton, Bus Agt.
Carpenter Local # 225
250 10 N.E.

Jim L. Cooper, Bus Agt.
Millwright Local # 1263
250 10 St NE

Suggested Inviteex to Labor Department Regional Conference, March 23.

Atlanta Urban League

Harold Arnold
Richard Lyle

N.A.A.C.P.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Regional
Mr. Joe Tucker, State
Mr. Sam Willimas, Atlanta

Anti Defamation League

Mr. Theodore Friedman Miss Melinda Friedman? NAIRO

Southern Regional Council

Emory Via
Paul Anthony
Al Ulmer
Sam Adams
Vernon Jordan
Ed Stanfield

Atlanta Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Eliza Paschal

Georgia Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Mr. Oliver Holmes

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Rev. Fred C. Bennett works with → "Operation Breadbasket"

Andy Young
Randolph Blackwell

AFL-CIO, Civil Rights Department, Southern Office

Mr. ~~A~~ E.T. Kehrer

Mr. E.L. Abercrombie
Mr. W.T. Archer

Laundry Workers Union

T.W.U.A. (Textile)
Mike Boethlo

Vine City - Mr. William Williams - Markham St.
Mr. Hector Black - Electric Ave.
Mrs. Helen Howard - Rock St.

Rev. J. D. Grier (merging as Head of Breadbasket)
562 Boulevard Ave.

James Sanderlin, Esq.
1425 22d St S
St Pete.

ATLANTA HOUSING PROJECT MANAGERS

T. J. CRITTENDEN
UNIVERSITY-JOHN HOPE HOMES
1668 FAIR STREET, S. W.

ARTHUR SMITH
PERRY HOMES
1041 Kerry Drive NW

MRS. A. R. HILL
CARVER HOMES
140 Meldon Ave SW

MORTIMER COX
BOWEN HOMES
2804 Yates Dr NW

H. B. MICHAEL
JOHN EAGAN HOMES
821 Playlane NW

CARL BROWN
HENRY GRADY HOMES
100 BELL STREET, S. E.

DAVID MCNAIR
HERNDON HOMES
511 John NW.

Tenant's Election Office -
Mr. Lane,
A.H. Hous. Auth

Cont. March 23 (Wed.) Lab. Dept. Conference

Employment Service & Miss. Employ. — 18 Co., Miss, Survey of human resources — 48 interviews had been used on form survey —

NC, SC, Ga, Ala, Fla, Tenn, Miss

Reg Sub Committee — Dept of Labor —

how reach disadvantaged — esp. N. —

? Which Bureaus & Divisions — Programs — [6 SE states MANPOWER Programs —

Women, N.Y.C., BAT, Employment, BLS, Info,

Wage-hour (?) —

Invited — Assn. Neg Wom. Clubs, NAACP, SRC, Urban

Commission of Labor Statistics — Ross — might be available — Speaker

If you want to Train for

Structure — Order — relation to each other

* Information — [Central]

What now doing —

What channels using —

Send out samples —

* Understandability of materials

* Needed?

Programs — Proposal

Individual Participants

* Invite

Counseling programs reps. be invited —

Frontiers, Int'l

Send — invitation ~~to~~ 1st

Ransome —

Program Committee

McKaig —

Via

Bagdon

Colgaith

Harris

Feb 28th

Have final arrangements

Program —

Law divisions —

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~~How~~ lump the Labor Dept. programs

manpower

disc.

"technical enforcement" — Wage hour
Labor Standards
Labs - Mat Depts

Ferguson — HEW
Sec Perkowitz
Ray Marshall —
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GR 13211

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76.50	Steno
91.00	Steno, Sr
74.50	typists clerk

74.50
52
14900
37250
$3874.00

94.50
52
18900
47250
$4914.00

BRIEF SUMMARY OF STATE LAWS

PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT BECAUSE OF AGE

Fact Sheet No. 6-B
August 1965

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Standards
Washington, D. C. 20210

Labor Law — State

BRIEF SUMMARY OF
STATE LABOR RELATIONS ACTS

Fact Sheet No. 7-A
November 1965

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Bureau of Labor Standards

Washington, D. C. 20210

BRIEF SUMMARY OF
STATE MEDIATION LAWS

Fact Sheet No. 7-B
November 1965

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

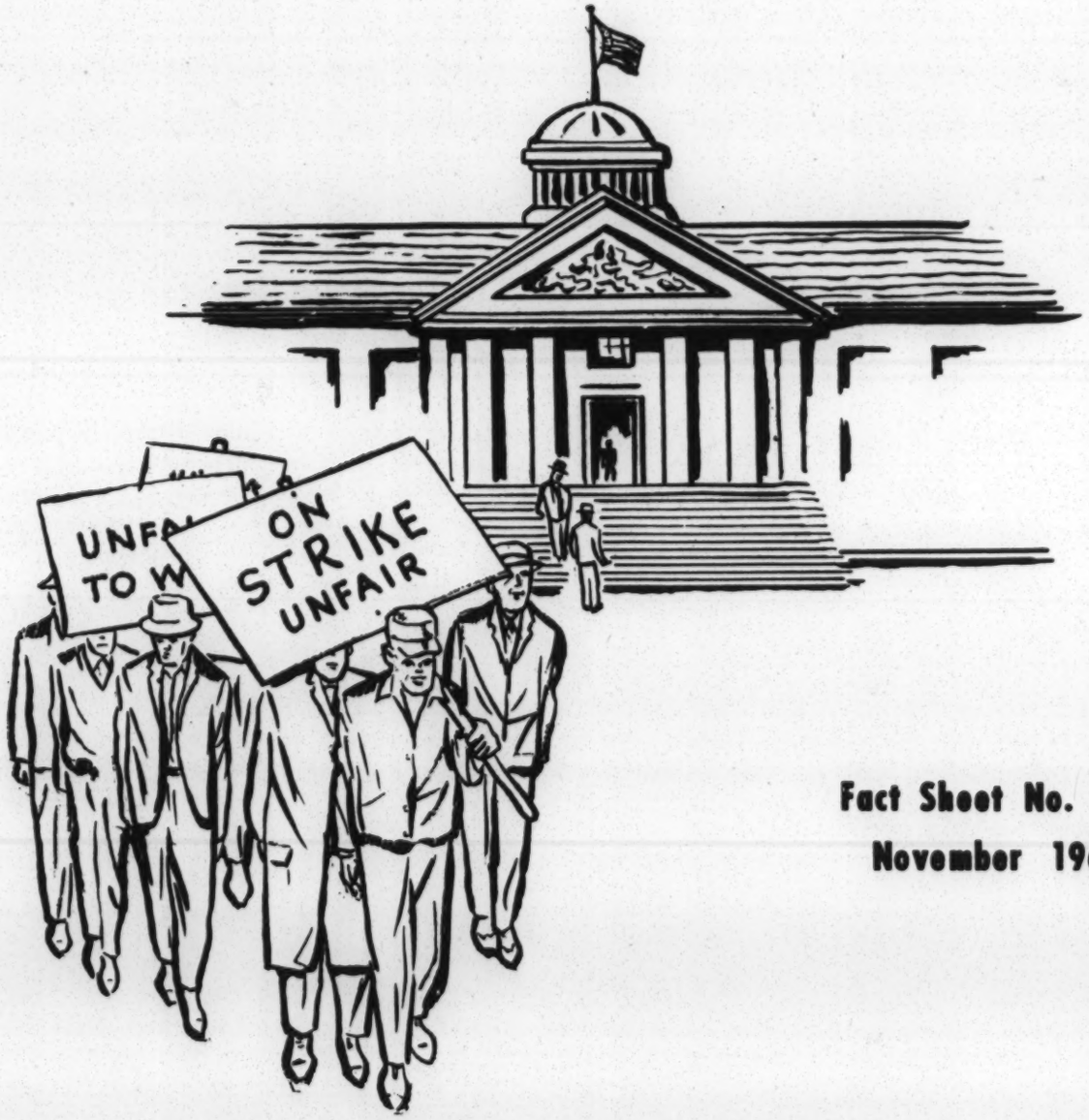
Bureau of Labor Standards

Washington, D. C. 20210

Labor Law — State

BRIEF SUMMARY OF

STATE UNION REGULATORY PROVISIONS



Fact Sheet No. 7-C

November 1965

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Bureau of Labor Standards

Washington, D. C. 20210

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AGE DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED UNDER STATE LAWS

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State - Fair Employment

BRIEF SUMMARY OF STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE ACTS

Fact Sheet No. 6-A
June 1966

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Standards
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Labor Law - Federal

federal register

MONDAY, JULY 9, 1973
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Volume 38 ■ Number 130

PART II

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports

■

ELECTION OF OFFICERS OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Revision of Regulations

Title 29—Labor

CHAPTER IV—OFFICE OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT AND WELFARE-PENSION REPORTS, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SUBCHAPTER A—LABOR-MANAGEMENT REPORTS

PART 452—GENERAL STATEMENT CONCERNING THE ELECTION PROVISIONS OF THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1959

Title IV of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (73 Stat. 532, 534, 29 U.S.C. 481–484) provides standards for the election of officers of labor organizations, and assigns enforcement of the standards to the Secretary of Labor through litigation, after complaint and exhaustion of internal remedies, in the federal courts. Shortly after enactment of the statute the Department promulgated an interpretative regulation (29 CFR Part 452) for the purpose of setting out the Department's interpretations or position with respect to many of the provisions of Title IV.

Since the original publication of the regulation the Department of Labor has litigated innumerable election cases under Title IV and has considered and reacted to many diverse problems in connection with elections of union officers. Accordingly, it is appropriate in the light of this experience to expand, revise and update the interpretative regulation.

Therefore, pursuant to sections 401, 402, 73 Stat. 532, 534, 29 U.S.C. 481, 482, Secretary's Order No. 11–72 (May 12, 1972), Part 452 of Chapter IV of Title 29 of the Code of Federal Regulations is revised to read as follows:

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452.2 Application of union constitution and bylaws.
452.3 Interpretations of constitution and bylaws.
452.4 Investigatory provision — application.
452.5 Effect of violation on outcome.
452.6 Delegation of enforcement authority.

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452.7 Bill of Rights, Title I.
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452.9 Prohibition against certain persons holding office; Section 504.
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AUTHORITY: Secs. 401, 402, 73 Stat. 532, 534, 29 U.S.C. 481, 482, Secretary's Order No. 11–72 (May 12, 1972).

Subpart A—General Considerations

§ 452.1 Introductory statement.

(a) This part discusses the meaning and scope of the provisions of Title IV of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act[1] (hereinafter referred to as the Act), which deal with the election of officers of labor organizations. These provisions require periodic election of union officers, and prescribe minimum standards to insure that such elections will be fairly conducted. Specific provisions are included to assure the right of union members to participate in selecting their officers without fear of interference or reprisal, and to protect the right to nominate candidates, run for office, and vote in officer elections. Title IV also sets forth the rights of candidates, provides for secret ballots in appropriate cases, and requires notice of nominations and elections, preservation of election records, and other safeguards to insure fair elections. However, the Act does not prescribe complete, detailed procedures for the nomination and election of union officers.

(b) Interpretations of the Labor-Management Services Administrator with respect to the election provisions of Title IV are set forth in this part to provide those affected by these provisions of the Act with "a practical guide * * * as to how the office representing the public interest in its enforcement will seek to apply it."[2] The correctness of an interpretation can be determined finally and authoritatively only by the courts. It is necessary, however, for the Labor-Management Services Administrator to reach informed conclusions as to the meaning of the law to enable him to carry out his statutory duties of administration and enforcement. The interpretations of the Labor-Management Services Administrator contained in this part, which are issued upon the advice of the Solicitor of Labor, indicate the construction of the law which will guide him in performing his duties unless and until he is directed otherwise by authoritative rulings of the courts or unless and until he subsequently announces that a prior interpretation is incorrect. However, the fact that a particular problem is not discussed in this part, or in interpretations supplementing it, should not be taken to indicate the adoption of any position by the Labor-Management Services Administrator with respect to such problem or to constitute an administrative interpretation or practice.

(c) To the extent that prior opinions and interpretations relating to the election of officers of labor organizations under the Act are inconsistent or in conflict with the principles stated in this part, they are hereby rescinded and withdrawn.

§ 452.2 Application of union constitution and bylaws.

Elections required to be held as provided in the title are to be conducted in accordance with the validly adopted constitution and bylaws of the labor organizations insofar as they are not inconsistent with the provisions of the Act.

§ 452.3 Interpretations of constitution and bylaws.

The interpretation consistently placed on a union's constitution by the responsible union official or governing body will be accepted unless the interpretation is clearly unreasonable.[3]

§ 452.4 Investigatory provision—application.

The provisions of section 601 of the Act provide general investigatory authority to investigate alleged violations of the Act including violations of Title IV. However, section 601 in and of itself provides no remedy, and the section must be read in conjunction with the remedy and statutory scheme of section 402, i.e., exhaustion of internal union remedies and a complaint to the Secretary following completion of the election before suit can be filed. In view of the remedy provided, an investigation prior to completion of an election may have the effect of publicizing the activities or unsubstantiated allegations of one faction to the prejudice of the opposition. To avoid this result, and as a matter of sound statutory construction, the Department will exercise its investigatory authority only in circumstances in which the outcome of the election could not be affected by the investigation.[4] Thus, the Department ordinarily will employ its investigatory authority only where the procedural requirements for a Title IV investigation have been met; but in unusual circumstances or where necessary to collect or preserve evidence an investigation may be conducted after the conclusion of balloting.

§ 452.5 Effect of violation on outcome.

Since the remedy under section 402 is contingent upon a finding by the court, among other things, that the violation "may have affected the outcome of an election"[5] the Secretary as a matter of policy will not file suit to enforce the election provisions unless the violations found are such that the outcome may have been affected.[6]

§ 452.6 Delegation of enforcement authority.

The authority of the Secretary under the Act has been delegated in part to the Labor-Management Services Administrator and to the Director, Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports.

Subpart B—Other Provisions of the Act Affecting Title IV

§ 452.7 Bill of Rights, Title I.

The provisions of Title I, "Bill of Rights of Members of Labor Organizations"[7] (particularly section 101(a)(1) "Equal Rights," section 101(a)(2) "Freedom of Speech and Assembly," and section 101(a)(5) "Safeguards against Improper Disciplinary Action") are related to the rights pertaining to elections. Direct enforcement of Title I rights, as such, is limited to civil suit in a district court of the United States by the person whose rights have been infringed.[8] The exercise of particular rights of members is subject to reasonable rules and regulations in the labor organization's constitution and bylaws.[9]

§ 452.8 Trusteeship provisions, Title III.

Placing a labor organization under trusteeship consistent with Title III, may have the effect of suspending the application of Title IV to the trusteed organization (see § 452.15).

§ 452.9 Prohibition against certain persons holding office; Sec. 504.

Among the safeguards for labor organizations provided in Title V is a prohibition against the holding of office by certain classes of persons.[10] This provision makes it a crime for any person willfully to serve as an officer or employee of a labor organization (other than exclusively as a clerical or custodial employee) within five years after conviction or imprisonment for the commission of specified offenses, including violation of Titles II or III of the Act, or consipiracy to commit such offenses. It is likewise a crime for any labor organization or officer knowingly to permit such a person to serve in such positions. Persons subject to the prohibition applicable to convicted criminals may serve if their citizenship rights have been fully restored after being taken away by reason of the conviction, or if the United States Board of Parole determines that their service would not be contrary to the purposes of the Act.

§ 452.10 Retaliation for exercising rights.

Section 609, which prohibits labor organizations or their officials from disciplining members for exercising their rights under the Act, and section 610, which makes it a crime for any person to use or threaten force or violence for the purpose of interfering with or preventing the exercise of any rights protected under the Act, apply to rights relating to the election of officers under Title IV.

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[1] 73 Stat. 532–535, 29 U.S.C. 481–483.

[2] Skidmore v. Swift & Co., 323 U.S. 134 at 138 (1944).

[3] English v. Cunningham, 282 F.2d 848 (C.A. D.C. 1960).

[4] However questions involving the use of force or violence or the threat of the use of force or violence under circumstances which may violate section 610 (29 U.S.C. 530) of the Act will be referred promptly to the Department of Justice for appropriate action.

[5] Act, sec. 402(b) (29 U.S.C. 482).

[6] The Secretary has delegated to the Solicitor, in agreement with the Labor-Management Services Administrator, the authority to make the finding required by the Act, that probable cause exists to believe that a violation of Title IV of the Act has occurred and has not been remedied. Secretary's Order No. 11–72 (May 12, 1972).

[7] 73 Stat. 522, 29 U.S.C. 411.

[8] But the Secretary may bring suit to enforce section 104 (29 U.S.C. 414).

[9] Act, sec. 101(a)(1), 101(a)(2), and 101(b) (29 U.S.C. 411).

[10] Act, sec. 504(a) (29 U.S.C. 504). See text at footnote 24.

Subpart C—Coverage of Election Provisions

§ 452.11 Organizations to which election provisions apply.

Title IV of the Act contains election provisions applicable to national and international labor organizations, except federations of such organizations, to intermediate bodies such as general committees, conferences, system boards, joint boards, or joint councils, certain districts, district councils and similar organizations and to local labor organizations.[11] The provisions do not apply to State and local central bodies, which are explicitly excluded from the definition of "labor organization.[12] The characterization of a particular organizational unit as a "local," "intermediate," etc., is determined by its functions and purposes rather than the formal title by which it is known or how it classifies itself.

§ 452.12 Organizations comprised of government employees.

An organization composed entirely of government employees (other than employees of the United States Postal Service) is not subject to the election provisions of the Act. Section 3(e) of the Act, defining the term "employer," specifically excludes the United States Government, is wholly owned corporations, and the States and their political subdivisions from the scope of that term, and section 3(f) defines an "employee" as an individual employed by an "employer." Since a "labor organization" is defined in section 3(i) as one in which "employees" participate and which exists in whole or in part for the purpose of "dealing with employers," an organization composed entirely of government employees would not be a "labor organization"[13] as that term is defined in the Act. However, section 1209 of the Postal Reorganization Act provides that organizations of employees of the United States Postal Service shall be subject to the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act. An international or national labor organization which has some locals of government employees not covered by the Act and other locals which are mixed or are composed entirely of employees covered by the Act would be subject to the election requirements of the Act. Its mixed locals would also be subject to the Act. The requirements would not apply to locals composed entirely of government employees not covered by the Act, except with respect to the election of officers of a parent organization which is subject to those requirements or the election of delegates to a convention of such parent organization, or to an intermediate body to which the requirements apply.

[11] For the scope of the term "labor organization," see Part 451 of this chapter.

[12] See § 451.5 of this chapter for a definition of "State or local central body."

[13] Most labor organizations composed of Federal Government employees are subject to Executive Order 11491 and the Regulations issued pursuant thereto.

§ 452.13 Extraterritorial application.

Although the application of the Act is limited to the activities of persons and organizations within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States,[14] an international, national or intermediate body is not exempted from the requirements of the Act by virtue of the participation of its foreign locals or foreign membership in its elections. For example, votes received from Canadian members in referendum elections held by an international must have been cast under procedures meeting the minimum requirements of the Act, and Canadian delegates participating at conventions of the international at which officers are elected must have been elected by secret ballot.

§ 452.14 Newly formed or merged labor organizations.

The initial selection of officers by newly formed or merged labor organizations is not subject to the requirements of Title IV.[15] Such labor organizations may have temporary or provisional officers serve until a regular election subject to the Act can be scheduled. An election under all the safeguards prescribed in these regulations must be held within a reasonable period after the organization begins to function. What would be a reasonable time for this purpose depends on the circumstances, but after the formation or consolidation of the labor organization, a regular election subject to Title IV may not be deferred longer than the statutory period provided for that type of organization. However, when a pre-existing labor organization changes its affiliation without substantially altering its basic structure or identity the terms of its officers may not be extended beyond the maximum period specified by the Act for the type of labor organization involved.

§ 452.15 Effect of trusteeship.

Establishment of a valid trusteeship may have the effect of suspending the operation of the election provisions of the Act. When the autonomy otherwise available to a subordinate labor organization has been suspended consistent with the provisions of Title III of the Act, officers of the organization under trusteeship may be relieved of their duties and temporary officers appointed by the trustee if necessary to assist him in carrying out the purposes for which the trusteeship was established. However, when a regular election of officers or an election for purposes of terminating the trusteeship is being held during the trusteeship, Title IV would apply.

§ 452.16 Offices which must be filled by election.

Section 401 of the Act identifies the types of labor organizations whose officers must be elected and prescribes minimum standards and procedures for the conduct of such elections. Under that section officers of national or international labor organizations (except federations of such organizations), local labor organizations, and intermediate bodies such as general committees, system boards, joint boards, joint councils, conferences, certain districts, district councils and similar organizations must be elected.[16]

[14] See § 451.6 of this chapter.

[15] However, the other provisions of the Act are applicable immediately upon such formation or merger.

§ 452.17 Officer.

Section 3(n) of the Act defines the word "officer" and it is this definition which must be used as a guide in determining what particular positions in a labor organization are to be filled in the manner prescribed in the Act. For purposes of the Act, "officer" means "any constitutional officer, any person authorized to perform the functions of president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, or other executive functions of a labor organization, and any member of its executive board or similar governing body."

§ 452.18 Constitutional officers.

A constitutional officer refers to a person holding a position identified as an officer by the constitution and bylaws of the labor organization. Thus, for example, a legislative representative of a labor organization who performs no executive functions and whose duties are confined to promoting the interests of members in legislative matters is nevertheless an officer who is required to be elected where the labor organization's constitution identifies the holder of such a position as an officer. On the other hand, legislative representatives who are required to be elected by the constitution and bylaws of a labor organization are not considered to be officers within the meaning of the Act if they are not designated as such by the constitution, are not members of any executive board or similar governing body, and do not perform executive functions. As defined in the Act, however, the term "officer" is not limited to individuals in positions identified as such or provided for in the constitution or other organic law of the labor organization.[17] The post of Honorary President, President Emeritus or Past President that is to be assumed by the retiring chief executive officer of a union would not be an officer position unless it is designated as an officer position by the union's constitution, or the holder of the position performs executive functions or serves on an executive board or similar governing body.

§ 452.19 Executive functions.

The definitional phrase "a person authorized to perform the functions of president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, or other executive functions

[16] See § 452.23 for a discussion of the frequency with which the different types of labor organizations must conduct elections of officers. See Part 451 of this chapter for the scope of the term "labor organization."

[17] Cf. NLRB v. Coca-Cola Bottling Co., 350 U.S. 264 (1956). See also, Daily Cong. Rec. 5867, Sen., Apr. 23, 1959.

of a labor organization" brings within the term "officer" any person who in fact has executive or policy-making authority or responsibility, although he may not occupy a position identified as an officer under the constitution and bylaws of the organization. Authorization to perform such functions need not be contained in any provision of the constitution or bylaws or other document but may be inferred from actual practices or conduct. On the other hand, a person is not an officer merely because he performs ministerial acts for a designated officer who alone has responsibility. The normal functions performed by business agents and shop stewards, such as soliciting memberships, presenting or negotiating employee grievances within the work place, and negotiating contracts are not "other executive functions" as that phrase is used in section 3(n) of the Act. However, a directing business representative or a business manager usually exercises such a degree of executive authority as to be considered an officer and, therefore, must be elected. The duties normally pertaining to membership on a bargaining committee do not come within the phrase "other executive functions." However, persons occupying such non-executive positions may be "officers" if they are ex officio members of the organization's executive board (or similar governing body) or if the constitution or bylaws of the union designate such positions as officers.

§ 452.20 Nature of executive functions.

(a) The functions that will bring a particular position with a title other than president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, or executive board member within the definition of "officer" cannot be precisely defined. They are the functions typically performed by officers holding these titles in current labor union practice. Decisions in each case will require a practical judgment. As a general rule, a person will be regarded as being authorized to perform the functions of president if he is the chief or principal executive officer of the labor organization. Similarly, he will be regarded as being authorized to perform the functions of treasurer if he has principal responsibility for control and management of the organization's funds and fiscal operation. A member of any group, committee, or board which is vested with broad governing or policymaking authority will be regarded as a member of an "executive board or similar governing body." The name or title that the labor organization assigns to the position is not controlling.

(b) The purpose of the election requirement of the Act is to assure that persons in positions of control in labor organizations will be responsive to the desires of the members.[18] Professional and other staff members of the labor organization who do not determine the organization's policies or carry on its executive functions and who are employed merely to implement policy decisions and managerial directives established by the governing officials of the organization are not officers and are not required to be elected.

§ 452.21 Members of executive board.

The phrase "a member of its executive board or similar governing body" refers to a member of a unit identified as an executive board or a body, whatever its title, which is vested with functions normally performed by an executive board. Members of a committee which is actually the executive board or similar governing body of the union are considered officers within the meaning of section 3 (n) of the Act even if they are not so designated by the union's constitution and bylaws. For example, members of an "Executive-Grievance Committee" which exercises real governing powers are officers under the Act. However, it should be noted that committee membership alone will not ordinarily be regarded as an indication of officer status, unless the committee or its members meet the requirements contained in section 3(n) of the Act.

§ 452.22 Delegates to a convention.

Under certain circumstances, delegates to a convention of a national or international labor organization, or to an intermediate body, must be elected by secret ballot among the members in good standing of the labor organization they represent even though such delegates are not "officers" of the organization. Such election is required by the Act[19] when the delegates are to nominate or elect officers of a national or international labor organization, or of an intermediate body. There is, of course, no requirement that delegates be elected in accordance with the provisions of Title IV if they do not nominate or elect officers, unless delegates are designated as "officers" in the union's constitution and bylaws or unless, by virtue of their position, they serve as members of the executive board or similar governing body of the union.

Subpart D—Frequency and Kinds of Elections

§ 452.23 Frequency of elections.

The Act requires that all national and international labor organizations (other than federations of such labor organizations) elect their officers not less often than every five years. Officers of intermediate bodies, such as general committees, system boards, joint boards, joint councils, conferences, and certain districts, district councils and similar organizations, must be elected at least every four years, and officers of local labor organizations not less often than every three years.

§ 452.24 Terms of office.

The prescribed maximum period of three, four, or five years is measured from the date of the last election.[20] It would not be consistent with these provisions of the Act for officers elected for the maximum terms allowable under the statute to remain in office after the expiration of their terms without a new election. Failure to hold an election for any office after the statutory period has expired constitutes a continuing violation of the Act, which may be brought to the attention of the Secretary in the form of a complaint filed in accordance with the appropriate procedure. Title IV establishes only maximum time intervals between elections for officers. Labor organizations covered by these provisions may hold elections of officers with greater frequency than the specified maximum period. For example, a local labor organization is required to hold an election of officers at least once every three years, but it must hold an election every year if its governing rules so provide. It should be noted, moreover, that the provisions of Title IV apply to all regular elections of officers in labor organizations subject to the Act. Thus, if a labor organization chooses to hold elections of officers more frequently than the statutory maximum intervals, it must observe the minimum standards set forth in Title IV for the conduct of such elections.

§ 452.25 Vacancies in office.

Title IV governs the regular periodic elections of officers in labor organizations subject to the Act. No requirements are imposed with respect to the filling by election or other method of any particular office which may become vacant between such regular elections. If, for example, a vacancy in office occurs in a local labor organization, it may be filled by appointment, by automatic succession, or by a special election which need not conform to the provisions of Title IV. The provisions of section 504 of the Act, which prohibit certain persons from holding office, are applicable to such situations. While the enforcement procedures of section 402 are not available to a member in connection with the filling of an interim vacancy, remedies may be available to an aggrieved member under section 102 of the LMRDA or under any pertinent State or local law.

§ 452.26 Elections in local labor organizations.

Local labor organizations must conduct their regular elections of officers by secret ballot among the members in good standing. All members in good standing of the local labor organization must be given an opportunity to vote directly for candidates to fill the offices that serve them. Indirect election of officers of a local labor organization would violate section 401(b) of the Act. For example, a procedure whereby the local's membership elects an executive board or some similar body by secret ballot which in turn selects (either from among its own membership or from the local's membership at large) the persons to fill specific offices would not comply with the Act.[21]

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[18] See, for example, S. Rept. 187, 86th Cong., 1st sess., p. 7.

[19] Act, sec. 401(a) and 401(d) (29 U.S.C. 481).

[20] See § 452.14 for a discussion of the selection of officers in a new or newly-merged labor organization.

[21] Wirtz v. Independent Petroleum Workers of America, 75 LRRM 2340, 63 L.C. ¶ 11,190 (N.D. Ind. 1970).

Similarly, the election of a chief steward by the shop stewards would violate the Act if the chief steward, by virtue of that position, aso serves as a member of the executive board, since members of the executive board must be elected directly by secret ballot among the members in good standing.

§ 452.27 National, international organizations, and intermediate bodies.

The officers of a national or international labor organization or of an intermediate body must be elected either directly by secret ballot among the members in good standing or indirectly by persons acting in a representative capacity who have been elected by secret ballot among all members in good standing.[22]

§ 452.28 Unopposed candidates.

An election of officers or delegates that would otherwise be required by the Act to be held by secret ballot need not be held by secret ballot when all candidates are unopposed and the following conditions are met: (1) The union provides a reasonable opportunity for nominations; (2) write-in votes are not permitted, as evidenced by provisions in the constitution and bylaws, by an official interpretation fairly placed on such documents, or by established union practice; and (3) the union complies with all other provisions of Title IV.

§ 452.29 Primary elections.

Where a union holds primary elections or similar procedures for eliminating candidates prior to the final vote in connection with regular elections subject to these provisions, the primary election or other procdeure must be conducted in accordance with the same standards required under the Act for the final election.

§ 452.30 Run-off elections.

A run-off election must meet the standards set forth in Title IV if the original election was subject to the requirements of the Act. For example, if the run-off is to be held at the same meeting as the original election, the original notice of election must have so stated and all records pertaining to the run-off must be retained.

§ 452.31 One candidate for several offices.

Where a union constitution or other validly adopted rule provides that a single elected officer will perform the functions of more than one office, a separate election need not be held for each office.

Subpart E—Candidacy for Office; Reasonable Qualifications

§ 452.32 Persons who may be candidates and hold office; secret ballot elections.

Section 401(e) provides that in any election of officers required by the Act which is held by secret ballot, every member in good standing with the exceptions explained in sections following shall be eligible to be a candidate and to hold office. This provision is applicable not only to the election of officers in local labor organizations, but also to elections of officers in national or international and intermediate labor organizations where those elections are held by secret ballot referedum among the members, and to the election of delegates to conventions at which officers will be elected.

§ 452.33 Persons who may be candidates and hold office; elections at conventions.

Where elections of national or international labor organizations or of intermediate bodies are held at a convention of delegates elected by secret ballot, protection of the right to be a candidate and to hold office is afforded by the requirement in section 401(f) that the convention be conducted in accordance with the constitution and bylaws of the labor organization insofar as they are not inconsistent with the provisions of Title IV. If members in good standing are denied the right to be candidates by the imposition of unreasonable qualifications on eligibility for office such qualifications would be inconsistent with the provisons of Title IV.

§ 452.34 Application of section 504, LMRDA.

The eligibility of members of labor organizations to be candidates and to hold office in such organizations is subject only to the provisions of section 504 (a), which bars certain individuals from holding office in labor organizations[23] and to reasonable qualifications uniformly imposed. A person who is barred from serving in union office by section 504(a) is not eligible to be a candidate. However, a labor organization may permit a person who is barred from holding union office by section 504 (a) to be a candidate for office if the section 504 disability will terminate by the customary date for the installation of officers. A labor organization may within reasonable limits adopt stricter standards than those contained in section 504(a) by extending the period of disability beyond 5 years or by barring from union office persons who have been convicted of crimes other than those specified.

§ 452.35 Qualifications for candidacy.

It is recognized that labor organizations may have a legitimate institutional interest in prescribing minimum standards for candidacy and officeholding in the organization. On the other hand, a dominant purpose of the Act is to ensure the right of members to participate fully in governing their union and to make its officers responsive to the members. A basic assumption underlying the concept of "free and democratic elections," is that voters will exercise common sense and good judgment in casting their ballots. In union elections as in political elections, the good judgment of the members in casting their votes should be the primary determinant of whether a candidate is qualified to hold office. Therefore, restrictions placed on the right of members to be candidates must be closely scrutinized to determine whether they serve union purposes of such importance, in terms of protecting the union as an institution, as to justify subordinating the right of the individual member to seek office and the interest of the membership in a free, democratic choice of leaders.

§ 452.36 Reasonableness of qualifications.

(a) The question of whether a qualification is reasonable is a matter which is not susceptible of precise definition, and will ordinarily turn on the facts in each case. However, court decisions in deciding particular cases have furnished some general guidelines. The Supreme Court in Wirtz v. Hotel, Motel and Club Employees Union, Local 6, 391 U.S. 492 at 499 (1968) held that

> Congress plainly did not intend that the authorization in section 401(e) of 'reasonable qualifications uniformly imposed' should

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[22] See § 452.119 and following for discussion of indirect elections.

[23] Section 504(a) (29 U.S.C. 504) of the Act reads: "No person who is or has been a member of the Communist Party or has been convicted of, or served any part of a prison term resulting from this conviction of, robbery, bribery, extortion, embezzlement, grand larceny, burglary, arson, violation of narcotics laws, murder, rape, assault with intent to kill, assault which inflicts grievous bodily injury, or a violation of title II or III of this Act, or conspiracy to commit any such crimes, shall serve—

(1) As an officer, director, trustee, member of any executive board or similar governing body, business agent, manager, organizer, or other employee (other than as an employee performing exclusively clerical or custodial duties) of any labor organization, or

(2) As a labor relations consultant to a person engaged in an industry or activity affecting commerce, or as an officer, director, agent, or employee (other than as an employee performing exclusively clerical or custodial duties) of any group or association of employers dealing with any labor organization,

during or for five years after the termination of his membership in the Communist Party, or for five years after such conviction or after the end of such imprisonment, unless prior to the end of such five-year period, in the case of a person so convicted or imprisoned, (A) his citizenship rights, having been revoked as a result of such conviction, have been fully restored, or (B) the Board of Parole of the United States Department of Justice determines that such person's service in any capacity referred to in clause (1) or (2) would not be contrary to the purposes of this Act. Prior to making any such determination the Board shall hold an administrative hearing and shall give notice of such proceeding by certified mail to the State, county, and Federal prosecuting officials in the jurisdiction or jurisdictions in which such person was convicted. The Board's determination in any such proceeding shall be final. No labor organization or officer thereof shall knowingly permit any person to assume or hold any office or paid position in violation of this subsection."

NOTE: The U.S. Supreme Court, on June 7, 1965, held unconstitutional as a bill of attainder the section 504 provision which imposes criminal sanctions on Communist Party members for holding union office; U.S. v. Brown, 381 U.S. 437.

be given a broad reach. The contrary is implicit in the legislative history of the section and in its wording that 'every member in good standing shall be eligible to be a candidate and to hold office * * *.' This conclusion is buttressed by other provisions of the Act which stress freedom of members to nominate candidates for office. Unduly restrictive candidacy qualifications can result in the abuses of entrenched leadership that the LMRDA was expressly enacted to curb. The check of democratic elections as a preventive measure is seriously impaired by candidacy qualifications which substantially deplete the ranks of those who might run in opposition to incumbents.

Union qualifications for office should not be based on assumptions that certain experience or qualifications are necessary. Rather it must be assumed that the labor organization members will exercise common sense and judgment in casting their ballots. "Congress' model of democratic elections was political elections in this country" (Wirtz v. Local 6, 391 U.S. at 502) and a qualification may not be required without a showing that citizens assumed to make discriminating judgments in public elections cannot be relied on to make such judgments when voting as union members.

(b) Some factors to be considered, therefore, in assessing the reasonableness of a qualification for union office are

1. The relationship of the qualification to the legitimate needs and interests of the union;
2. The relationship of the qualification to the demands of union office;
3. The impact of the qualification, in the light of the Congressional purpose of fostering the broadest possible participation in union affairs;
4. A comparison of the particular qualification with the requirements for holding office generally prescribed by other labor organizations; and
5. The degree of difficulty in meeting a qualification by union members.

§ 452.37 Types of qualifications.

Ordinarily the following types of requirements may be considered reasonable, depending on the circumstances in which they are applied and the effect of their application:

(a) *Period of prior membership.* It would ordinarily be reasonable for a local union to require a candidate to have been a member of the organization for a reasonable period of time, not exceeding two years, before the election. However, if a member is involuntarily compelled to transfer from one local to another, such a requirement would not be reasonable if he is not given credit for his prior period of membership.

(b) *Continuity of good standing.* A requirement of continuous good standing based on punctual payment of dues will be considered a reasonable qualification only if (1) it provides a reasonable grade period during which members may make up missed payments without loss of eligibility for office,[24] and (2) the period of time involved is reasonable. What are reasonable periods of time for these purposes will depend upon the circumstances. Section 401(e) of the Act provides that a member whose dues have been withheld by the employer for payment to the labor organization pursuant to his voluntary authorization provided for in a collective bargaining agreement may not be declared ineligible to vote or be a candidate for office by reason of alleged delay or default in the payment of dues. If during the period allowed for payment of dues in order to remain in good standing, a member on a dues checkoff system has no earnings from which dues can be withheld, section 401(e) does not relieve the member of the responsibility of paying his dues in order to remain in good standing.

§ 452.38 Meeting attendance requirements.

(a) It may be reasonable for a labor organization to establish a requirement of attendance at a specified number of its regular meetings during the period immediately preceding an election, in order to insure that candidates have a demonstrated interest in and familiarity with the affairs of the organization. In the past, it was ordinarily considered reasonable to require attendance at no more than 50 percent of the meetings over a period not exceeding two years. Experience has demonstrated that it is not feasible to establish arbitrary guidelines for judging the reasonableness of such a qualification. Its reasonableness must be gauged in the light of all the circumstances of the particular case, including not only the frequency of meetings, the number of meetings which must be attended and the period of time over which the requirement extends, but also such factors as the nature, availability and extent of excuse provisions, whether all or most members have the opportunity to attend meetings, and the impact of the rule, i.e., the number or percentage of members who would be rendered ineligible by its application.[25]

(b) Some guidance is furnished by court decisions which have held particular meeting attendance requirements to be unreasonable under the following circumstances: one meeting during each quarter for the three years preceding nomination, where the effect was to disqualify 99 percent of the membership (Wirtz v. Independent Workers Union of Florida, 65 LRRM 2104, 55 L.C. ¶11,857 (M.D. Fla. 1967)); 75 percent of the meetings held over a two-year period, with absence excused only for work or illness, where over 97 percent of the members were ineligible (Wirtz v. Local 153, Glass Bottle Blowers Ass'n., 244 F.Supp. 745 (W.D. Pa. 1965), order vacating decision as moot, 372 F.2d 86 (C.A. 3 1966), reversed 389 U.S. 463; decision on remand, 405 F.2d 176 (C.A. 3 1968)); Wirtz v. Local 262, Glass Bottle Blowers Ass'n., 290 F.Supp. 965 (N.D. Cal., 1968)); attendance at each of eight meetings in the two months between nomination and election, where the meetings were held at widely scattered locations within the state (Hodgson v. Local Union No. 624 A–B, International Union of Operating Engineers, 80 LRRM 3049, 68 L.C. ¶12,816 (S.D. Miss. Feb. 19, 1972)).

§ 452.39 Participation in insurance plan.

In certain circumstances, in which the duties of a particular office require supervision of an insurance plan in more than the formal sense, a union may require candidates for such office to belong to the plan.

§ 452.40 Prior office holding.

A requirement that candidates for office have some prior service in a lower office is not considered reasonable.[26]

§ 452.41 Working at the trade.

(a) It would ordinarily be reasonable for a union to require candidates to be employed at the trade or even to have been so employed for a reasonable period. In applying such a rule an unemployed member is considered to be working at the trade if he is actively seeking such employment. Such a requirement should

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[24] In Goldberg v. Amarillo General Drivers, Teamsters Local 577, 214 F. Supp. 74 (N.D. Tex. 1963), the disqualification of five nominees for union office for failure to satisfy a constitutional provision requiring candidates for office to have maintained continuous good standing for two years by paying their dues on or before the first business day of the current month, in advance, was held to be unreasonable. See also Wirtz v. Local Unions No. 9, 9–A and 9–B, International Union of Operating Engineers, 254 F. Supp. 980 (D. Colo. 1965), aff'd. 366 F. 2d 911 (CA 10 1966), vacated as moot 387 U.S. 96 (1967).

[25] Cf. Writz v. Hotel, Motel and Club Employees Union, Local 6, 391 U.S. 492, at 502: "Plainly, given the objective of Title IV, a candidacy limitation which renders 93% of union members ineligible for office can hardly claim to be a 'reasonable qualification.'"

[26] Wirtz v. Hotel, Motel and Club Employees Union, Local 6, 391 U.S. 492 at 504. The Court stated that the union, in applying such a rule, "* * * assumes that rank and file union members are unable to distinguish qualified from unqualified candidates for particular offices without a demonstration of a candidate's performance in other offices. But Congress' model of democratic elections was political elections in this Country, and they are not based on any such assumption. Rather, in those elections the assumption is that voters will exercise common sense and judgment in casting their ballots. Local 6 made no showing that citizens assumed to make discriminating judgments in public elections cannot be relied on to make such judgments when voting as union members * * *."

not be so inflexible as to disqualify those members who are familiar with the trade but who because of illness, economic conditions, or other good reasons are temporarily not working.

(b) It would be unreasonable for a union to prevent a person from continuing his membership rights on the basis of failure to meet a qualification which the union itself arbitrarily prevents the member from satisfying. If a member is willing and able to pay his union dues to maintain his good standing and his right to run for office, it would be unreasonable for the union to refuse to accept such dues merely because the person is temporarily unemployed. Where a union constitution requires applicants for membership to be actively employed in the industry served by the union, a person who becomes a member would not be considered to forfeit his membership in the union or any of the attendant rights of membership merely because he is discharged or laid off.

(c) Ordinarily members working part-time at the trade may not for that reason alone be denied the right to run for office.

(d) A labor organization may postpone the right to run for office of members enrolled in a bona fide apprenticeship program until such members complete their apprenticeship.

§ 452.42 Membership in particular branch or segment of the union.

A labor organization may not limit eligibility for office to particular branches or segments of the union where such restriction has the effect of depriving those members who are not in such branch or segment of the right to become officers of the union.[27]

§ 452.43 Representative categories.

In the case of a position which is representative of a unit defined on a geographic, craft, shift, or similar basis, a labor organization may by its constitution or bylaws limit eligibility for candidacy and for holding office to members of the represented unit. For example, a national or international labor organization may establish regional vice-presidencies and require that each vice-president be a member of his respective region. This kind of limitation would not be considered reasonable, however, if applied to general officers such as the president, vice-president, recording secretary, financial secretary, and treasurer. If eligibility of delegates to a convention which will elect general officers is limited to special categories of members, all such categories within the organization must be represented.

§ 452.44 Dual unionism.

While the Act does not prohibit a person from maintaining membership or holding office in more than one labor organization, it would be considered reasonable for a union to bar from candidacy for office persons who hold membership in a rival labor organization.

§ 452.45 Multiple officeholding.

An officer may hold more than one office in a labor organization so long as this is consistent with the constitution and bylaws of the organization.

§ 452.46 Characteristics of candidate.

Where personal characteristics have a direct bearing on fitness for office, a labor organization may establish certain restrictions on the right to be a candidate. For example, it may require a minimum age for candidacy or it may establish a compulsory retirement age for officers. A union may not, however, establish such rules if they would be inconsistent with any other Federal law. Thus, it ordinarily may not limit eligibility for office to persons of any particular race, color, religion, sex, or national origin since this would be inconsistent with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[28] A union may not require candidates for office to be registered voters and to have voted in public elections during the year preceding their nomination. Similarly, it cannot require that candidates have voted in the previous union election to be eligible. Such restrictions may not be said to be relevant to the member's fitness for office.

§ 452.47 Employer or supervisor members.

Inasmuch as it is an unfair labor practice under the Labor-Management Relations Act (LMRA) for any employer (including persons acting in that capacity) to dominate or interfere with the administration of any labor organization, it follows that employers, while they may be members, may not be candidates for office or serve as officers. Thus, while it is recognized that in some industries, particularly construction, members who become foremen, supervisors, or contractors traditionally keep their union membership as a form of job security or as a means of retaining union benefits, such persons may not be candidates for or hold office.[29] Whether a restriction on officeholding by members who are group leaders or others performing some supervisory duties is reasonable depends on the particular circumstances. For instance, if such persons might be considered "supervisors"[30] under the LMRA, their right to be candidates under the Act may be limited. Another factor in determining the reasonableness of a ban on such persons is the position (if any) of the NLRB on the status of the particular employees involved. If, for example, the NLRB has determined that certain group leaders are part of the bargaining unit, it might be unreasonable for the union to prohibit them from running for office. An overall consideration in determining whether a member may fairly be denied the right to be a candidate for union office as an employer or supervisor is whether there is a reasonable basis for assuming that the person involved would be subject to a conflict of interest in carrying out his representative duties for employees and rank and file union members.

§ 452.48 Employees of union.

A labor organization may in its Constitution and By-Laws prohibit members who are also its full-time non-elective employees from being candidates for union office, because of the potential conflict of interest arising from the employment relationship which could be detrimental to the union as an institution.

§ 452.49 Other union rules.

(a) Unions may establish such other reasonable rules as are necessary to protect the members against leaders who may have committed serious offenses against the union. For example, a union may, after appropriate proceedings, bar from office persons who have misappropriated union funds, even if such persons were never indicted and convicted in a court of law for their offenses. Of course, the union would have to provide reasonable precautions to insure that no member is made ineligible to hold office on the basis of unsupported allegations and that any rights guaranteed him by the constitution and bylaws are protected. Similarly, a union may require an elected officer to sign an affidavit averring that he is not barred from serving as an officer by the provisions of section 504 of the Act since the union and its officers may not permit a person to serve as an officer if he is so barred (see footnote 24).

(b) It would not violate the Act for a union to prohibit successive terms in office or to limit the number of years an officer may serve. Such rules are intended to encourage as many members as possible to seek positions of leadership in the organization.

§ 452.50 Disqualification as a result of disciplinary action.

Section 401(e) was not intended to limit the right of a labor organization to take disciplinary action against members guilty of misconduct. So long as such action is conducted in accordance with section 101(a)(5), a union may, for example, if its constitution and bylaws so provide, bar from office for a period of time any member who is guilty of specific

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[27] Hodgson v. Local Unions No. 18, etc., IUOE, 440 F. 2d 485 (C.A. 6), cert. den. 404 U.S. 852 (1971); Hodgson v. Local 610, Unit. Elec. Radio & Mach. Work. of Am., 342 F. Supp. 1344 (W.D. Pa. 1972).

[28] Shultz v. Local 1291, International Longshoremen's Association, 338 F. Supp. 1204 (E.D. Pa.), aff'd, 461 F.2d 1262 (C.A. 3, July 20, 1972).

[29] See Nassau and Suffolk Contractors' Association, 118 NLRB No. 19 (1957). See also Local 636, Plumbers v. NLRB, 287 F.2d 354 (C.A. D.C. 1961).

[30] Under section 2(11) of the Labor Management Relations Act, supervisors include individuals "having authority, in the interest of the employer, to hire, transfer, suspend, lay off, recall, promote, discharge, assign, reward, or discipline other employees, or responsibly to direct them, or to adjust their grievances, or effectively to recommend such action, if in connection with the foregoing the exercise of such authority is not of a merely routine or clerical nature, but requires the use of independent judgment."

acts, such as strikebreaking, detrimental to the union as an institution. However, if a union has improperly disciplined a member and barred him from candidacy, the Secretary may, in an appropriate case, treat him as a member in good standing entitled to all of the rights of members guaranteed by Title IV.

§ 452.51 Declaration of candidacy.

A union may not adopt rules which in their effect discourage or paralyze any opposition to the incumbent officers. Therefore, it would not be a reasonable qualification to require members to file a declaration of candidacy several months in advance of the nomination meeting since such a requirement would have such effect and "serves no reasonable purpose which cannot otherwise be satisfied without resort to this procedure." [31]

§ 452.52 Filing fee.

It would be unreasonable to require candidates for office to pay a filing fee because a fee limits the right of members to a reasonable opportunity to nominate the candidates of their choice and there is no objective relationship between the requirement and the ability to perform the duties of the office.

§ 452.53 Application of qualifications for office.

Qualifications for office which may seem reasonable on their face may not be proper if they are applied in an unreasonable manner or if they are not applied in a uniform way. An essential element of reasonableness is adequate advance notice to the membership of the precise terms of the requirement. A qualification which is not part of the constitution and bylaws or other duly enacted rules of the organization may not be the basis for denial of the right to run for office, unless required by Federal or State law.[32] Qualifications must be specific and objective. They must contain specific standards of eligibility by which any member can determine in advance whether or not he is qualified to be a candidate. For example, a constitutional provision which states that "a candidate shall not be eligible to run for office who intends to use his office as a cloak to effect purposes inimical to the scope and policies of the union" would not be a reasonable qualification within the meaning of section 401(e) because it is so general as to preclude a candidate from ascertaining whether he is eligible and would permit determinations of eligibility based on subjective judgments. Further, such a requirement is by its nature not capable of being uniformly imposed as required by section 401(e).

[31] Wirtz v. Local 30, IUOE, 242 F. Supp. 631 (S.D. N.Y. 1965) reversed as moot 366 F.2d 438 (C.A. 2, 1966), reh. den. 366 F.2d 438.

[32] Wirtz v. Local Union 559, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, 61 LRRM 2618, 53 L.C. ¶ 11.044 (W.D. Ky. 1966); Hodgson v. Longshoremen's Local 1655 New Orleans Dray Clerks, 79 LRRM 2893, 67 L.C. ¶ 12,466 (E.D. La. January 5, 1972).

§ 452.54 Retroactive rules.

(a) The reasonableness of applying a newly adopted restriction on candidacy retroactively depends in part upon the nature of the requirement. It would be unreasonable for a labor organization to enforce eligibility requirements which the members had no opportunity to satisfy. For example, it would not be reasonable for a union to apply a newly adopted meeting attendance requirement retroactively since members would have no opportunity to comply with such requirement prior to its effective date.[33] When such a rule is in effect the membership is entitled to advance notice of the requirements of the rule and of the means to be used in verifying attendance. It would not be unreasonable, however, for a union to adopt and enforce a rule disqualifying persons convicted of a felony from being candidates or holding office.

(b) It would not be proper for a labor organization to amend its constitution after an election to make eligible a person who had been elected but who was not eligible at the time of the election.

Subpart F—Nominations for Office

§ 452.55 Statutory provisions concerning nomination.

In elections subject to the provisions of Title IV a reasonable opportunity must be afforded for the nomination of candidates. Although the Act does not prescribe particular forms of nomination procedures, it does require that the procedures employed be reasonable and that they conform to the provisions of the labor organization's constitution and bylaws insofar as they are not inconsistent with the provisions of Title IV.

§ 452.56 Notice.

(a) To meet this requirement, the labor organization must give timely notice reasonably calculated to inform all members of the offices to be filled in the election as well as the time, place, and form for submitting nominations. Such notice should be distinguished from the notice of election, discussed in § 452.99. Notice of nominations need not necessarily be given at least 15 days before nominations are held, nor is it required to be given by mail. In an election which is to be held by secret ballot, accordingly, notice of nominations may be given in any manner reasonably calculated to reach all members in good standing and in sufficient time to permit such members to nominate the candidates of their choice, so long as it is in accordance with the provisions of the labor organization's constitution or bylaws. Mailing such notice to the last known address of each member within a reasonable time prior to the date for making nominations would satisfy this requirement. Likewise, timely publication in the union newspaper with sufficient prominence to be seen by all members would be adequate notice. The method of making nominations, whether by mail, petition, or at meetings, could affect the determination of the timeliness of the notice. The nomination notice may be combined with the election notice if the requirements of both are met. Posting of a nomination notice may satisfy the requirement of a reasonable opportunity for making nominations if such posting is reasonably calculated to inform all members in good standing in sufficient time to permit such members to nominate the candidates of their choice.

(b) The requirement of a reasonable opportunity for the nomination of candidates has been met only when the members of a labor organizations are fully informed of the proper method of making such nominations.

[33] Hodgson v. Longshoremen's Local 1655, New Orleans Dray Clerks, 79 LRRM 2893, 67 L.C. ¶12,466 (E.D. La. January 5, 1972)

§ 452.57 Procedures for nomination.

(a) Since the Act does not prescribe particular procedures for the nomination of candidates, the labor organization is free to employ any method that will provide a reasonable opportunity for making nominations. There are various methods which, if properly and fairly employed, would be considered reasonable under the Act. For example, nominations may be by petition, or from the floor at a nomination meeting.

(b) Whether a particular procedure is sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the Act is a question which will depend upon the particular facts in each case. While a particular procedure may not on its face violate the requirements of the Act, its application in a given instance may make nomination so difficult as to deny the members a reasonable opportunity to nominate.

§ 452.58 Self-nomination.

A system of self-nomination, if this is the only method for making nominations, deprives union members of a reasonable opportunity to nominate candidates and thus is inconsistent with the provisions of Title IV.[34] Self-nomination is permissible only if the members are afforded additional methods whereby they may nominate the candidates of their choice.

§ 452.59 Presence of nominee.

A requirement that members must be present at the nomination meeting in order to be nominated for office might be considered unreasonable in certain circumstances; for example, in the absence of a provision for an alternative method under which a member who is unavoidably absent from the nomination meeting may be nominated, such a restriction might be regarded as inconsistent with the requirement in section 401(e) that there be a reasonable opportunity to nominate and to be a candidate.

§ 452.60 Nominations for national, international or intermediate body office.

(a) When officers of a national or international labor organization or of an

[34] See Wirtz v. National Maritime Union of America, 399 F.2d 544 (C.A. 2 1968).

intermediate body are to be elected by secret ballot among the members of the constituent local unions, it is not unreasonable for the organization to employ a nominating procedure whereby each local may nominate only one candidate for each office. When such a procedure is employed the organization may require that each candidate be nominated by a certain number of locals before his name will appear on the ballot. The reasonableness of the number of local union nominations or endorsements required depends upon the size and dispersion of the organization.

(b) Nominations for national, international or intermediate body office by locals or other subordinate organizations differ from primary elections in that they are not subject to all the technical requirements of secret ballot elections.[26] However, where nominations are made by locals or other subordinate organizations fundamental safeguards must be observed including the right of members to vote for and support the candidates of their choice without improper interference.

§ 452.61 Elimination contests—local unions.

(a) A procedure in a local under which nominees compete in an elimination process to reduce the number of candidates in the final balloting is also part of the election process and must be conducted by secret ballot.

(b) When such an elimination process is used it would be unreasonable for some nominees, such as those selected by a nominating committee, to be exempt from the process since they would thus be given an unfair advantage over other nominees.

§ 452.62 Disqualification of candidates: procedural reasons.

A candidate who is otherwise eligible for office may not be disqualified because of the failure of a union officer to perform his duties which are beyond the candidate's control. For example, the failure of a local recording secretary to perform his duty to complete and forward a candidate's nomination certificate to the district may not be used as the basis for disqualifying the candidate.

§ 452.63 Nominations at conventions.

In elections at conventions at which nominations are also made, delegates who have been elected by secret ballot must be given ample opportunity to nominate candidates on behalf of themselves or the members they represent. A union may adopt a rule limiting access to the convention floor to delegates. However, once the candidates have been nominated, they must be accorded equal opportunity to campaign.[26] Where delegates are instructed by locals to nominate candidates, the constitution of the organization or the convention rules should provide a specific procedure for the implementation of nominating instructions issued by any local to its delegate.

§ 452.64 Write-in votes.

The Act neither requires nor prohibits write-in candidacy or write-in votes. These matters are governed by appropriate provisions of the union's constitution and bylaws, applicable resolutions, or the established practice of the union.

§ 452.65 Interval between nominations and election.

The Act specifies no time interval between nominations and election. Thus, both may be scheduled to be held at the same meeting if, during a reasonable period prior to such nomination-election meeting, every member eligible to hold office who intends to run for office is afforded the protection provided in section 401(c), including sufficient opportunity to campaign for office.

Subpart G—Campaign Safeguards

§ 452.66 Statutory provisions.

The opportunity for members to have a free, fair, and informed expression of their choices among candidates seeking union office is a prime objective of Title IV of the Act. Voters can best be assured opportunity for an informed choice if certain campaign rights are guaranteed to candidates and their supporters. To this end, the statute provides that adequate safeguards to insure a fair election shall be provided, and states certain specific safeguards. These safeguards apply not only to candidates for officer positions as defined in the Act but also to candidates for delegate posts. if the delegates are to nominate or elect officers.

§ 452.67 Distribution of campaign literature.

The Act imposes the duty on the union and its officers to comply with all reasonable requests of any candidate to distribute his campaign literature to the membership at his expense. When the organization or its officers authorize distribution of campaign literature on behalf of any candidate, similar distribution under the same conditions must be made for any other candidate, if he requests it. In order to avoid charges of disparity of treatment among candidates, it is advised that a union inform all candidates in advance of the conditions under which distribution will be made and promptly advise them of any change in those conditions.

§ 452.68 Distribution to less than full membership.

Although section 401(c) specifies distribution to "all members in good standing," a labor organization must also honor requests for distribution of literature to only a portion of the membership if such distribution is practicable. Each candidate may choose his own ways of campaigning for election according to his own ingenuity and resources. For example, some candidates for national or international union office may desire to limit distribution to delegates, but others may want to appeal directly to the membership or parts thereof in an effort to influence particular constituencies to choose delegates favorable to their candidacy.

§ 452.69 Expenses of campaign literature.

Each candidate must be treated equally with respect to the expense of such distribution. Thus, a union and its officers must honor a candidate's request for distribution where the candidate is willing and able to bear the expense of such distribution. However, should the candidate be unable to bear such expense, there is no requirement that the union distribute the literature of the candidate free of charge. In the event the union distributes any candidate's literature without charge, however, all other candidates are entitled to have their literature distributed on the same basis. Since labor organizations have an affirmative duty to comply with all reasonable requests of any candidate to distribute campaign literature (at the candidate's expense), a union rule refusing all such distributions would not be proper, even though applied in a nondiscriminatory fashion. In view of the fact that expenses of distribution are to be borne by the candidate a labor organization may not refuse to distribute campaign literature merely because it may have a small staff which cannot handle such distribution for all candidates. If this is the case, the organization may employ additional temporary staff or contract the job to a professional mailer and charge the expense incurred to the candidates for whom the service is being rendered. The organization may require candidates to tender in advance the estimated costs of distributing their literature, if such requirement is applied uniformly.

§ 452.70 Contents of literature.

The Act does not and unions may not regulate the contents of campaign literature which candidates may wish to have distributed by the union. This is left to the discretion of each candidate. The labor organization may not require that it be permitted to read a copy of the literature before it is sent out, nor may it censor the statements of the candidates in any way, even though the statement may include derogatory remarks about other candidates. Furthermore, a union's contention that mailing of certain campaign literature may constitute libel for which it may be sued has been held not to justify its refusal to distribute the literature, since the union is under a statutory duty to distribute the material.[27]

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[26] In Hodgson v. United Mine Workers of America, the Court directed that the nomination proceedings within the local unions be conducted by secret ballot and in accordance with the provisions of Title IV. [80 LRRM 3451, 68 L.C. ¶ 12,786 (D.D.C. June 15, 1972)]. This Order indicates that the use of secret ballot nominating procedures may be an appropriate remedial measure in a supervised election.

[26] See § 452.79.

[27] See Philo v. Stellato, (E.D. Mich. Civil No. 21244, May 24, 1961); Ansley v. Fulco, (Calif. Ct. of Appeal, First App. District, Div. Three, 1 Civil No. 29483, May 31, 1972).

§ 452.71 Inspection of membership lists.

(a) Each bona fide candidate for office has a right, once within 30 days prior to any election in which he is a candidate, to inspect a list containing the names and last known addresses of all members of the labor organization who are subject to a collective bargaining agreement requiring membership therein as a condition of employment. The right of inspection does not include the right to copy the list but does include the right to compare it with a personal list of members. It is the intent of the Act that such membership lists be made available for inspection at the candidates' option any time within the 30-day period. The list is not required to be maintained continuously and may be compiled immediately before each election. The form in which the list is to be maintained is not specified by the Act, Thus, a card index system may satisfy the requirements of the Act. The list may be organized alphabetically or geographically, or by local in a national or international labor organization.

(b) It is the duty of the labor organization and its officers to refrain from discrimination in favor of or against any candidate with respect to the use of lists of members. Thus, if a union permits any candidate to use such lists in any way other than the right of inspection granted by the Act, it must inform all candidates of the availability of the list for that purpose and accord the same privilege to all candidates who request it. Such privileges may include permitting inspection of the list where members are not subject to a collective bargaining agreement requiring membership as a condition of employment, inspecting the list more than once, or copying the list.

§ 452.72 Period of inspection.

The Act specifies the maximum period during which the right of inspection of membership lists is to be granted. The opportunity to inspect the lists must be granted once during the 30-day period prior to the casting of ballots in the election. Thus, where a mail ballot system is employed under which ballots are returnable as soon as received by members, the right to inspect must be accorded within the 30-day period prior to the mailing of the ballot to members. It would be an unreasonable restriction to permit inspection of lists only after the ballots have been mailed or the balloting has commenced.

§ 452.73 Use of union funds.

In the interest of fair union elections, section 401(g) of the Act places two limitations upon the use of labor organization funds derived from dues, assessments, or similar levy. These limitations are: (a) No such funds may be contributed or applied to promote the candidacy of any person in an election subject to Title IV, either in an election within the organization expending the funds or in any other labor organization; and (b) no such funds may be used for issuing statements involving candidates in the election. This section is not intended to prohibit a union from assuming the cost of distributing to the membership on an equal basis campaign literature submitted to the union by the candidates pursuant to the rights granted by section 401(c), as previously discussed, nor does it prohibit the expenditure of such funds for notices, factual statements of issues not involving candidates, and other expenses necessary for the holding of the election.

§ 452.74 Expenditures permitted.

The Act does not prohibit impartial publication of election information. Thus, it would not be improper for a union to sponsor a debate at which all candidates for a particular office are afforded equal opportunity to express their views to the membership prior to an election. Similarly, a union may issue information sheets containing biographical data on all candidates so long as all candidates are given equal opportunity to submit such data.

§ 452.75 Union newspapers.

The provisions of section 401(g) prohibit any showing of preference by a labor organization or its officers which is advanced through the use of union funds to criticize or praise any candidate. Thus, a union may neither attack a candidate in a union-financed publication nor urge the nomination or election of a candidate in a union-financed letter to the members. Any such expenditure regardless of the amount, constitutes a violation of section 401(g).[28]

§ 452.76 Campaigning by union officers.

Unless restricted by constitutional provisions to the contrary, union officers and employes retain their rights as members to participate in the affairs of the union, including campaigning activities on behalf of either faction in an election. However, such campaigning must not involve the expenditure of funds in violation of section 401(g). Accordingly, officers and employees may not campaign on time that is paid for by the union, nor use union funds, facilities, equipment, stationery, etc., to assist them in such campaigning. Campaigning incidental to regular union business would not be a violation.

§ 452.77 Permissible use of union funds.

Certain uses of union funds are considered permissible under section 401(g). For example, a court ruled that money of a subordinate union may be contributed to a committee formed to challenge the results of a national union election under Title IV when such contributions are properly authorized by the members in an effort to pursue election remedies both within and outside the union. In holding such activity to be outside the prohibitions of section 401(g), although the committee was formed by defeated candidates and their supporters, the court stated that ". . . It does not promote the candidacy of any person if an election is declared invalid by a court under Title IV's procedure despite the fact that in the rerun election the candidates may be identical. Neither the winner nor the loser of the disputed election gains votes by the setting aside of the election. Such action is not a vote-getting device but merely returns the parties to their pre-election status; it does not place any candidate into office."[29]

§ 452.78 Expenditures by employers.

(a) As an additional safeguard, section 401(g) provides that no money of an employer is to be contributed or applied to promote the candidacy of any person in an election subject to the provisions of Title IV. This includes indirect as well as direct expenditures. Thus, for example, campaigning by union stewards on company time with the approval of the employer would violate section 401(g) unless it can be shown that they are on legitimate work assignments, and that their campaign activities are only incidental to the performance of their assigned task and do not interfere with its performance. This prohibition againt the use of employer money includes any costs incurred by an employer, or anything of value contributed by an employer, in order to support the candidacy of any individual in an election. It would not, however, extend to ordinary business practices which result in conferring a benefit, such as, for example, a discount on the cost of printing campaign literature which is made available on the same terms to other customers.

(b) The prohibition against the use of employer money to support the candidacy of a person in any election subject to the provisions of Title IV is not restricted to employers who employ members of the labor organization in which the election is being conducted, or who have any business or contractual relationship with the labor organization.

§ 452.79 Opportunity to campaign.

There must be a reasonable period prior to the election during which office-seekers and their supporters may engage in the campaigning that the Act contemplates and guarantees. What is a reasonable period of time would depend upon the circumstances, including the method of nomination and the size of the union holding the election, both in terms of the number of members and the geographic area in which it operates. For example, a candidate for office in a local labor organization was improperly disqualified and then appealed to the international union which directed that his name be placed on the ballot. A complaint was considered properly filed alleging election violations because the candidate's name was restored to the

[28] Hodgson v. Liquor Salesmen's Union, Local No. 2, 334 F.Supp. 1369 (S.D. N.Y.) aff'd 449 F.2d 1344 (C.A. 2 1971); Shultz v. Local Union 6799, United Steelworkers, 426 F.2d 969 (C.A. 9 1970).

[29] Retail Clerks Union, Local 648 v. Retail Clerks International Association, 299 F.Supp. 1012, 1024 (D.D.C. 1969).

ballot two days prior to the election so that he was denied an equal opportunity to campaign. Similarly, in a mail ballot election a union's delay in the distribution of campaign literature until after the ballots have been distributed and some have been cast would not satisfy the requirement to distribute such literature in compliance with a reasonable request.[40] Such a delay would deny the candidate a reasonable opportunity to campaign prior to the election and would thus not meet the requirement for adequate safeguards to insure a fair election. Where access to the convention floor is limited exclusively to delegates at a convention at which officers are to be elected, there must, nevertheless, be equal opportunity for all nominees to campaign. Thus, if the privilege of addressing the convention is accorded to any of the nominees, it must be accorded to all nominees who request it, whether they are delegates or not.

§ 452.80 Bona fide candidates.

A person need not be formally nominated in order to be a bona fide candidate entitled to exercise the rights mentioned in § 452.67 and § 452.71.[41] Thus, any qualified member seeking to be nominated and elected at a convention would be table to take advantage of the distribution rights even before the convention meets and thus attempt to influence members to select delegates favorable to his candidacy or to persuade the delegates to support his candidacy. A union may reasonably require that a person be nominated in order to be elected, but many not prevent a member who actively seeks office and is otherwise qualified from taking advantage of the campaign safeguards in the Act in an effort to gain the support necessary to be nominated.

§ 452.81 Rights in intermediate body elections.

While the literal language in section 401(c) relating to distribution of campaign literature and to discrimination with respect to the use of membership lists would seem to apply only to national, international and local labor organizations, two United States District Courts have held that these provisions also apply to intermediate bodies.[42] The Department of Labor considers these rulings to be consistent with the intent of Congress and, therefore, has adopted this position.

§ 452.82 Reprisal for exercising rights.

A member has a right to support the candidate of his choice without being subject to penalty, discipline, or improper interference or reprisal of any kind by the labor organization conducting the election or any member thereof.

[40] Wirtz v. American Guild of Variety Artists, 267 F. Supp. 527 (S.D.N.Y. 1967).

[41] Yablonski v. United Mine Workers, 71 LRRM 2606, 60 L.C. 10,204 (D.D.C 1969).

[42] Antal v. UMW District 5, 64 LRRM 2222, 54 L.C. 11,621 (W.D. Pa. 1966); Schonfeld v. Rarback, 49 L.C. 19,039 (S.D.N.Y. 1964).

§ 452.83 Enforcement of campaign safeguards.

Certain of the safeguards of section 401(c) are enforceable at the suit of any bona fide candidate. This special statutory right to sue is limited to the distribution of campaign literature by the labor organization and the forbearance of such organization from discrimination among candidates with respect to the use of membership lists. Of course, all Title IV safeguards, including those discussed in this paragraph, are subject to enforcement as provided in section 402. It should be noted that the right of a bona fide candidate to sue in the circumstances described herein is limited to the period prior to election. After the election, the only remedy would be through a suit by the Secretary under section 402.

Subpart H—Right to Vote

§ 452.84 General.

Under the provisions of section 401 (e), every member in good standing is entitled to vote in elections required under Title IV which are to be held by secret ballot. The phrase "member in good standing" includes any person who has fulfilled the requirements for membership and who neither has withdrawn from membership nor has been expelled or suspended from membership after appropriate proceedings consistent with lawful provisions of the constitution and bylaws of the organization.[43]

§ 452.85 Reasonable qualifications on right to vote.

The basic right of members to vote in elections of the labor organization may be qualified by reasonable rules and regulations in its constitution and bylaws.[44]

§ 452.86 Vote conditioned on payment of dues.

A labor organization may condition the exercise of the right to vote upon the payment of dues, which is a basic obligation of membership. Such a rule must be applied uniformly. If a member has not paid his dues as required by the labor organization's constitution or bylaws he may not be allowed to vote. Thus, a rule which suspends a member's right to vote in an election of officers while the member is laid off and is not paying dues would not, in ordinary circumstances, be considered unreasonable, so long as it is applied in a nondiscriminatory manner. However, members must be afforded a reasonable opportunity to pay dues, including a grace period during which dues may be paid without any loss of rights. In the case where a member is laid off but desires to maintain his good standing and thus his membership rights by continuing to pay dues, it would be clearly unreasonable for the labor organization to refuse to accept his payment.

§ 452.87 Dues paid by checkoff.

A member in good standing whose dues are checked off by his employer pursuant to his voluntary authorization provided for in a collective bargaining agreement may not be disqualified from voting by reason of alleged delay or default in the payment of dues. For example, the constitution and bylaws of a labor organization call for suspension of members whose dues are three months in arrears. Dues to be paid directly by a member are two months in arrears when the union changes to a checkoff system. The member may not be denied the right to vote merely because the employer is late in submitting the checked off dues for the first month. It would not be inconsistent with the Act, however, for a union to require a new member who executes a checkoff authorization to pay one month's dues in advance on the date he becomes a member in order to be in good standing for the current month.

[43] Act, sec. 3(o).

[44] Act, sec. 101(a)(1).

§ 452.88 Resumption of good standing.

While it is permissible for a labor organization to deny the right to vote to those delinquent in paying their dues (with the exceptions noted) or to those who have been suspended or disciplined in accordance with section 101(a)(5) of the Act, a provision under which such persons are disqualified from voting for unextended period of time after payment of back dues or after reinstatement would not be considered reasonable. After a member has resumed his good-standing status, it would be unreasonable to continue to deprive him of his right to vote for a period longer than that for a new member. A new member may reasonably be required to establish a relationship with the union by remaining in good standing for a continuous period of time, e.g., 6 months or a year, before being permitted to vote in an election of officers. However, while the right to vote may be deferred within reasonable limits, a union may not create special classes of nonvoting members.

§ 452.89 Apprentices.

A labor organization may condition the right to vote upon completion of a bona fide program of apprenticeship training which is designed to produce competent tradesmen in the industry the union serves.

§ 452.90 Visiting members.

A decision about the voting rights of visiting members is properly one for resolution by the union in accordance with the organization's constitution and bylaws or applicable resolutions. For purposes of the Act, a person is ordinarily considered to be a member of the local to which he pays his dues.

§ 452.91 Voting by employers, supervisors.

Voting in union elections by employers, self-employed persons, supervisors or other persons who are considered to be part of management is not precluded by Title IV of the Act even if they are not required to maintain union membership as a condition of employment. However, as mentioned in the discussion of qualifications for candidacy (see § 452.47), such persons may not dominate or inter-

fere with the administration of any labor organization.

§ 452.92 Unemployed members.

Members who are otherwise qualified to vote may not be disqualified from voting merely because they are currently unemployed or are employed on a part-time basis in the industry served by the union, provided, of course, that such members are paying dues.

§ 452.93 Retired members.

The right of retirees to vote may be restricted to the extent provided by the constitution and bylaws of the labor organization.

§ 452.94 Reasonable opportunity to vote.

The statutory protection of the right to vote implies that there must be a reasonable opportunity to vote. Thus, there is an obligation on the labor organization to conduct its periodic election of officers in such a way as to afford all its members a reasonable opportunity to cast ballots. A union may meet this obligation in a variety of ways, depending on factors such as the distance between the members' work site or homes and the polling place, the means of transportation available, the nature of the members' occupations, and their hours of work. A reasonable opportunity to vote may require establishing multiple polling places or the use of a mail ballot referendum when the members are widely dispersed. It would also be reasonable for the time period for voting to be extended to accomodate members who might otherwise be prevented from voting due to conflicting work schedules. Shortening the voting period by a late opening of the polls would not, in itself, be improper unless the intent or practical effect of such action is to deprive members of their right to vote.

§ 452.95 Absentee ballots.

Where the union knows in advance that a substantial number or a particular segment of the members will not be able to exercise their right to vote in person, as, for example, when access to a polling place is impracticable for many members because of shipping assignments, absentee ballots or other means of voting must be made available.[45] In the event absentee ballots are necessary the organization must give its members reasonable notice of the availability of such ballots.[46]

Subpart I—Election Procedures; Rights of Members

§ 452.96 General.

The Act safeguards democratic processes by prescribing, in section 401, minimum standards for the regular periodic election of officers in labor organizations subject to its provisions. It does not, however, prescribe in detail election procedures which must be followed. Labor organizations are free to establish procedures for elections as long as they are fair to all members and are consistent with lawful provisions of the organization's constitution and bylaws and with section 401. The rights granted to members in section 401(e) refer to individuals, not labor organizations. For example, while locals may be members of an intermediate body, they are not entitled to the rights granted "members" in section 401(e).

§ 452.97 Secret ballot.

(a) A prime requisite of elections regulated by Title IV is that they be held by secret ballot among the members or in appropriate cases by representatives who themselves have been elected by secret ballot among the members. A secret ballot under the Act is "the expression by ballot, voting machine, or otherwise, but in no event by proxy, of a choice * * * cast in such a manner that the person expressing such choice cannot be identified with the choice expressed."[47] Secrecy may be assured by the use of voting machines or, if paper ballots are used, by providing voting booths, partitions, or other physical arrangements permitting privacy for the voter while he is marking his ballot. The ballot must not contain any markings which upon examination would enable one to identify it with the voter. Balloting by mail presents special problems in assuring secrecy. Although no particular method of assuring such secrecy is prescribed, secrecy may be assured by the use of a double envelope system for return of the voted ballots with the necessary voter identification appearing only on the outer envelope.

(b) Should any voters be challenged as they are casting their ballots, there should be some means of setting aside the challenged ballots until a decision regarding their validity is reached without compromising the secrecy requirement. For example, each such ballot might be placed in an envelope with the voter's name on the outside. Of course, it would be a violation of the secrecy requirement to open these envelopes and count the ballots one at a time in such a way that each vote could be identified with a voter.

(c) In a mail ballot election, a union may require members to sign the return envelope if the signatures may be used in determining eligibility. However, it would be unreasonable for a union to void an otherwise valid ballot merely because a member printed rather than signed his name if the union does not use the signatures to determine voter eligibility.

§ 452.98 Outside agencies.

There is nothing in the Act to prevent a union from employing an independent organization as its agent to handle the printing, mailing, and counting of ballots in such elections if all the standards of the Act are met.

§ 452.99 Notice of election.

Elections required by Title IV to be held by secret ballot must be preceded by a notice of election mailed to each member at his last known home address not less than fifteen days prior to the election.[48] For purposes of computing the fifteen day period, the day on which the notices are mailed is not counted whereas the day of the election is counted. For example, if the election is to be held on the 20th day of the month, the notices must be mailed no later than the 5th day. The notice must include a specification of the date, time and place of the election and of the offices to be filled, and it must be in such form as to be reasonably calculated to inform the members of the impending election. Specification of the offices to be filled would not be necessary if it is a regular, periodic election of all officers and the notice so indicates. A statement in the union bylaws that an election will be held at a certain time does not constitute the notice required by the statute. Since the Act specifies that the notice must be mailed, other means of transmission such as posting on a bulletin board or hand delivery will not satisfy the requirement. A notice of election must be sent to every member as defined in section 3(o) of the Act, not only to members who are eligible to vote in the election. Where the notice, if mailed to the last known permanent or legal residents of the member, would not be likely to reach him because of a known extended absence from that place, the statutory phrase "last known home address" may reasonably be interpreted to refer to the last known temporary address of definite duration. A single notice for both nominations and election may be used if it meets the requirements of both such notices.[49]

§ 452.100 Use of union newspaper as notice.

A labor organization may comply with the election notice requirement by publishing the notice in the organization's newspaper which is mailed to the last known home address of each member not less than fifteen days prior to the election. Where this procedure is used (a) the notice should be conspicuously placed on the front page of the newspaper, or the front page should have a conspicuous reference to the inside page where the notice appears, so that the inclusion of the election notice in a particular issue is readily apparent to each member; (b) the notice should clearly identify the particular labor organization holding the election; (c) the notice should specify the time and place of the election and the offices to be filled; and (d) a reasonable effort must be made to keep the mailing list of the publication current.

§ 452.101 Sample ballots as notice.

Sample ballots together with information as to the time and place of the

[45] Goldberg v. Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, 204 F. Supp. 844 (N.D. Cal. 1962).

[46] Wirtz v. Local Union 262, Glass Bottle Blowers Association, 290 F. Supp. 965 (N.D. Calif. 1968).

[47] Act, sec. 3(k).

[48] Act, sec. 401(e).

[49] See § 452.56 for a discussion of the requirements for notices of nomination.

election and the offices to be filled, if mailed fifteen days prior to the election, will fulfill the election notice requirements.

§ 452.102 Notice in mail ballot election.

If the election is conducted by mail and no separate notice is mailed to the members, the ballots must be mailed to the members no later than fifteen days prior to the date when they must be mailed back in order to be counted.

§ 452.103 Primary elections.

The fifteen-day election notice provision applies to a "primary election" at which nominees are chosen. Likewise, the fifteen-day election notice requirement applies to any runoff election which may be held after an inconclusive election. However, a separate notice would not be necessary if the election notice for the first election advises the members of the possibility of a runoff election and specifies such details as the time and place of such runoff election as may be necessary.

§ 452.104 Proximity of notice to election.

(a) The statutory requirement for giving fifteen days' notice of election is a minimum standard. There is no objection to giving more notice than is required by law. However, it was clearly the intent of Congress to have members notified at a time which reasonably precedes the date of the election. For example, notice in a union publication which is expected to cover elections to be held six months later would not be considered reasonable.

(b) Should a union change the date of an election from the date originally announced in the mail notice to the members, it must mail a second notice, containing the corrected date, at least fifteen days before the election.

§ 452.105 Interference or reprisal.

Title IV expressly provides for the right of a member to vote for and otherwise support the candidates of his choice without being subject to penalty, discipline, or improper interference or reprisal of any kind by the labor organization conducting the election or any officer or member thereof.[50]

§ 452.106 Preservation of records.

In every secret ballot election which is subject to the Act, the ballots and all other records pertaining to the election must be preserved for one year.[51] The responsibility for preserving the records is that of the election officials designated in the constitution and bylaws of the labor organization or, if none is so designated, its secretary. Since the Act specifies that ballots must be retained, all ballots, marked or unmarked, must be preserved. Independent certification as to the number and kind of ballots destroyed may not be substituted for preservation. In addition, ballots which have been voided, for example, because they were received late or because they were cast for an ineligible candidate, must also be preserved.

§ 452.107 Observers.

(a) Under the provisions of section 401(c), each candidate must be permitted to have an observer (1) at the polls and (2) at the counting of the ballots. This right encompasses every phase and level of the counting and tallying process, including the counting and tallying of the ballots and the totaling, recording, and reporting of tally sheets. If there is more than one polling place, the candidate may have an observer at each location. If ballots are being counted at more than one location or at more than one table at a single location, a candidate is entitled to as many observers as necessary to observe the actual counting of ballots. The observer may note the names of those voting so that the candidates may be able to ascertain whether unauthorized persons voted in the election. The observers should be placed so that they do not compromise, or give the appearance of compromising, the secrecy of the ballot. The observer is not required to be a member of the labor organization unless the union's constitution and bylaws require him to be a member. There is no prohibition on the use of alternate observers, when necessary, or on a candidate serving as his own observer. Observers do not have the right to count the ballots.

(b) The right to have an observer at the polls and at the counting of the ballots extends to all candidates for office in an election subject to Title IV, i.e., this includes elections in intermediate bodies as well as elections in locals and national and international labor organizations.

(c) In any secret ballot election which is conducted by mail, regardless of whether the ballots are returned by members to the labor organization office, to a mail box, or to an independent agency such as a firm of certified public accountants, candidates must be permitted to have an observer present at the preparation and mailing of the ballots, their receipt by the counting agency and at the opening and counting of the ballots.

(d) Paying election observers is the responsibility of the candidate they represent unless the union has a rule providing for the payment of observers. If the union does have such a rule, it must be uniformly applied to all candidates.

§ 452.108 Publication of results.

In any election which is required by the Act to be held by secret ballot, the votes cast by members of each local labor organization must be counted, and the results published, separately.[52] For example, where officers of an intermediate body are elected directly by members, the votes of each local must be tabulated and published separately. The publishing requirement is to assure that the results of the voting in each local are made known to all interested members. Thus, the presentation of the election report at a regular local membership meeting, and the entry of the report in the minutes, would normally accomplish this purpose in a local election. Such minutes would have to be available for inspection by members at reasonable times, unless copies of the report are made available. In an election that encompasses more than one local, publication may be accomplished by posting on appropriate bulletin boards, or in a union newspaper, or by any procedure which allows any member to obtain the information without unusual effort. Of course, the counting and reporting should account for all ballots cast in the election, although only valid votes will be counted in determining the successful candidates.

§ 452.109 Constitution of labor organization.

Elections must be conducted in accordance with the constitution and bylaws of the organization insofar as they are not inconsistent with the provisions of Title IV.[53]

§ 452.110 Adequate safeguards.

(a) In addition to the election safeguards discussed in this Part, the Act contains a general mandate in section 401(c), that adequate safeguards to insure a fair election shall be provided. Such safeguards are not required to be included in the union's constitution and bylaws, but they must be observed. A labor organization's wide range of discretion regarding the conduct of elections is thus circumscribed by a general rule of fairness. For example, if one candidate is permitted to have his nickname appear on the ballot, his opponent should enjoy the same privilege.

(b) A union's failure to provide voters with adequate instructions for properly casting their ballots may violate the requirement of adequate safeguards to insure a fair election.

§ 452.111 Campaigning in polling places.

There must not be any campaigning within a polling place[54] and a union may forbid any campaigning within a specified distance of a polling place.

§ 452.112 Form of ballot, slate voting.

The form of the ballot is not prescribed by the Act. Thus, a union may, if it so

[50] Act, section 401(e). In Wirtz v. Local 1752, ILA. 56 LRRM 2303, 49 L.C. ¶18,998 (S.D. Miss. 1963), the court, under its equitable jurisdiction, granted a preliminary injunction on the motion of the Secretary to enjoin a union from taking disciplinary action against a member. The member had filed a complaint with the Secretary under section 402(a) that resulted in the Secretary filing suit under 402(b).

[51] Act, section 401(e).

[52] Act, sec. 401(e). See also Senate Report 187, 86th Cong. 1st sess., p. 47; Daily Cong. Rec. p. 13682, Aug. 3, 1959, and p. A6573, July 29, 1959.

[53] Act, sec. 401(e). Under 29 CFR 402.10, a labor organization is required to make available to all members a copy of its constitution and bylaws.

[54] See Hodgson v. UMW, 344 F.Supp. 17 (D.D.C. 1972).

desires, include a proposed bylaw change or other similar proposal on a ballot along with the candidates for office so long as this is permissible under the union's constitution and bylaws. A determination as to the position of a candidate's name on the ballot may be made by the union in any reasonable manner permitted by its constitution and bylaws, consistent with the requirement of fairness and the other provisions of the Act. For example, candidates may be listed according to their affiliation with a particular slate. However, while "slate voting" is permissible, the balloting must be consistent with the right of members to vote for the candidates of their choice. Thus, there must be provision for the voter to choose among individual candidates if he does not wish to vote for an entire slate. To avoid any misunderstand in this regard, the voting instructions should specifically inform the voter that he need not vote for an entire slate.

§ 452.113 Sectional balloting.

The ballots may be prepared so that the names of candidates for positions representative of a particular area appear only on the ballots received by members living in that area.

§ 452.114 Write-in votes.

Where write-in votes are permitted in an election subject to Title IV, details of the format of the ballot are left to the discretion of the union. Ordinarily, the Secretary would become involved in such matters only in the context of an election complaint under section 402 and then only if the arrangements for write-in votes were so unreasonable that the outcome of the election may have been affected. Of course, a union may, in accordance with its constitution and bylaws or as a matter of stated policy, refuse to permit write-in votes.

§ 452.115 Distribution of ballots.

So long as secrecy of the ballot is maintained, there is no restriction on how the ballots are distributed to the voters. Any method which actually provides each eligible voter with one blank ballot would be in conformance with the law.

§ 452.116 Determining validity of ballots.

Generally, a labor organization has a right to establish reasonable rules for determining the validity of ballots cast in an election. However, where the union has no published guides for determining the validity of a voted ballot, it must count any ballot voted in such a way as to indicate fairly the intention of the voter. An entire ballot may not be voided because of a mistake made in voting for one of the offices on the ballot.

§ 452.117 Majority of votes not required for election.

A labor organization may by its constitution and bylaws provide for the election of the candidate who receives the greatest number of votes, although he does not have a majority of all the votes cast. Alternatively, it may provide that where no candidate receives a majority of all the votes cast, a run-off election be held between the two candidates having the highest vote. Similarly, a labor organization conducting an election to choose five members of an executive board may designate as elected from among all the nominees the five candidates who receive the highest vote.

§ 452.118 Local unions agents in international elections.

An international union may establish internal rules which require local or intermediate union officials to act as agents of the international in conducting designated aspects of the international referendum election of officers. The consequences of the failure to perform as directed by such officials will, of course, depend on the totality of the circumstances involved.

§ 452.119 Indirect elections.

National or international labor organizations subject to the Act have the option of electing officers either directly by secret ballot among the members in good standing or at a convention of delegates or other representatives who have been elected by secret ballot among the members. Intermediate labor organizations subject to the Act have the option of electing officers either directly by secret ballot among the members in good standing or by labor organization officers or delegates elected by secret ballot vote of the members they represent. Local unions, in contrast, do not have the option of conducting their periodic elections of officers indirectly through representatives.

§ 452.120 Officers as delegates.

Officers of labor organizations who have been elected by secret ballot vote of their respective memberships may, by virtue of their election to office, serve as delegates to conventions at which officers will be elected, if the constitution and bylaws of the labor organization so provide. In such cases it is advisable to have a statement to this effect included on the ballots. Persons who have been appointed to serve unexpired terms of officers who are ex officio delegates to a convention at which officers will be elected may not vote for officers in such election.

§ 452.121 Limitations on national or international officers serving as delegates.

While officers of national or international labor organizations or of intermediate bodies who have been elected by a vote of the delegates to a convention may serve as delegates to conventions of their respective labor organizations if the constitution and bylaws so provide, they may not vote in officer elections at such conventions unless they have also been elected as delegates by a secret ballot vote of the members they are to represent. Of course, such officers may participate in the convention, i.e., they may preside over the convention, be nominated as candidates, or act in other capacities permitted under the organization's constitution and bylaws.

§ 452.122 Delegates from intermediate bodies; method of election.

A delegate from an intermediate body who participates in the election of officers at a national or international convention must have been elected by a secret ballot vote of the individual members of the constituent units of that body. He may not participate if he was elected by the delegates who make up the intermediate body. The secret ballot election required by the Act is an election among the general membership and not an election of delegates by other delegates.

§ 452.123 Elections of intermediate body officers.

Section 401(d) states that officers of intermediate bodies shall be elected either by secret ballot among the members in good standing or by labor organization officers representative of such members who have been elected by secret ballot. The phrase "officers representative of such members" includes delegates who have been elected by secret ballot to represent labor organizations in intermediate bodies. Such delegates may therefore participate in the election of officers of intermediate bodies regardless of whether they are characterized as officers of the labor organization they represent.

§ 452.124 Delegates from units which are not labor organizations.

To the extent that units, such as committees, which do not meet the definition of a labor organization under the Act* participate in the election of officers of a national or international labor organization or an intermediate body, through delegates to the convention or otherwise, the provisions of Title IV are, nevertheless, applicable to the election of such delegates. The following example is typical in organizations of railway employees. The chairman of a local grievance committee, which is not a labor organization under the Act, is not an officer within the meaning of the Act. If such a local chairman is a delegate to the general grievance committee, which is considered to be an intermediate body under the Act, however, he must be elected by secret ballot vote of the members he represents, if he votes for officers of the general grievance committee.

§ 452.125 Delegates from labor organizations under trusteeship.

It would be unlawful under section 303(a)(1) of the Act to count the votes of delegates from a labor organization under trusteeship in any convention or election of officers of the organization imposing the trusteeship unless such delegates were chosen by secret ballot

* Act, sec. 3 (i) and (j) and Part 451 of this chapter.

vote in an election in which all the members in good standing of the subordinate organization were eligible to participate.[54]

§ 452.126 Delegates to conventions which do not elect officers.

Delegates to conventions need not be elected by secret ballot when officers of the organization are elected by a secret ballot vote of the entire membership. However, if the only method of making nominations is by delegates, then the delegates must be elected by secret ballot.

§ 452.127 Proportionate representation.

When officers of a national, international or intermediate labor organization are elected at a convention of delegates who have been chosen by secret ballot, the structure of representation of the membership is a matter for the union to determine in accordance with its constitution and bylaws. There is no indication that Congress intended, in enacting Title IV of the Act, to require representation in delegate bodies of labor organizations to reflect the proportionate number of members in each subordinate labor organization represented in such bodies. Questions of such proportionate representation are determined in accordance with the labor organization's constitution and bylaws insofar as they are not inconsistent with the election provisions of the Act. Congress did not attempt to specify the organizational structure or the system of representation which unions must adopt. However, all members must be represented; the union may not deny representation to locals below a certain size.

§ 452.128 Under-strength representation.

A local union may elect fewer delegates than it is permitted under the union constitution as long as the local is allowed to determine for itself whether or not it will send its full quota of delegates to the union convention. The delegates present from a local may cast the entire vote allotted to that local if this is permitted by the constitution and bylaws.

§ 452.129 Non-discrimination.

Further, distinctions in representational strength among or within locals may not be based on arbitrary and unreasonable factors such as race, sex, or class of membership based on type of employment.

§ 452.130 Expenses of delegates.

A local may elect two groups—one which would receive expenses while the other would be required to pay its own way, provided each member has an equal opportunity to run for the expense-paid as well as the non-expense-paid positions.

[54] Section 303(b) of the LMRDA provides criminal penalties for violation of section 303(a)(1).

§ 452.131 Casting of ballots; delegate elections.

The manner in which the votes of the representatives are cast in the convention is not subject to special limitations. For example, the voting may be by secret ballot, by show of hands, by oral roll call vote, or if only one candidate is nominated for an office, by acclamation or by a motion authorizing the convention chairman to cast a unanimous vote of the delegates present.

§ 452.132 Proxy voting.

There is no prohibition on delegates in a convention voting by proxy, if the constitution and bylaws permit.

§ 452.133 Election of delegates not members of the labor organization.

A labor organization's constitution and bylaws may authorize the election of delegates who are not members of the subordinate labor organization they represent, provided the members of the subordinate organization are also eligible to be candidates.

§ 452.134 Preservation of records.

The credentials of delegates, and all minutes and other records pertaining to the election of officers at conventions, must be preserved for one year by the officials designated in the constitution and bylaws or by the secretary if no other officer is designated. This requirement applies not only to conventions of national or international labor organizations, but also to representative bodies of intermediate labor organizations.

Subpart J—Special Enforcement Provisions

§ 452.135 Complaints of members.

(a) Any member of a labor organization may file a complaint with the Director, Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports, alleging that there have been violations of requirements of the Act concerning the election of officers, delegates, and representatives (including violations of election provisions of the organization's constitution and bylaws that are not inconsistent with the Act).[57] The complaint may not be filed until one of the two following conditions has been met: (1) The member must have exhausted the remedies available to him under the constitution and bylaws of the organization and its parent body, or (2) he must have invoked such remedies without obtaining a final decision within three calendar months after invoking them.

(b) If the member obtains an unfavorable final decision within three calendar months after invoking his available remedies, he must file his complaint within one calendar month after obtaining the decision. If he has not obtained a final decision within three calendar months, he has the option of filing his complaint or of waiting until he has exhausted the available remedies within the organization. In the latter case, if the final decision is ultimately unfavorable, he will have one month in which to file his complaint.

[57] Act, sec. 402(a).

§ 452.136 Investigation of complaint by Director, Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports and court action by the Secretary.

(a) The Director, Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports is required to investigate each complaint of a violation filed in accordance with the requirements of the Act and, if the Secretary finds probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and has not been remedied, he is directed to bring within 60 days after the complaint has been filed a civil action against the labor organization in a Federal district court. In any such action brought by the Secretary the statute provides that if, upon a preponderance of the evidence after a trial upon the merits, the court finds (1) that an election has not been held within the time prescribed by the election provisions of the Act or (2) that a violation of these provisions "may have affected the outcome of an election", the court shall declare the election, if any, to be void and direct the conduct of an election under the supervision of the Secretary, and, so far as is lawful and practicable, in conformity with the constitution and bylaws of the labor organization.

(b) Violations of the election provisions of the Act which occurred in the conduct of elections held within the prescribed time are not grounds for setting aside an election unless they "may have affected the outcome." The Secretary, therefore, will not institute court proceedings upon the basis of a complaint alleging such violations unless he finds probable cause to believe that they "may have affected the outcome of an election."

(c) Elections challenged by a member are presumed valid pending a final decision. The statute provides that until such time, the affairs of the labor organization shall be conducted by the elected officers or in such other manner as the union constitution and bylaws provide. However, after suit is filed by the Secretary the court has power to take appropriate action to preserve the labor organization's assets.

Subpart K—Dates and Scope of Application

§ 452.137 Effective dates.

(a) Section 404 states when the election provisions of the Act become applicable.[58] In the case of labor organizations whose constitution and bylaws can be lawfully modified or amended by action of the organization's "constitutional officers or governing body," the election provisions become applicable 90 days after the enactment of the statute (December 14, 1959). Where the modification of the constitution and bylaws of a local labor organization requires action by the membership at a general meeting or by referendum, the general membership would be a "governing body" within the meaning of this provision. In the cases

[58] Act, sec. 404.

where any necessary modification of the constitution and bylaws can be made only by a constitutional convention of the labor organization, the election provisions become applicable not later than the next constitutional convention after the enactment of the statute, or one year after the enactment of the statute, whichever is sooner.

(b) The statute does not require the calling of a special constitutional convention to make such modifications. However, if no convention is held within the one-year period, the executive board or similar governing body that has the power to act for the labor organization between conventions is empowered by the statute to make such interim constitutional changes as are necessary to carry out the provisions of Title IV of the Act. Any election held thereafter would have to comply with the requirements of the Act.

§ 452.138 Application of other laws.

(a) Section 403[59] provides that no labor organization shall be required by law to conduct elections of officers with greater frequency or in a different form or manner than is required by its own constitution or bylaws, except as otherwise provided by the election provisions of the Act.

(b) The remedy[60] provided in the Act for challenging an election already conducted is exclusive.[61] However, existing rights and remedies to enforce the constitutions and bylaws of such organizations before an election has been held are unaffected by the election provisions. Section 603[62] which applies to the entire Act, states that except where explicitly provided to the contrary, nothing in the Act shall take away any right or bar any remedy of any union member under other Federal law or law of any State.

This revision shall take effect on July 9, 1973.

Signed at Washington, D.C., this 27th day of June 1973.

PAUL J. FASSER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations.

[FR Doc.73-13613 Filed 7-6-73;8:45 am]

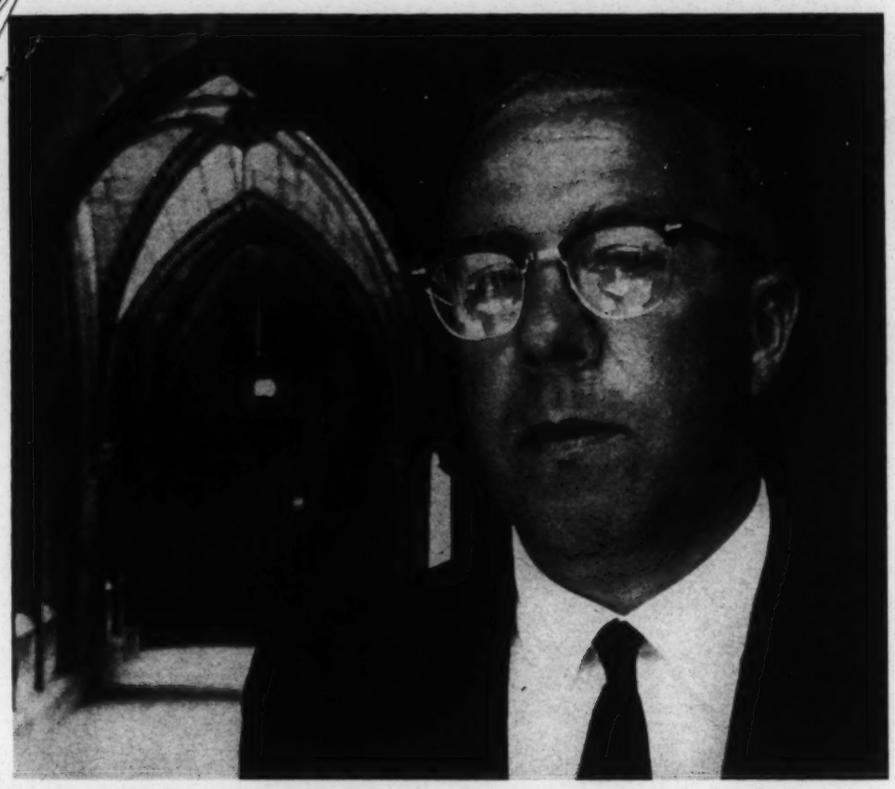
[59] Act, sec. 403.

[60] Act, sec. 402.

[61] Act, sec. 403. See Daily Cong. Rec. 86th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 9115, June 8, 1959, pp. 13017 and 13090, July 27, 1959. H.Repr. No. 741, p. 17; S.Rept. No. 187, pp. 21-22, 101, 104. Hearings, House Comm. on Education and Labor, 86th Cong., 1st sess., pt. 1, p. 1611.

[62] Act, sec. 603.

U.S. Labor Dept



George Pratt Shultz brings the general respect of union chieftains to his new post as Labor Secretary in the incoming Nixon Administration.

LABOR

New Secretary leans to a middle course

Shultz is expected to shun dramatic confrontations and drastic revisions of labor law. A strong stress on job problems of minority groups is likely

Labor policies of the incoming Nixon Administration probably will be "down the middle, with an occasional leaning toward conservatism," according to the AFL-CIO.

The feeling inside labor and elsewhere is that the White House and Cabinet will stay out of big labor disputes more than they do now; that there will be no major revision in labor law—at least for a time; and that the Administration will place considerable emphasis on manpower and minority job problems.

Guided by Dean George Pratt Shultz as Labor Secretary, Administration policies will be low-keyed and generally undramatic. And, according to members of the AFL-CIO executive council, the policies may for a time prevent serious confrontations between unions and President-elect Richard M. Nixon.

Trial balloon. This outlook, which comes out of a conference of the council in Washington this week, is in part a direct result of Nixon's appointments to key jobs in his Administration—including his selection of Shultz, a 48-year-old educator, until now little known outside academic and professional circles.

Nixon sent up a trial balloon by designating Shultz first as chairman of a task force to study manpower, labor-management relations, and wage-price policies. Unions reacted cautiously, by approving Shultz as "a knowledgeable labor economist," with a reputation for fairness. Privately, Nixon aides were told that organized labor could live comfortably with either Shultz or Under Secretary of Labor James J. Reynolds, a Democrat, as Labor Secretary.

Business interests endorsed the same two men. Shultz, who didn't expect any post in the Nixon government, got the appointment. Reynolds was asked to stay on as Under Secretary, the job in which he has served effectively as the government's fireman in the hottest national labor disputes. But Reynolds, 60, appears headed for a top trucking industry job.

'Fair and honest.' Shultz is less known and has much less flair, but like Reynolds, he has the respect of labor and management. The industrial relations vice-president of a major corporation said last week, "Shultz is as acceptable to me as to George Meany. It's one of the few things we can agree on."

Within the AFL-CIO council, P. L. (Roy) Siemiller, president of the International Assn. of Machinists and a federation vice-president, said simply, "Shultz is a fair and honest man." Ralph Helstein, vice-president and general counsel of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen, commented, "Anyone who deals with him comes out with a feeling of real respect for him. He's a man with understanding and a good deal of insight."

'A practical man.' A labor economist described Shultz as "somewhere in between" Dr. Milton Friedman, Barry Goldwater's economic adviser in 1964, and Leon H. Keyserling, former President Truman's economic mentor, and as a "sensible economist—a practical man."

The incoming Secretary of Labor has had a background in federal government as senior staff economist on former President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers in 1955-56 and as an economic adviser to the late Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell in 1959-60.

The late President Kennedy appointed him as a member of his Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy in 1961-62, and subsequently he served on manpower and unemployment commissions in Illinois in the early 1960s.

Arbitration role. He is best known to labor as an arbitrator and as co-chairman of the Armour & Co. Automation Fund, set up to study ways of easing the impact of technological change and relocation on workers in the meatpacking industry. Helstein commented this week that while he hasn't always agreed with Shultz' arbitration awards or

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automation views, he has never doubted his integrity.

As Labor Secretary, Shultz probably will get a similar reaction from labor. Unions will seriously disagree with some of his views, while seconding others. But this is not unusual: Organized labor and Democratic Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz, though comfortable friends, have had serious differences of opinion at times.

Shultz strongly supports "free and voluntary collective bargaining," and opposes too quick, too certain government intervention in disputes.

Injunction limits. As far as possible, he would bar intervention that would weaken bargaining or undermine mediation. In disputes seriously involving jeopardy to the nation's health, safety, or defense, Shultz would if possible limit strike injunctions to vital operations and let labor and management fight it out, economically, in less-vital areas.

Shultz is not among the "sledgehammer" economists who would be willing to cool down the national economy at a cost of higher unemployment. Other economists say he takes "a labor market approach," however, to many economic problems. He says, for example, "An economy in full gear not only uses resources more fully and yields higher output, but it is also a most effective way to deal with such pressing problems as poverty, discrimination, and teen-age frustration in the labor market."

Orderly growth. He joins Paul W. McCracken, Nixon's chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, in calling for continued economic expansion and growth—at a faster rate to create needed new jobs for the disadvantaged and the swelling labor force. But, like McCracken, he believes that price and wage advances must be slowed to allow for the orderly growth necessary.

On controls, Shultz says, "The U. S. experience with wage and price stabilization during the Korean conflict was hardly reassuring. The practicality of the controls and the furor and procedural entanglements entailed bring no happy memories."

But he also says, "Rank-and-file union members . . . must be persuaded that their interests are served by taking less money than they can get. Or alternatively their leaders must be persuaded to sell them on the idea that their union is acting responsibly by keeping their wage increases to a moderate level." This suggested approach would be similar to the Johnson Administration's hardly successful "jawbone approach" to bargaining.

Engineers pick IUE

International Union of Electrical Workers' victory at Western Electric plant indicates rising demand among engineers for greater professional recognition

Some 750 engineering employees at the Kearny, N. J., plant of Western Electric Co. chose the International Union of Electrical Workers as their collective bargaining agent last week. This represents the largest number of engineering personnel ever to join an AFL-CIO union as their first choice (although larger units have joined after experimenting with independent status).

Even more important, the Kearny election represents "the first big win in a decade" for IUE's Professional, Technical & Salaried Div., according to Sanford Lenz, its director. Lenz claims that almost every union involved in organizing engineers is experiencing a similar upsurge of interest after years of torpor.

Status drop. IUE won the National Labor Relations Board election at WE, 373 votes to 294 for no union, because—according to one engineer —"the pay is low and the company gives us insufficient professional recognition."

The desire for professional recognition apparently is a key to engineering unionism. The major engineers' unions—AFL-CIO and independent—are concentrated in the Northeast and the West Coast, where the aerospace and electrical industries employ large numbers of engineers.

As a result, Lenz claims, many companies have become careless about providing the amenities that bolster professional status.

"He doesn't have an office; he works out on the floor with a hundred other guys," says Lenz. "He doesn't have a secretary; he takes his clerical work to the typing pool three floors away. And he resents it."

Bigness can create other problems. At Kearny—IUE organizer Archer Cole says—many engineers felt that no one was aware of their individual performance, that management had no basis for awarding merit raises or promotions.

Touchy issue. On the other hand, professional status is a touchy issue for the unions themselves. Whether to include nonprofessional engineers in the bargaining unit divides most AFL-CIO unions from most independents: The former prefer to include them, the latter won't.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act, each group of professional engineers decides for itself whether to participate in a larger unit or to vote on an exclusively professional-engineer basis in selecting a union—or no union. At Kearny, the engineers chose to vote as part of a larger unit. An estimated two out of every three in the unit have college engineering degrees. The third is an "associate engineer"—a technician who qualified by taking engineering courses at night or worked his way up to engineering assignments by experience on the job.

Membership. Because unionized engineers are scattered among at least a half-dozen AFL-CIO unions and a host of independents, there seems to be no reliable estimate of their total number. There's no argument, however, that the largest single engineering union is the independent Scientific, Professional & Engineering Employees Assn., which bargains for 13,500 employees at Boeing Co. in Seattle.

The American Federation of Technical Engineers—which claims the "authentic" AFL-CIO jurisdiction in this field—has an estimated membership of 12,500. IUE claims 9,000 engineering members.

Impact. Employers' alleged neglect of engineers' professional aspirations is one of two major reasons for engineers' new interest in unions, according to IUE's Lenz. Like most other union officials in white-collar fields, he credits the success of the teachers' unions with exerting a powerful pro-union effect on all other professionls.

Clearly, IUE hopes its own victory among the Kearny engineers will have a similar impact.

"We are gratified that men of their professional status have voted for IUE," says District Director William Bywater. "We are confident they will make important gains. We hope —and expect—that others will follow their example." **End**

United States Labor Department – 1969

NEW TEAM of Labor Dept. officials is introduced by Pres.-Elect Nixon and incoming Labor Sec. George P. Shultz at a news conference in New York. From left: James D. Hodgson, who will be Under Sec. of Labor; Shultz; Nixon; Mrs. Elizabeth D. Koontz, designated to head the Women's Bureau; Geoffrey H. Moore, who will be Commissioner of Labor Statistics, and Arnold Weber, named Assistant Sec. of Labor for Manpower.

Pay Gains In Millinery Pact Avert Walkout

New York—A three-year contract giving millinery workers their first cost-of-living escalator clause in more than 50 years was ratified at a packed meeting of some 4,000 union members in the Hotel Diplomat here.

The workers are members of Locals 24, 42, 57 and 90 of the Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers. By rising vote they accepted contract improvements offered just short of a strike deadline.

Members of two employer associations agreed to intensify efforts to provide more jobs in the industry by a sales promotion campaign stressing "hats for every season," Joint Board Manager Nathaniel Spector and Sec.-Treas. Murray Zuckerman reported.

The employers agreed to raise

Shultz, Nixon Announce Key Labor Dept. Aides

A Lockheed Aircraft Corp. executive will serve as Under Secretary of Labor in the Nixon Administration and a close associate of incoming Labor Sec. George P. Shultz will head the department's high priority Manpower Administration.

Shultz and Nixon announced the designation of James D. Hodgson as under secretary and three other top appointments at a New York news conference.

Hodgson, 52, is a Lockheed vice president who served for six years as the company's industrial relations director and has taught industrial relations at UCLA. He had a major role in Lockheed's training programs for the disadvantaged.

Dr. Arnold R. Weber, 39-year-old industrial relations professor and research director of the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business, will be Assistant Sec. of Labor for Manpower.

Shultz is dean of the graduate

that Assistant Sec. for Intl. Affairs George L-P Weaver will stay on at least until June, when his term as head of the governing body of the Intl. Labor Organization expires.

Among top posts still to be filled are assistant secretaries for labor standards and for labor-management relations and the department's solicitor.

The appointees are all subject to Senate confirmation but approval was expected to be routine. The designation of Shultz brought widespread praise from people who have worked with him over the years—including outgoing Labor Sec. Willard Wirtz.

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The employers agreed to raise wages of piece-workers by 7 percent as of Jan. 1, 1969, plus an additional 6 percent next Jan. 1; and of week-workers by $7 and $6 a week at the same yearly intervals.

Contributions Increased

The employers agreed to raise their contributions to the health and welfare fund by one-half of 1 percent immediately, and to raise their retirement fund contributions by an additional 2 percent this year, plus another 1 percent next Jan. 1.

The cost of living formula provides an automatic increase in wages for all workers, keyed to a rise of from 2 to 4 percent in the Consumer Price Index in 1970.

The parties agreed also that those who work on a legal holiday will get 2.5 days' pay instead of the former 2 days.

Joint board officers said the increase in pension fund contributions will insure the solvency of the fund and make it possible for more than 2,000 retirees to continue receiving monthly benefits.

The union had asked for larger benefits to cushion members against higher living costs but agreed to compromise for the sake of all concerned, Spector said. Employers pay 2 percent of payroll into sales promotion fund sponsored by the Millinery Institute of America but the drive was not effective, due chiefly to the failure of retail store owners, general merchandise managers and sales personnel to cooperate in promoting the sale of women's hats, he said.

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Shultz is dean of the graduate school and the two men have collaborated on books and studies in the manpower and automation field. He was brought to Washington by Shultz to handle the problems of transition to the new Administration.

To serve as Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Shultz turned to Dr. Geoffrey H. Moore, vice president of the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York.

Moore, who will be 55 next month, is the immediate past president of the American Statistical Association. The BLS commissioner does not normally change with each Administration but the post has been vacant since the resignation of Arthur M. Ross some months ago.

The new head of the Women's Bureau will be Mrs. Elizabeth D. Koontz, 49, a Salisbury, N. C. teacher who is serving this year as president of the National Education Association.

Mrs. Koontz, who has served on state and federal advisory councils, was the first Negro named to the Nixon Administration.

Past precedent would indicate that Assistant Sec. for Intl. Affairs George L-P Weaver will stay on at least until June, when his term as head of the governing body of the Intl. Labor Organization expires.

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U.S. Lab Dept - 1969

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

JAN 18

Nixon aides back drive to get jobs for needy

By Ed Townsend

Labor correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

The incoming administration of President-Elect Richard M. Nixon will have a strong commitment to helping the nation's disadvantaged obtain jobs.

The trend in new appointments to key policymaking positions leaves no doubt of that.

Shortly after he was designated to be secretary of labor in the new government, Dean George P. Shultz of the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business placed increased employment of Negroes and other minority groups high on his "action program" for the years just ahead.

"How can the large number of black citizens and others who have not shared in the bounty of America be brought more effectively into jobs that are useful to society and that have a potential for personal and economic growth?" he asked.

Manpower specialist

Mr. Shultz is nationally known as an expert on manpower as well as in general labor fields. The President-Elect earlier had named him as a member of a task force on labor and manpower policy. Recently that group submitted its report—prepared after Mr. Shultz left the task force—for the guidance of the new administration.

Its principal recommendation was an echo of Mr. Shultz's position: The Nixon administration should adopt an omnibus program of manpower services for the nation's disadvantaged, to meet the urgent need of jobs for all who are able to work but are unemployed.

Then, within the last few days, Mr. Shultz recommended and Mr. Nixon "enthusiastically appointed" another manpower expert and fellow faculty member, Dr. Arnold R. Weber, as assistant secretary of labor for manpower.

At the same time, the President-Elect designated James D. Hodgson, a Lockheed Aircraft Company vice-president, as undersecretary of labor — placing in the Labor Department's second highest job a business executive with a compelling interest in the problems of minority employment and training programs.

Consolidation urged

Because President-Elect Nixon has instructed members of his new administration not to commit the government to any specific policy before the inauguration Jan. 20, the ideas now being expressed are unofficial—as Mr. Shultz put it, "only personal views now." But they will be important in the months to come.

The task force headed by Dr. John T. Dunlop of Harvard University and made up of 17 university economists, suggested in its 32-page report that now-scattered manpower services should be consolidated into a single comprehensive program.

It cautioned against substituting tax-incentive plans for federally assisted services for the nation's disadvantaged — warning that tax credits to businesses for hiring and training the disadvantaged "must be examined thoroughly before they are adopted," in part because "such plans would obviously reduce tax revenues. . . . Others would have to pay higher taxes or forego tax reductions that might otherwise be possible."

The task force also reported its "strong doubts about the desirability or political feasibility" of relying upon income maintenance as an alternative to training or jobs for people able to perform useful work. It said, "we strongly favor national minimum standards of income maintenance at an adequate level for all those who cannot or should not work. But we believe it is far more worthwhile to provide the able bodied with useful work."

Funds cutbacks opposed

The panel opposed cutbacks in manpower spending in the interests of curbing inflation. (Such a policy would "almost certainly" boost unemployment, particularly among unskilled and uneducated workers.) And it proposed changes in the Selective Service System and called for plans to develop and better utilize skilled and professional workers — including scholarships and loan programs to remove economic barriers to higher education.

Only part of this broad program will likely be picked up by the incoming administration, which will be fitting together pertinent ideas from different, at times divergent, sources including Nixon economists who seem to favor antiinflation steps that could boost unemployment.

Mr. Shultz' top Labor Department aide, Mr. Hodgson, helped devise several innovative education and training programs at Lockheed and also has been active in minority employment programs in California. As undersecretary of labor, he will have other primary responsibilities — but, he said in New York recently, he hopes to be able to continue to work "in every way possible" toward expanded job opportunities for minorities.

Hopes for progress

The assistant secretary of labor for manpower, Dr. Weber, hopes to "move forward with the programs under way now, within the limit of the resources" to be provided by the President and Congress. Currently, there are more than 30 different programs, most in the Labor Department or the Office of Economic Opportunity, costing as much as $2 billion a year.

Although Dr. Weber would not say so officially, it is considered almost certain that many of the programs will be consolidated, in line with task-force recommendations and President-Elect Nixon's own views on more efficient government.

Dr. Weber will say only that "stronger, more effective" programs will be better able to "promote and enhance the employment of people who are presently unemployed or underemployed," with particular emphasis on "the hard-core jobless and ghetto residents," to give them the basic education and training necessary to find and hold jobs.

WASHINGTON POST

JAN 20

Clifford Acts To Provide Jobs in Ghettos

United Press International

Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford announced yesterday that he had taken five additional steps to improve employment and welfare, and will make further suggestions in a report to be turned over to his successor.

His actions were designed to:

- Increase from $120 million to $165 million a year the total of defense contracts awarded on a preferential basis to employers hiring in ghetto areas.
- Lower from 30 to 25 per cent the ratio of employes hired from the ghetto required to get the preferenital treatment.
- Put experts at defense research centers to work solving "complex problems in such areas as urban redevelopment, mass transportation, and large-scale, low-cost housing."
- Expand a program for allowing as a legitimate cost the expenses of defense contractors who provide special training for unskilled workers in metropolitan areas.
- Assure that men rejected for military service are given job training opportunities and employment assistance.

POST-GRADUATES
(continued)

And there are still other reasons. "You've got a problem of motivation," said Andre Beaumont, managing director of the Collge Placement Service. "About 43 per cent of them (graduates of Negro colleges) are still going into teaching. The bulk of them are either fearful that the wiite world won't accept them or they have been pressured by their parents. This is still the case in the South where there is enormous pressure to go into the safe fields."

The paltry number of black graduate students in the arts and sciences—a fair share do go on for advanced degrees or certificates required for elementary or secondary school teaching—is of concern to university administrators for very practical reasons. A constant theme running through the demands of black students is the desire for more black instructiors and administrators. And there simply do not appear to be enough to go around.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

TECHNOLOGY STUDY
(continued)

which people and institutions rise and fall according to how adept they are at using the "information pools" of the "data-rich" society.

Prof. Karl W. Deutsch of Harvard sees the United States as moving from its present era of "half-technology," in which only some parts of the economy are dominated by the technology of the electronic age, to a coming age of "high technology" that will be distinguished by a much higher level of "intellectualization"—that is, a heavier, richer and more complex flow of information.

In an illustration offered by Dr. Mesthene, the mixed positive and negative aspects of technology can be seen in an aspect of the information revolution: mass communications, which has given "great benefit to education, journalism, commerce and sheer convenience."

"It has also been accomway that the appearance of social unrest, however," he went on, "and may help to explain the singular rebelliousness of a youth that can find out what the world is like from television before home and school have had the time to instill some ethical sense of what it could or should be like."

Technology has a "direct impact on values by virtue of its capacity for creating new opportunities," Dr. Mesthene observed. "By making possible what was not possible before, it offers individuals and society new options to choose from."

'Changes in Values'

The creation of new options in this way "can lead to changes in values in the same way that the appearance of new dishes on the heretofore standard menu of one's favorite restaurant can lead to changes in one's tastes and choices of food," he wrote.

Commenting on investigations by Dr. Harvey G. Cox, the Harvard divinity professor and author of "The Secular City," Dr. Mesthene wrote that technology was largely responsible for "the pluralism of belief systems that is characteristic of the modern world," and that religion must come to terms with this.

"The generation of knowledge and the use of technology are so much a part of the style and self-image of our own society that men begin to experience themselves, their power and their relationships to nature and history in terms of open possibility, hope, action and self-confidence," he continued.

"The symbolism of such traditional religious postures as subservience, fatefulness, destiny and suprarational faith begin then to seem irrelevant to our actual experience. They lose credibility, and their religious function is weakened."

As technology advances, Dr. Mesthene wrote, it usually changes the shape of society through a fairly well-defined sequence:

Medical Loss From Gains

A given technological advance enables society to achieve some previously unattainable goal. If the new opportunity is to be taken advantage of, alterations in social organization are necessary.

As a consequence, the functioning of existing social structures is interfered with. And finally, goals served by the earlier social structure become somewhat neglected.

An example cited by Dr. Mesthene was medical care, in which dramatic new lifesaving treatments and techniques force the medical profession to become more specialized and to concentrate its best efforts in a few major urban centers.

Consequently, the earlier system of general practitioners is weakened. Many persons are thereby deprived of the "medical general manager" and their everyday level of medical care suffers.

Studies by a group headed by Prof. Richard S. Rosenbloom of Harvard's Business School concluded that "existing institutions and traditional approaches are by and large incapable of coming to grips with the new problems of our cities," many of which are caused by technological change, and are "unable to realize the possibilities for resolving them that are also inherent in technology."

Dr. Mesthene offered several examples of this: failure to provice low-cost housing, increasing difficulty in controlling crime, intensified difficulties in education.

He mentioned a soon-to-be-published study by Prof. Anthony Oettinger of Harvard that says that computerized instruction — which is believed by some to make genuinely individualized learning possible for the first time—is likely to be stymied by the "institutional rigidity" of school systems.

"Human fallibility and political reality are still here to keep utopia at bay," Dr. Mesthene wrote, "and neither promises soon to yield to a quick technological fix."

He asserted that private corporations, organized for private profit, were not motivated or geared to deal with social problems, even the ones industry itself helps to create—environmental pollution, for instance.

These difficulties "are with us in large measure because it has not been anybody's explicit business to foresee and anticipate them," Dr. Mesthene wrote, and are a direct consequence of an unrestrained technological individualism much like the unrestrained economic individualism of pre-New Deal days.

The difficulties are traceable much less to "some mystical autonomy" presumed to lie in technology by such thinkers as Lewis Mumford, Jacques Ellul and Herbert Marcuse, Dr. Mesthene wrote, "and much more to the autonomy that our economic and political institutions grant to individual decision-making." He stated flatly:

"The negative effects of technology that we deplore are a measure of what this traditional freedom is beginning to cost us."

O.E.C.D.
(continued)

which probably would produce cost-price stability, would be crucial for an improvement in the American trade performance and the balance of payments.

The report was published a day after President Johnson's farewell Economic Message, in which he promised "a highly prosperous year" in 1969. The annual report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, accompanying the economic message, forecast that unemployment would remain at less than 4 per cent.

In a 55-page analysis, the O.E.C.D. economists stressed that, despite recent improvements in the balance of payments, uncertainties about future performance dictated cautious policies.

Investment Flows

The largest uncertainty was whether the recent high level of foreign investment in American securities would continue. In their particularly circumspect language, the O.E.C.D. economists wrote: "It seems most prudent to expect that this capital inflow might recede somewhat."

They did see "substantial" improvement, however, in the American trading account, provided there was no early renewal of the pressures of excess demand.

The economists urged, along with many specialists in the United States, that Presidential discretionary powers be given to adjust tax rates.

Many of the troubles of 1968 could have been avoided, they said, had the Johnson Administration been able to get enactment of the 10 per cent tax surcharge in the fall of 1967, instead of the late spring of 1968, when it was finally passed by Congress.

A document recently published by a group of independent experts appointed by the O.E.C.D. recommended that the President be given authority to make temporary variations in personal income tax rates, subject to Congressional veto.

Similar flexibility in adjusting rates has already been granted to executive branches in such countries as Belgium, Italy, Britain, West Germany and France.

Periodic Assessments

The O. E. C. D., based in Paris, provides a forum for economic consultations for 18 European nations and the United States, Canada and Japan. Its staff issues periodic assessments of the economic situations of the members.

Commenting on first-half prospects in the United States, the O. E. C. D. experts saw increased fiscal restraints reducing consumption.

Most of the motive force for the economy, the report said, would come in state and local spending, expected to expand at roughly the rate of recent years, and in residential construction, expected to benefit from "the probable gradual easing in monetary conditions."

The report noted that home-vacancy rates in the United States are lower than they have been since the mid 1950's.

On the other hand, growth in personal disposable income is expected to slip because of greater tax burdens, while business spending will probably be less buoyant than recent surveys have indicated.

The reason for this, the report said, was that periods of slowing in the growth of economic activity usually result in pronounced downward revisions in capital spending plans. Corporate cash flows also are likely to decline in the first half, the expert said, adding that "it appears likely that a moderate fall in inventory accumulation will accentuate the slowdown of final demand."

WASHINGTON POST JAN 20

Va. Official Urges Firms To Push Job Training

RICHMOND, Jan. 19 (AP)—Virginia industries must keep pace in promoting and training workers to fill new jobs if the State's labor needs are to be met, according to the State employment commissioner.

William L. Heartwell Jr. said today the current low rate of unemployment is a major deterrent to the future economic growth of the Commonwealth.

"Private industry must come to the rescue," he said, "By stressing new techniques in job simplification, in personnel counseling and skill improvement."

In his appraisal of the State labor force, Heartwell estimated a labor supply of 178,000 persons will be available to meet the demands of business and industry in Virginia during 1969.

He said enough labor would be available if employers across the State can continue "moving people into jobs at a level for which they qualify and . . . create new jobs at lower skill levels."

Heartwell said about 50,000 workers would enter the Virginia labor market for the first time during 1969. But average unemployment would remain at about 2.8 per cent, he said.

Expanded needs of Virginia industry—which reduced unemployment from 4.3 per cent in 1960—to 2.8 per cent in 1968—would increase the work force in the State by about 3 per cent in 1969, the commissioner estimated.

But the expansion would be offset this year, he said, by an unemployment increase of about 3 per cent.

U.S. Labor Dept - 1969 - Staff & Related

Week of January 20, 1969

NEW SECRETARY OF LABOR NAMES CHIEF LABOR DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS; ONE A NEGRO WOMAN EDUCATOR

WASHINGTON -- At a press conference held in New York on January 10, Secretary of Labor-designate George P. Shultz announced the names of President-elect Nixon's selections for four top Labor Department posts. All were to assume office with the new Labor Secretary when the new Administration takes over on January 20.

The four named included: for Under Secretary of Labor - James D. Hodgson, 52, a corporate vice president of the Lockheed Corporation; for Assistant Labor Secretary for Manpower - Dr. Arnold R. Weber, 39, professor of industrial relations and director of research of the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business; for Commissioner of Labor Statistics - Dr. Geoffrey H. Moore, 54, Vice President-Research for the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York City; for Director of the Women's Bureau - Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, 49, the first Negro president of the National Education Association.

Hodgson, Specialist in Labor-Management Relations

Mr. Hodgson, the new Under Secretary, has gained a reputation for his progressive and innovative contributions in Labor-management relations and in hiring and training the disadvantaged.

He started with the Lockheed Corporation in 1941 as a clerk and shifted to labor relations work in 1946 after serving as an air

(MORE)

combat intelligence officer on carriers with the U.S. Navy during World War II.

For the next 22 years, he held a series of industrial relations positions, including that of corporate director for industrial relations (1962-68) before rising to the firm's vice presidency in 1968.

A native of Dawson, Minn., he is a graduate fo the University of Minnesota, majoring in sociology and economics, and has done graduate work there and at the University of California in Los Angeles.

He has taught industrial relations at UCLA and has published articles on automation, collective bargaining and employing members of minority groups in such publications as the Harvard Business Review and the University of Michigan Quarterly.

Weber, Professor of Industrial Relations

Dr. Weber, the new Assistant Labor Secretary for Manpower, has had extensive experience in dealing with problems of manpower, technological change, and industrial relations.

A native of New York City, he has served as vice chairman of the Federal Task Force on Improving the Employment Service and as a consultant to the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy.

Dr. Weber also worked closely with Labor Secretary-des-

(MORE)

ignate George P. Shultz on the Armour Automation Fund Committee in developing and studying the effects of public and private policies and programs on the problems caused by large-scale displacement of workers.

Dr. Weber joined Chicago's Graduate School of Business in 1958 after receiving his Ph.D. in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology that year.

Before moving to Chicago, where he became a professor of industrial relations in 1964, Dr. Weber was an assistant professor of industrial relations and an economics instructor at M.I.T.

Dr. Weber, who holds a B.A. degree in economics and an M.A. degree in industrial relations from the University of Illinois, was chairman of the Research Advisory Committee of the U.S. Employment Service.

Moore, Specialist in Economics

Dr. Moore, the new Commissioner of Labor Statistics, has in recent years concentrated his research activities on measuring and forecasting business cycles.

(MORE)

A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Rutgers University with a Ph.D. in economics from Harvard University, Dr. Moore began his career as an Instructor of Agricultural economics at Rutgers in 1939. He joined the National Bureau of Economic Research, a private non-profit organization, as a staff research in 1939.

In addition to his work at the National Bureau, he has lectured on economics at both New York University and Columbia University.

The immediate past president of the American Statistical Association, and a member of the American Economics Association, Dr. Moore has published a number of papers and books on the use of statistics in interpreting and projecting short term economic trends.

Mrs. Koontz, a Negro Educator

Mrs. Koontz, named Director of the Women's Bureau, has an extensive background as an educator and has been active in efforts to improve the status of women.

From 1945 to 1968, she taught slow learners and disadvantaged children at Price Junior-Senior High School in her native Salisbury, N.C. She has also taught at Salisbury's Livingstone College and at schools in the North Carolina cities of Dunn, Landis and Winston-Salem.

In 1965-68, she was a member of the President's Advisory Council on Education of Disadvantaged Children.

(MORE)

A member of the board of directors of the Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S., she also served in 1962 as a member of the North Carolina Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.

Mrs. Koontz earned an A.B. degree in English and elementary education from Livingstone College (1938) and an M.A. degree in elementary education from Atlanta University (1941).

# # #

U. S. Labor Dept –

Labor

Nixon with Labor Dept. appointees George Shultz (center) and James Hodgson.

What Shultz inherits

New Labor Secretary, George P. Shultz, will have to cope with such unsettled issues as an antidiscrimination case, a higher minimum wage rate, new work safety standards

Labor Secretary George P. Shultz took over the reins of the Labor Dept. this week after the smoothest ride into office of all named to President Nixon's Cabinet. But he found problems waiting that will give him a quick baptism of fire.

Shultz won bipartisan praise in his confirmation hearings before the Senate Labor Committee—"No appointment has received greater acclaim," said the committee's chairman, Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.). Shultz quickly filled the department's top positions with representatives from management, labor, and the universities, all of whom won an equally favorable response.

However, the tranquility could be short-lived. Departing Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz left behind a series of unsettled issues that could test the enthusiastic backing given Shultz:

- He must face a prospect of possibly blacklisting a major government contractor for an alleged violation of federal anti-bias rules. Wirtz set Feb. 10 as the deadline for a voluntary agreement with Allen-Bradley Co. over Labor Dept. orders to institute an "affirmative action" program for hiring minorities. This is the first case to reach such a point.
- The outgoing Labor Secretary recommended a "universal" $2-an-hour minimum wage—a proposal that Wirtz said had "unanimous" support in the Labor Dept. His suggestion brought a prompt endorsement from AFL-CIO chief George Meany, as "correct and courageous," but the Council of Economic Advisers warned that it could curtail "employment opportunities."

Shultz made no comment on the Wirtz proposal, but the U. S. Chamber of Commerce noted that Shultz told a meeting several years ago that "minimum wage laws tend to decrease employment opportunities for marginal workers." The issue could cause difficulties between Shultz and federation leaders.

- Other administrative moves by Wirtz, which also fell on Shultz' desk, included a final order for new work safety standards on government contracts under the Walsh-Healey Act—a move that met strong resistance among some employer groups. This order would go into effect in mid-February.

All Specialists. Shultz has assembled a cross-section of labor-relations specialists as aides.

James D. Hodgson, Under Secretary of Labor, has been a corporate vice-president of Lockheed Aircraft Corp. and the company's chief industrial relations specialist. In that post, he has been the company's contract negotiator and an innovator in policies dealing with hiring and training of minorities.

W. J. Usery, Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Services, has been an official of the International Assn. of Machinists, based most recently at Cape Kennedy. Usery is the AFL-CIO's top representative in the Labor Dept.

Dr. Arnold Weber, new Assistant Secretary for Manpower, served with Shultz as professor of industrial relations in the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business. He takes over the department's fastest-growing division in a field that Shultz identifies as his major area of interest.

Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, director of the Women's Bureau, is the former president of the National Education Assn. She was the first Negro president of the association.

Dr. Geoffrey H. Moore, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, takes over the top statistical post in the Labor Dept. He has been a vice-president of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Guidance. While Shultz was left some problems by his Democratic predecessor, he also got some guidance in the form of extensive "transition" papers from Wirtz—detailing the activities of the Labor Dept. and its internal administration, policy, and relations with the Administration and White House. Wirtz noted, among other things, that the department "was not a full partner in policy formulation."

Shultz clearly has much the same general philosophy and interests that Wirtz had—particularly in the fields of manpower and civil rights. But there are also differences.

In testifying, Shultz was asked about the problem of fighting inflation through measures likely to mean greater unemployment. He said his emphasis would be to "try to keep unemployment going down, to get it as low as we can." But he also said that he is "fully cognizant of the inflation problem . . . and the importance of bringing that down."

Wirtz said in his final report: "This country is playing today with the dynamite notion that it will risk a little increased unemployment in order to cure inflation."

Under questioning, Shultz said he opposes intervention in disputes and would be "very careful about recommending any legislation" in dealing with strikes for fear of damaging collective bargaining. **End**

Business Week January 25, 1969

PAGINATION INCORRECT

US Labor Dept.

Week of March 3, 1969

J. NICHOLAS PEET OF OREGON
NAMED MANPOWER ADMINISTRATOR

WASHINGTON -- Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz has named the Commissioner of the Oregon Department of Employment as the U.S. Manpower Administrator.

J. Nicholas Peet, 43, of Salem, Ore., will direct the U. S. Department of Labor's policies, programs and operations involving the planning, preparation, training, placement, unemployment insurance, research, testing, and budgeting of the Federal manpower efforts.

In his new post, Mr. Peet will be the principal operating administrator for the full range of manpower programs, which include the various activities authorized by the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Federal-State system of public employment offices, apprenticeship, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Operation Mainstream, New Careers, the Work Incentive Program, Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, and other activities designed to help recruit, train, and place unemployed and underemployed workers.

Mr. Peet will report to Arnold Weber, the newly appointed Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower.

Born 43 years ago in Madison, Wis., Mr. Peet served in the U. S. Navy during World War II and was graduated from the State University of Iowa in 1949. Following graduate study at Portland State College, he embarked upon a career with the State of Oregon, serving in various administrative capacities until 1960, when he became Executive Secretary of the Board of Control, which supervises 11 health and correctional State institutions.

In 1965 Mr. Peet was appointed Commissioner, Oregon Department of Employment, which operates the State unemployment compensation and tax programs; 30 local public employment offices; and various Federal-State programs, such as those authorized under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

# # # #

U.S. Labor Dept. ~~J. Wood~~

Week of March 24, 1969 ~~from~~ EFV

SECRETARY SHULTZ STREAMLINES MANPOWER ORGANIZATIONS TO IMPROVE SERVICES

~~So now you know!~~

WASHINGTON -- Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz has announced a new organization for the Manpower Administration to improve the delivery of manpower services to the Nation.

The announcement came six weeks after the Secretary ordered a review of the organization and structure of the Manpower Administration with a view to establishing sound and effective management.

Shultz said "the study showed that a number of major changes were necessary to enhance and strengthen the total activity.

"I have approved this reorganization after consultation with various groups vitally interested in the development of effective manpower programs."

"The new organizational structure should promote more effective management, improve communications, and provide better service to the various client groups with whom we deal," he said.

The changes will become effective on March 17, in the national office and March 24 in the field.

The reorganization separates the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower from the Office of the Manpower Administrator. The Manpower Administrator will have responsibility for operational management of ongoing programs, reporting to the Assistant Secretary.

The new organization will establish a single direct line of authority from the Manpower Administrator to the eight regional offices and the Office of the Manpower Administrator for the

(MORE)

District of Columbia. The Regional Manpower Administrators and the D.C. Manpower Administrator will be responsible for administering the full range of manpower services, including the development and execution of training contracts, to meet the needs of the States, local communities and other client groups.

They will direct a consolidated staff which has been part of the field offices of the Bureau of Employment Security and the Bureau of Work-Training Programs. This decentralization of functions will improve the delivery of services in the field.

A single new component, the U.S. Training and Employment Service (USTES), will handle all employment, work-experience and training programs that are the responsibility of the Labor Department. USTES combines the major program activities of the present United States Employment Service and the Bureau of Work-Training Programs.

Secretary Shultz said that the status and the effectiveness of the U.S. Employment Service organization is enhanced by moving responsibility for this program to a higher position in the Manpower Administration.

Besides the recruitment, counseling, testing, and placement services of the USES, the new component will also administer such programs as on-the-job training under the Manpower Development and Training Act; New Careers, Operation Mainstream, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Work Incentive Programs, Apprenticeship Outreach, Concentrated Employment Programs, and Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) with the National Alliance of Businessmen.

(MORE)

The public employment service offices and the people they serve in more than 2,000 locations will be the beneficiaries of improved management of the Manpower Administration.

The Veterans Employment Service and the Farm Labor Service both will have their functions transferred to the U.S. Training and Employment Service but will maintain their current identities. The Farm Labor Service will be given expanded functions and will be called the Farm Labor and Rural Manpower Service.

The Unemployment Insurance Service is also retained intact and is elevated to a direct reporting relationship to the Manpower Administrator.

The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training is retained without modification. Its reporting responsibilities, structure, function and relationship to the field remain intact.

The entire Manpower Administration at the national level will have the support of consolidated staff units.

The plan has been discussed with Congressional leaders, the Conference of Governors, the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies, Unemployment Benefit Advisors, Inc.; Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Affairs, the Bureau of the Budget, various veterans' groups, labor organizations, employer groups and other interested groups.

# # #

AFL-CIO News 4-5-69

Five Agencies Ordered To Reshuffle Field Units

Pres. Nixon has directed five government agencies, including the Labor Dept., to set up regional field offices in the same cities as a means of coordinating government programs dealing with urban and poverty problems.

Also covered by the presidential directive are the Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare, the Dept. of Housing & Urban Development, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Small Business Administration.

The directive applies to all bureaus within the agencies and departments and calls for establishment of common regional boundaries.

An 18-month period has been allowed for the transition. Some of the regions match existing boundaries and headquarters; others will involve moving of offices and changes of jurisdiction.

When the moves are completed, the regions and their headquarters will be as follows:

Region 1, Boston — Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshir.. Rhode Island and Vermont.

Region 2, New York City—New York, New Jersey, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Region 3, Philadelphia — Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia.

Region 4, Atlanta — Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee.

Region 5, Chicago—Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin.

Region 6, Dallas-Fort Worth—Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas.

Region 7, Denver — Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming.

Region 8, San Francisco—Alaska, Arizona, California, Guam, Hawaii, Nevada, Oregon and Washington.

Smaller sub-offices are expected to be maintained in the cities which will lose regional offices as a result of the reorganization.

The reshuffling, for example will affect the Labor Dept.'s Bureau of Apprenticeship & Training which now has 10 regional offices — in Atlanta, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Kansas City, San Francisco and Seattle.

The Kansas City regional office, which not long ago moved from Denver, will move back to Denver. The Cleveland office's jurisdiction will be switched to the Chicago regional office, and Seattle's to San Francisco.

Other Labor Dept. bureaus will face comparable problems. Thus the wage-hour regional office in Birmingham will come under the Atlanta office and the Nashville region will have its jurisdiction split between two other regional headquarters.

Nixon said the reorganization is needed because "the organization of federal services has often grown up piecemeal — creating gaps in some areas, duplications in others, and general inefficiencies across the country."

He noted that two federal employes working for different agencies on poverty problems in the same neighborhood might be in different administrative regions with headquarters in widely separated cities.

Laird's team: Old faces and new

The team that Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird and Deputy Secretary David Packard picked to help run the Pentagon is neatly balanced between new faces and carryover government specialists. The old pros predominate in the toughest jobs, however.

Foster

To oversee the disbursement of $40-billion worth of contracts in 11-million separate purchasing actions annually, the Navy's procurement chief, Barry J. Shillito, was promoted to the same job at the Defense Dept. level. Shillito, one-time sales director of Hughes Aircraft Co. and executive vice-president of Houston Fearless Corp., moved into the Navy slot a year ago from the presidency of the Logistics Management Institute.

Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., remains as director of the $8-billion annual Defense Research & Engineering effort. A nuclear specialist and former director of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, Calif., Foster has held the Pentagon post since 1965. Also retained in a crucial post—that of comptroller—is Robert C. Moot, one of the government's most distinguished career employees. A longtime civil servant in the Defense Dept., Moot was elevated to administrator of the Small Business Administration under President Johnson and returned to the Pentagon as comptroller last August.

Shillito

Aside from supervising preparation of the defense budget, Moot controls the management systems that the Pentagon imposes on its contractors, as well as the cost reporting and performance measurement systems they must adhere to.

Among the remaining principal assistant secretaries, three are new to government and two are from the world of business.

Robert F. Froehlke, a former insurance executive who is the new assistant secretary for administration, is a life-long friend of Laird and chief fund-raiser for his Congressional campaigns.

In addition to his administrative control duties, Froehlke interviews all applicants for top Pentagon jobs. He is also conducting a special study of communications and intelligence operations.

Roger T. Kelley, a former vice-president of Caterpillar Tractor Co., was recruited by Packard to be assistant secretary for manpower. His most immediate projects: Legislation to reform the draft and shift it to a lottery selection system, modernizing and improving military pay, helping to draw up plans for a post-Vietnam all-volunteer Army.

Moot

The only Laird appointment that has caused any controversy is that of Dr. G. Warren Nutter, former director of the University of Virginia's Thomas Jefferson Center for Studies in Political Economy, as assistant secretary for international security affairs.

Because he was a brain-truster and speech writer for Senator Barry Goldwater's 1964 Republican presidential campaign, Nutter's appointment has caused tremors in liberal circles.

Nutter's office acts as Laird's principal adviser on all Pentagon matters to go before the National Security Council, such as arms control, Vietnam, and overseas military base negotiations. It also negotiates U. S. foreign arms sales.

Nutter, an expert on the Soviet economy, says he has always favored "meaningful negotiations" between the U. S. and Russia where there is an "understanding that there will be a quid pro quo response and a reciprocal shift in policies."

continuing to deploy the SS-9, a weapon of up to 25 megatons, with three warheads on it.

"The capability is there in the SS-9 to destroy our retaliatory force. I'm not trying to frighten people. I don't know what the Russians' intentions are. I'm talking about their capabilities. And there's a difference."

Laird expressed his concern directly to Marshal Vasili Ivanovich Chuikov, when the Soviet Defense Ministry official was in Washington for President Eisenhower's funeral. "They still won't tell me why they're going ahead with the SS-9," Laird reports. "We're not going ahead with any kind of weapon system like that."

Economic priority. As Laird tightens his command over the Pentagon, his other major concerns are becoming more evident, and cost overruns are getting priority attention. He has identified $1.8-billion in overruns so far, with the Navy's shipbuilding program—dogged by inflation and delays—accounting for about one-third of unanticipated costs.

Other major programs hit by overruns have been Lockheed's C-5A transport plane and its Cheyenne AH-56 armed helicopter, the Boeing short-range attack missile (SRAM), and the General Motors main battle tank (MBT).

Fixing blame. The overruns Laird inherits persist despite the management and contracting innovations introduced by McNamara. Generally, they are running under 100%, rather than the 300% to 700% increases experienced in the pre-McNamara days of widespread cost-plus contracting. But in dollar terms, the overruns are still huge, and Laird chiefly blames unrealistic bidding by contractors.

"Many companies are so interested in getting a bid, they don't pay much attention to price," he says. "They realize they can come in later with so many change orders they can make up deficiencies in the original bid. We've got to reduce this change business."

Laird also feels there has been too much haste in pushing weapons into production before development has been complete. "We have to spend more time on test and evaluation."

Overconfidence. Says Assistant Secretary Barry J. Shillito, the Pentagon's procurement chief: "Maybe one of our biggest problems is overoptimism. Companies compete so vigorously for contract awards they tend to be too optimistic, both technically and as regards cost. At the same time, the mili-

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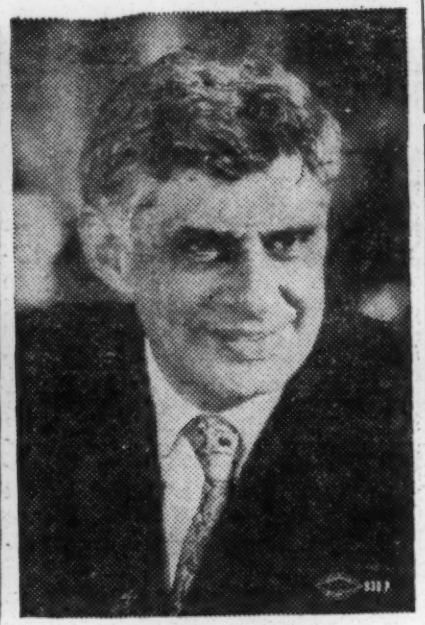
Labor News

PETER BOMMARITO

FLOYD E. SMITH



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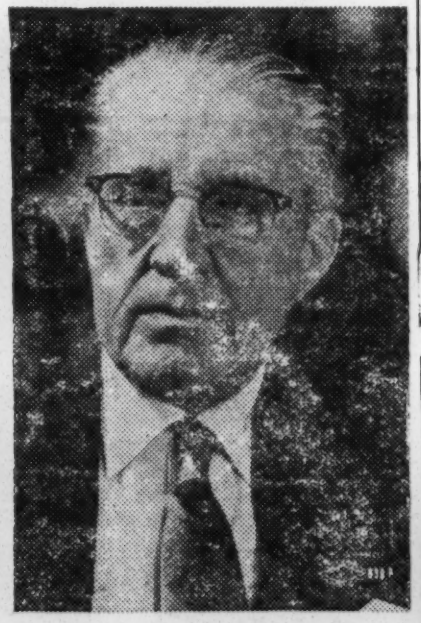

THOMAS W. GLEASON

NINE NEW VICE PRESIDENTS Elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING URGED TO EASE COLLEGE CAMPUS DISPUTES

COLLECTIVE BARGaining

WASHINGTON—Students and college administrators should use the techniques of collective bargaining to bring about needed change on the campus, AFL-CIO Education Director Walter E. Davis suggested.

Davis told a conference of student government leaders and college presidents that union members have been "turned off" by the "irrational and destructive" tactics of campus extremists.

"The fight for change" must be made "within the democratic process," Davis said at a conference sponsored by the Association of Student Governments.

He stressed that the labor movement will continue to press for improvements in higher education—both in terms of making colleges more responsive to a fast-changing society and in the expansion of higher education to make it available to all who have the capacity to absorb it without regard to ability to pay.

"Just as the system of collective bargaining has worked in the labor-management field, I think it can work when disputes arise between students and college administrators," Davis said.

A necessary first step, Davis emphasized, is to strengthen representative student organizations, such as student governments, "both in status on campus and in membership" so that the majority viewpoint on campus will be represented.

Many union members have a direct interest in what is happening in the colleges, Davis noted, because they have sacrificed and struggled to help their children get a college education. "They did not contemplate training tomorrow's revolutionaries."

Labor is also concerned, Davis said, because the "backlash" from disruption on and off the campus "has moved this country to the right" and threatens the interests of workers and the poor.

Isolation of the "hard-core revolutionaries" doesn't mean a placid campus, Davis stressed. It "does not preclude peaceful demonstrations and it won't halt all campus disruptions." But maximum use of the democratic and political process "can achieve real change faster than burning down the ghetto or closing down the university."

The AFL-CIO, he noted, favors lowering the voting age to 18 "so that young people can share in the shaping of public policy."

Davis spoke to the conference about "black studies" programs with the insight of a black trade union educator as well as an AFL-CIO spokesman.

The key, he said, is whether black studies is viewed as "an educational program or a forum for ideological indoctrination."

He asked: "Is it a means to achieve psychological identity and strength, or is it intended to provide a false and sheltered sense of security, the fragility of which would be revealed by even the slightest exposure to reality? And finally, does it offer the possibility for better racial understanding, or is it a regression to racial separatism?"

Davis urged an understanding of the "pains and pressures experienced by the black college student" including feelings of guilt over breaking away from a ghetto environment, frustration in dealing with white people and institutions, the "brutal academic competition" with students who were given a better preparation for it, all added to "the turmoil of a period of life that is trying under the best circumstances."

He told the conference that black studies programs are desirable "so long as they are not viewed as a substitute for a college career which will prepare the student for the real world—a world that offers great challenges and great opportunities."

As for the AFL-CIO, he said, it will continue to battle for greater educational opportunities for all Americans and an increased federal investment in the schooling of the American people—including higher education.

April 1, 1970

Mr. Sidney H. Kasper, Director
Office of Information
United States Labor Department
14th and Constitution Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20210

Dear Mr. Kasper:

I have received your notice that the Daily Manpower Reporter has been temporarily discontinued. I am, indeed, sorry to hear this. I have found it to be a useful service and have been impressed with both its coverage and its general sense of balance.

I hope it will be possible for the Reporter to resume publication and that it will continue a high standard of objectivity in its selection of items to be included.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/km

U.S. Dept of Labor

Week of December 7, 1970

GERALD L. PALEY APPOINTED
ASSOCIATE SOLICITOR OF LABOR

WASHINGTON -- The appointment of Gerald L. Paley as Associate Solicitor for Labor Relations and Civil Rights was recently announced by Solicitor of Labor Peter G. Nash.

As head of the Labor Relations and Civil Rights Division of the Office of the Solicitor, Mr. Paley, 31, will be responsible for the Department of Labor's legal functions in these areas.

His labor-management relations responsibilities cover a broad range of Federal statutes, programs, and activities designed to preserve industrial peace and to promote effective labor-management relations.

In the area of civil rights, he will be responsible for the Department of Labor's legal activities relating to three non-discrimination directives covering: employment by Government contractors and employment in Federally-assisted construction contracts; Title VI of the Civil Rights Act concerning Federally-assisted programs; and apprenticeship and training programs registered with the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

Since joining the Department in April 1970, Mr. Paley had been counsel for labor relations in the division he now heads.

From 1964 until April 1970, he was an associate with the Rochester, New York, law firm of Nixon, Hargrave, Devans and Doyle.

Active in the area of labor relations, Mr. Paley has been a member of the National Panel of Arbitrators of The American Arbitration Association since 1966. He is also a member of the American Bar Association and the New York State Bar Association.

A native of Albany, New York, Mr. Paley received his B.A. in history from Union College in Schnectady, New York in 1961, and his J.D. with distinction from Cornell University Law School in 1964.

While residing in Rochester, New York, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Rochester Civic Music Association and was Assistant Treasurer for the Home Care Association.

# # #

Week of January 17, 1972

U.S. Labor Department
Correction in the
Manual of Fed
Govt.

GRUNEWALD NAMED TO POST FORMERLY HELD
BY ARTHUR FLETCHER

WASHINGTON -- Assistant Secretary of Labor Richard J. Grunewald has been reassigned as Assistant Secretary for Employment Standards by Labor Secretary J. D. Hodgson. Mr. Grunewald has been Assistant Secretary for Policy, Evaluation and Research since October.

The Employment Standards post was formerly held by Arthur A. Fletcher, who resigned last September after more than two years in the position to become an alternate U.S. delegate to the United Nations.

In his new capacity, Mr. Grunewald will administer laws and regulations involving labor standards, the Federal minimum wage, equal pay, age discrimination in employment, wage garnishment, equal employment opportunity, job opportunities for women, workmen's compensation for Federal workers and longshoremen and harbor workers, and child labor.

Grunewald, 51, was vice president for administration with the Winchester Group of the Olin Corporation in New Haven, Conn., for more than six years before joining the Labor Department. He previously held several major posts with the company.

Secretary Hodgson also announced that Deputy Under Secretary Michael H. Moskow will assume Mr. Grunewald's duties as head of the Office of Policy, Evaluation and Research.

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Young Workers

The look at Lordstown

THE WORLD'S MOST MODERN auto plant at Lordstown, Ohio, has a workforce whose average age is 24 years old. They make the General Motors Vega line.

WEEKEND WRAPUP

TWO LITTLE LINES tell what's happening to the U.S. economy these days. "Payrolls in the durables sector were unchanged" during the last month. That's money in the pocket for factory workers in metal—no change on the upward size. The next line? "Dividend payments advanced $1.5 billion"—or read that as profits, way up. It's all found tucked away in the forbidding charts issued last week by the Department of Commerce's Bureau of Economic Analysis. Meanwhile the U.S. Treasury Department is reported perplexed at why certain groups are languishing in unemployment. The game plan just isn't working. The stock market perks up periodically. But millions are out of work. Life magazine last week tells about "the new poor"—a bright-faced Seattle engineer living off food stamps. Meanwhile our cities are snarled with traffic, suffocating with pollution—and Nixon is off to China to take our minds off the mess we live in. A UAW member in Orlando laments that he must earn his bread while making bombs that cut people off at the knees, while across the aisle a fellow worker is making monorail trains for Disneyland. Why, he asks, can't we all make monorails?

WE WISH HIM WELL—Mr. Nixon, that is. The China trip has a lot of Hollywood in it. Mrs. Nixon takes her hairdresser. But the juvenile hostilities between 800 million Chinese and ourselves seem about to end. Maybe Mr. Nixon is the only conservative who could pull this off, but let's not forget his kind back in the 50's got us into this entanglement. Pearl Buck, who knows China well, says the Chinese are practical and intelligent. They are, indeed. Americans have had a love/hate relationship to China; we tend to be faddish about world events. Loathing communism with a passion in one decade, softening our views in another.

JUDGE BOLDT is one of those folksy characters who seem to be engulfed by the hardnosed, calculating types who dominate so much of Washington. The Wall Street Journal told it all last week in a front page story. How Judge Boldt, the Seattle federal judge who is chairman of the Pay Board (presumably the ranking "public" member), spent a night at the New York opera with Virgil Day, the leading disciple of a rigid 5.5 percent pay standard, who is also an executive of General Electric. There was much sputtering about this all week, but to tired and cynical observers in Washington it was but the latest of oh-so-many pratfalls. UAW President Leonard Woodcock, during his National Press Club

(Continued on page 4)

PAGINATION INCORRECT

WEEKEND WRAPUP

(Continued from page 3)

speech several weeks ago, hit on a point about the Pay Board few reporters have picked up. Woodcock told how many qualified experts in collective bargaining turned down White House offers to serve as public members of the Pay Board. What Woodcock was saying is that the blame for the Pay Board's ills lies with the qualified public-types who turned down the offers to serve.

DISSENT is a chunky magazine, now issued four times a year, which sides with working people. A new issue called "The World of the Blue Collar Worker" contains 304 pages of facts about, tribulations of, and pleas for the working man and woman—done up with scholarly tidiness, but very readable. There's lots about the UAW in the magazine, which sells for $1.50, 509 Fifth Avenue, New York 10017. There's the equivalent of a $25 book in this document alone, and it covers information on wages, working conditions, life style, politics, union loyalties, and outlook of working people far too long neglected by scholars. Nice thing about it, it's easy reading.

DON ELLINGER was one of those invisible toilers in the union vineyard who don't get much notice, but who give the labor movement a sense of mission. He came to Washington in those exciting days when John F. Kennedy was adding lustre to national politics. He came from the same yeasty Texas life that produced Ronnie Dugger, Willie Morris, Larry King, Bob Eckhardt, and host of others. He chose to live in Washington in a racially-integrated neighborhood and his kids all went to the public schools. If enough Ellingers had been around, Washington wouldn't seem so much like South Africa as it does. Last week Don Ellinger, the political director of the International Association of Machinists, dropped dead—and working people in this land lost a believer and a doer. It was no accident that Ethel Kennedy and Ralph Yarborough came to the funeral; those nine kids of his have a right to be proud.

THE NEW DEMOCRAT is a fascinating publication put out by some young left-leaning Democrats. A recent article on the tax bill says the final result "went a long way toward gutting the corporate income tax. . . . The bill results in a major shift from taxes on profits to taxes on wages. The 'peace dividend'—and much more—is handed over to the corporations." It's written by Paul Offner, legislative aide to Sen. Gaylord Nelson, who gamely tried to hold the corporations at bay. Now we're getting a "value added tax"—the national sales tax, to make up for the tax take given away to the corporations.

A FIVE PERCENT "value-added tax"—notes the AFL-CIO, would cost the average American family of four about $200 per year. Such a tax would be the same as cutting the personal exemption from $750 down to $500 per person—or a net family loss of $1,000 in personal exemptions. It's what you can do with mirrors in Washington. Give a few pennies here, take back a lot of dollars out of the back pockets when nobody is looking.

IF YOU WANT to dig into the legislative history of the job safety and health law, the UAW's basic book "Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970—Law and Explanation" is a real bargain for $2.50 a copy from the UAW Supply Department, 800 E. Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48214. Besides the full text of the law, the booklet contains important sections from House, Senate, and conference reports which explain the meaning and purpose of the law. Also the UAW's administrative letter, detailing the union policy on implementation of the law is inserted. A paste-in with the law's worker bill of rights referring to pages in the book is available.

THAT BOOK by Dr. Alice Hamilton called "Exploring the Dangerous Trades" is out of print, but a new edition is in the works. This remarkable woman died at the age of 101 only a few weeks before the federal safety and health act was approved. She was the founder of the occupational health movement in this country, was born in Fort Wayne, went to medical school in Ann Arbor, and got her start in life working with Jane Addams at Hull House in Chicago. She was a socialist and a pacifist. Dr. Harriet Hardy at Massachusetts Institute of Technology—the nation's leading expert of berrillym—was one of Dr. Hamilton's students and is attempting to have the Hamilton book updated.

FANTASTIC POSTSCRIPT—Another publication has hit the dust, and behind it lies a story which tells a lot. One of Washington's biggest reference services put out a $5,000 a year study on occupational safety and health—at the urging of industrial medicine, read "company doctors." But when the enforcement of the law started to fizzle and stumble along half-heartedly, the whole thing was called off. Many business types thought the law was going to amount to something and they were girding for a confrontation—but as the year rolled along, the law has turned out to be a paper tiger.

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department
Leonard Woodcock, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Franklin Wallick, *Managing Editor*
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW
UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

The look at Lordstown

NEWSPAPER

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Keep this sheet for reference

U.S. Dept of Labor

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
RESOURCES FOR UNION EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, 1959, as Amended
Labor-Management Relations in the Federal Service Executive Order 11491, 1971, as Amended
Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act, 1959, as Amended
Veterans' Reemployment Rights

For materials and speakers on laws principally administered by LABOR-MANAGEMENT SERVICES ADMINISTRATION contact the Assistant Regional Administrator for Technical Assistance at the locations listed:

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Philadelphia, Pa. 19107
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Atlanta, Georgia 30309
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Division of Technical Assistance
Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports
LABOR-MANAGEMENT SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
8701 Georgia Avenue, Room 704
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910
Tel. (301) 495-4235

Feb. 1972

U.S. Labor Dept

Week of March 6, 1972

GEORGE L. HOLLAND NAMED TO MAJOR
LABOR DEPARTMENT EEO POST

Resigned in June
See M.I.S.

WASHINGTON -- George L. Holland, a long-time Federal career official has been named by Secretary of Labor J. D. Hodgson to be a Deputy Assistant Secretary and Director of the Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

Mr. Holland replaces John L. Wilks, who has been named by Secretary Hodgson to be Coordinator for Minority Affairs. In his new position, Mr. Wilks will have primary responsibility for liaison with the White House on all anti-discrimination efforts and minority affairs.

Wilks

In his new position, Mr. Holland will be responsible to Assistant Secretary Grunewald for carrying out provisions of Executive Order 11246. This Presidential directive prohibits discrimination in Federally-involved contract work on the basis of race, color, religion, sex and national origin and requires contractors to take affirmative action to insure equal opportunity.

In announcing the appointment, Secretary Hodgson said that Mr. Holland "brings to this important task an exceptional background of experience and expertise in administering government anti-discrimination programs. He has a proven ability to deal successfully with persons and groups of diverse views in making these programs work. I am pleased that he has agreed to help us in this vital undertaking."

Mr. Holland began his government career in the Veteran's Administration in 1945 after serving two years in the U.S. Army as an infantry officer. He served in positions of increasing responsibility with VA until 1955 when he left his position as Assistant to the Administrator for Racial Relations to accept an appointment with the International Cooperation Administration as a program advisor in Taipei, Taiwan.

He returned to the Veteran's Administration in 1956 and held several administrative positions before being appointed director of VA's Washington, D.C. regional office in 1963.

In 1965, Mr. Holland was named Director of Compliance for the newly created Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, where he gained extensive experience as EEOC's principal compliance advisor. In 1966, he returned to VA and was appointed Director

(MORE)

of the VA Compliance Service in 1969, with responsibility for VA Contract Compliance activities under Executive Order 11246. He also served at the same time as civil rights advisor to the VA Administrator. He continued in this position until 1971 when he left the Federal service to work as a business consultant.

Mr. Holland was honored twice by the VA with Exceptional Service Awards, once in 1965 and in 1971. Also, in 1971 the VA presented him with its Distinguished Career Award.

He is a member of the NAACP and the Urban League, and served as a member of the Boards of the St. Paul, Minn., branches of both organizations while he was Assistant Manager of the VA center in that city during the late 1950's and early 60's.

Currently a resident of New Orleans, La., Mr. Holland and his wife, the former Cora Kaufman of New Orleans, plan to relocate to the Washington area.

# # #

U.S. Dept of Labor — Administration

UCAW Union News 3/72

MANAGEMENT TAKES OVER

List of Labor Department Policymakers Reads Like 'Who's Who in Business'

By HARRY CONN

The U.S. Department of Labor, created in 1913 to protect the interests of working people, has rarely been under as much fire for being pro-business and pro-management as it is today.

A survey of the key policymakers of the Department provides a logical explanation: it reads like a "Who's Who in Business."

Almost all of the top Department officials come from Big Business, only a handful are career government officials and those with trade union background are almost singular exceptions.

Sec. of Labor **James Day Hodgson** came to Washington to join the Nixon Administration with a background of 28 years as an executive of the Lockheed Corp. He was vice-president in charge of industrial relations at the time he was named Undersecretary of Labor by President Nixon.

Hodgson reached right into Lockheed for one of his top assistants. Prior to joining the Department in 1970, **William H. Schmidt, Jr.,** served as corporate information director for Lockheed.

E. Carl Uehlein, executive assistant to Hodgson, was with a Massachusetts law firm where he specialized in labor law, largely with management clients.

The Special Assistant to the Secretary for Legislative Affairs, **Frederick L. Webber,** held a legislative liaison post with the National Forest Products Assn., the trade organization of the lumber industry.

Under-secretary of Labor **Laurence H. Silberman** practiced law in Honolulu, specializing in labor law. He won his corporate credentials since his practice was heavily weighted toward management and business.

Silberman's executive assistant, **Richard J. Wise,** was assistant director of industrial relations for the John Hancock Life Insurance Co. with offices in Boston.

The line-up of Assistant Secretaries of Labor could reasonably be expected to hold posts with the Department of Commerce. But Labor? The only exception is **W. J. Usery, Jr.,** Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations, who was Grand Lodge Representative of the International Association of Machinists.

Frank G. Zarb, Assistant Secretary for Administration, has a background of investment banking houses including CBWL-Hayden, Stone, Inc., where he was executive vice-president; Cogan, Berlind, Weill & Levitt, Inc., as senior vice-president, and with Goodbody & Co. For five years he was with the industrial relations department of Cities Service Oil Co.

Assistant Secretary for Occupational Safety and Health George C. Guenther was president of the John H. Guenther Hosiery Co., in Reading, Pa., where he was successful in keeping the American Federation of Hosiery Workers from organizing his employees.

Malcolm Lovell, Assistant Secretary for Manpower, lists among his credentials 12 years in management capacities with the Ford Motor Co., and manager of employee services for American Motors Corp.

Hodgson recently re-assigned Assistant Secretary **Richard J. Grunewald** to head Employment Standards. He served from 1956 to 1971 with the Olin Corp. in New Haven, Conn., the last six years as vice-president for administration.

Former Assistant Secretary **Jerome M. Rosow** was with Standard Oil of New Jersey for 16 years prior to being named to head policy, evaluation and research. He recently returned to Standard Oil.

One of the most important posts in the Department is that of Solicitor. It is currently being filled by **Richard F. Schubert.** He joined Bethlehem Steel Corp., in 1961, was promoted to assistant manager of labor relations in 1966, where he served until he joined the Nixon Administration.

Donald M. Irwin, who was Deputy Under-secretary for International Affairs until his recent appointment as Chicago regional director for the Department, held top offices with Chrysler, Deere & Co., and Hawaiian Airlines.

John Wilks, director of the Office of Contract Compliance, operated his own public relations firm in the San Francisco-Oakland area where he had such clients as Standard Oil of California, Chrysler, Safeway Stores and F. W. Woolworth.

John L. Blake, director of the Job Corps, came to the Department from his post as assistant secretary for the Marine Midland Trust Company of Rochester, N.Y.

In addition to Usery, only two other higher Labor Department officials have trade union backgrounds: Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower **Paul J. Fasser, Jr.,** from the Steelworkers, and Assistant Manpower Administrator **Robert J. Brown,** who held posts with the United Auto Workers and the Minnesota CIO in 1952-53.

These are the men who determine policy for the Department of Labor, which was created "to advance the public interest by promoting the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, improving their working conditions, and advancing their opportunities for profitable employment."

If the Labor Department officials view this function from the management side of the bargaining table, it's understandable.

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Return to BV

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

OCT 26

October 17, 1972

In accordance with the request of Mr. Don Slaiman, Director of the Civil Rights Staff of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, to Dr. Howard Rosen, Director of the Office of Research and Development, Manpower Administration, Department of Labor, the enclosed copy - "The Pre-Retirement Years, Volume 3" - is being sent to you.

This Report is unique in that we have been following the same persons for three years. When the survey was started in 1966, these men were 45 to 59 years old. New information on pension coverage, collective bargaining and health conditions has surfaced in this volume, the third of a series on the results of a longitudinal survey of the labor market experience of these men. The study shows:

1. More of the black than white men (48 versus 38 percent) were in jobs covered by collective bargaining agreements - blacks were concentrated in blue-collar jobs where unions predominate. The organized workers benefited more by almost every measure - tenure, pay, pension coverage - than the unorganized, especially the black men. Among nonunionized operatives, whites earned 27 percent more an hour than blacks, whereas among unionized operatives, the differential was only 11 percent.

2. In respect to voluntarily changing jobs, the rate of black and white men were similar (10 percent black - 11 percent white). However, among those with less than five years service in a company in 1966, the rate of job changing was more than double the overall average. For those in this group who had pension rights, the blacks were far less likely to change employers than whites. The whites seemed to get "locked-in" later than blacks - after 10 years' service rather than five years service.

3. Not many had left the labor force between 1966 and 1969 (5 percent), but 3/4ths of the whites and 9/10ths of the blacks, who no longer looked for work nor were working, reported health conditions limited or prevented them from working.

Similar studies are being conducted for young men, 14-24 in 1966; young women, 14-24 in 1966; and mature women, 35-44 in 1966. The data are collected by the Census Bureau and are analyzed and reported on by Professor Herbert Parnes of Ohio State University. If you are interested in receiving copies when these are completed, this office will be happy to send them to you.

Enclosure

Dear Howard:
Thanks for sending at Don Slaiman's suggestion "The Pre-Retirement Years - Vol. 3. I would like to see the subsequent studies of younger men and women.
Thanks, BV

Dept of Labor

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

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Labor Letter

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Regional Administrative Office
Room 110, 1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

DEC 18 1969

DATE: _____

The publications ordered recently from the U. S. Department of Labor are enclosed.

John W. Grant
JOHN W. GRANT
Regional Administrative Officer

Received for Sales Publications: _____

Includes subscription for: _____

E.F.U.

January 1966

526-5673

Selected Publications of the Bureau of Labor Standards

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
Nelson M. Bortz, Director

U.S. - Dept of Labor

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

February 10, 1969

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

I am enclosing ten announcements on a Seminar on Protective Labor Legislation. This seminar will be held on the campus of Troy State University, Troy, Alabama, on Wednesday, March 5, 1969. I hope your schedule will permit you to attend.

Since the topics to be discussed at the seminar should be of interest to many individuals with whom you have contact, perhaps by word of mouth or through the use of weekly newsletters (if your organization has one) you can help us to reach these people and enable us to make this seminar a big success.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the seminar.

If you wish additional announcements, please contact Dr. Tom Eason, Troy State University, Troy, Alabama.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Smith

Harold L. Smith
Regional Consultant

Enclosures

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NEWS
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20210

USDL--10-494

FOR RELEASE: 10:00 A.M.
Wednesday, June 11, 1969

NEW LINE SET AGAINST JOB DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERAL CONTRACT WORK

A new line of attack for guaranteeing equal employment opportunity in Federal contract work was outlined today by Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Fletcher.

Adressing contract compliance officers from some 26 Federal agencies, he said the compliance program must be streamlined and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance expanded.

Mr. Fletcher cited the importance of Federal rules and regulations requiring equal job opportunity on Government contract work at this "critical time" in the Nation.

It is "absolutely essential," he said, that Executive Order 11246 be made as effective a tool as possible "to assure dignity in the job situation."

This executive order requires that Federal contractors and subcontractors institute programs of affirmative action to achieve equal opportunity at the work place.

Mr. Fletcher, Assistant Secretary for Wage and Labor Standards, listed two planned actions for improving enforcement procedures under the executive order:

-- Issuance of an order for Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz to agency heads defining their responsibilities and citing cases where the agency has failed to meet its responsibilities.

-- Establishment of a high-level interagency committee to review the entire procurement procedure and to recommend more effective ways to implement the regulation.

In addition, Assistant Secretary Fletcher announced that:

-- OFCC will be expanded and reorganized to increase its effectiveness in the field of contract compliance.

-- The number of agencies having administrative responsibilities for the order will be reduced from 26 to 13 within the next 30 to 45 days.

-- A statistical printout ranking contractors by minority utilization on an area basis will be made available to agencies within the next 60 to 90 days.

# # #

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF
ASSISTANT SECRETARY FLETCHER
BEFORE
MEETING OF AGENCY CONTRACT (EEO) COMPLIANCE OFFICERS
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JUNE 11, 1969

I appreciate your attending this meeting today because of the importance and the nature of the problems that we must collectively solve. As the contract compliance officers for some 26 agencies, you have the primary and foremost responsibility in administering the Executive Order. Secretary Shultz assigned the Office of Federal Contract Compliance to my jurisdiction on May 19, and as you know, upgraded the job of Director of OFCC to a Deputy Assistant Secretary. I expect in the immediate future to designate that Director.

However, because of the critical nature of the problems that we are dealing with, I felt it advisable to ask you to meet and consult with me today in order that I might give you my judgment as to the direction that is necessary for this program to take, and to spell out some of the more specific things that are ongoing at this time.

For the past three months, there has been a hard, critical program evaluation and analysis made of the operations of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance. First, it is apparent that the Executive Order, which is a part of the Government contract, is not being adequately enforced in accordance with the procedures in the rules and regulations. As you know, these rules and

regulations are very specific about the responsibilities of the head of the agency, your office, and the contracting officer who awards contracts. There are problems of administration in numerous agencies because adequate agency procedures have not been developed in accordance with the OFCC rules and regulations. There are also problems of interagency coordination regarding Government contract awards.

In this regard, two immediate steps are being taken. It is now planned that Secretary Shultz will issue an order shortly to the heads of agencies calling attention to the agency responsibilities and citing circumstances where if those responsibilities are not carried out, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance will, of necessity, assume jurisdiction, and take appropriate action which could include notice of contract cancellation, termination or debarment.

Secondly, we are establishing a high-level interagency committee of procurement specialists to review the entire procurement procedure to determine how they can be made more effective in the implementation of the Executive Order. I just pointed out that the Executive Order has the contract clause, and it is of necessity that the clause be administered in the procurement system. There are many other procurement-type remedies, in addition to contract cancellation that can and should be utilized in the enforcement of the Executive Order. These will all be analyzed to determine whether and how they should be used to implement the Executive Order.

Thirdly, I expect to issue shortly a revised Philadelphia Construction Plan that will serve the needs of our program and also meet the concerns of the Comptroller General. We expect that the Philadelphia Plan will be instituted in other cities in the immediate future. You will also be happy to

know that we have completed the transfer of all Area Coordinators to the Department of Labor. This, of course, will make the Area Coordinator program much more effective and easy to administer.

That leads me to the problem of reorganization in general. As a part of the critical analysis that has been undertaken, it is concluded that the compliance program must be streamlined, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance must be expanded. One technique for streamlining the administration of the Executive Order will be the reduction of the number of agencies having administrative responsibility for the Order, and the assigning of contract compliance responsibility on an industry and geographical basis. This will be accomplished within the next 30 to 45 days, and will reduce the number of agencies from 26 to 13. It will also necessitate the development of administrative skills within the agency to deal with specific industry compliance problems, and to deal with specific regional or geographical problems. Secondly, in streamlining the administration of the Executive Order, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance will be expanded and reorganized. The real purpose of OFCC is, of course, to furnish guidance, coordination, program review, and to assume the ultimate responsibility if any agency fails to carry out its administrative duties.

It seems to us that the major thrust OFCC must undertake at this time is to give more specific guidance and direction in the establishment of Government priorities; setting out more specific standards of compliance, and assisting in the development of better coordination with EEOC and Justice.

Going first to the question of assisting in the development of priorities, we are preparing a statistical printout from EEO-1 data that will be made

available to the agencies within the next 60 to 90 days. Contractors will be ranked by minority utilization by the Government contractor by SIC's in SMSA's. SMSA's and SIC's will also be ranked without establishments. This will provide a tool for the agency to establish compliance priority.

Concerning coordination between the agencies, it is clear that we must establish very specific Government-wide guidelines that will resolve the problem of multi-and dual investigations; that will utilize and coordinate the legal remedies under Title VII and the economic remedies under the Executive Order to the fullest extent.

A series of discussions have already begun at administrative and staff levels geared to resolving this problem. For instance, it is expected that OFCC and the contracting and administering agencies will be free from complaint handling and will concentrate solely on compliance reviews. It is also anticipated that clear cut procedures will be spelled out that will solve numerous problems that can occur when several agencies are involved. These are complicated questions, but we are determined to find the answers.

There will also be a major program to improve the skills of investigators. There will be a Government-wide coordinated training program probably handled through the Civil Service Commission that will also involve State investigators. This should relieve the problem of duplication both for our own investigators and for Government contractors or other employers.

In closing, let me state one basic objective very clearly. In this critical time in our country, it is absolutely essential that the Executive Order be made as effective a tool to assure human dignity in the job situation as it is possible to do. The areas where we have been falling down must be

and will be immediately corrected. The systems and techniques for improving implementation will be constantly under evaluation and review, with the sole objective to make the Executive Order more effective.

Your responsibility in this area, as I stated at the outset, is of primary importance. I think it is critical that as we move forward you undertake the same type of constant analysis review and evaluation to make sure that you are carrying out to the fullest extent possible the responsibilities delegated by the President to your office.

I look forward to our cooperation together. I plan to meet with you individually during the next month in order to discuss in more detail the specific administrative problems and proposed remedies within your specific agency. Again, please accept my appreciation for taking your time to discuss with me this critical matter.

# # #

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

June 18, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via
School for Workers
University Extension Division
University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Mr. Via:

Because of your interest in the operations of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, I am enclosing a copy of my recent remarks before the Agency Contract Compliance Officers on June 11, 1969.

Sincerely,

Arthur A. Fletcher
Assistant Secretary of Labor

Enclosure

NEWS

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20210

File — Textiles
LEV

Southeastern Regional Office
Bureau of Labor Statistics

Atlanta, Georgia
404-526-5418

Order from last page

FOR RELEASE: Sunday Editions, October 19, 1969,
or thereafter

EMPLOYMENT IN TEXTILES AND APPAREL RANK HIGH IN SOUTH

Regional Growth Outstrips National Trend

The textile and apparel industries combined account for a high proportion of all manufacturing jobs in the South, according to Brunswick A. Bagdon, Southeastern Regional Director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

For example, in South Carolina last year, 58.3 percent of manufacturing employment was found in the two industries and in North Carolina 49.8 percent. In other Southeastern states, employment in the two industries accounted for 40.4 percent of manufacturing employment in Georgia, 27.0 percent in Alabama, and 23.3 percent in Tennessee. Apparel employment in Mississippi comprised 21.9 percent of the total - textile employment in the State is not significant.

Last year nearly 70 percent of the total national textile labor force was employed in the South and the remainder was found largely in the Northeast. Three southeastern states accounted for more than half of all textile employment: North Carolina (27.8 percent); South Carolina (15.0 percent); and Georgia (11.7 percent).

The apparel industry is somewhat less concentrated regionally than the textile industry. The South accounted for 36.4 percent of apparel workers in 1968. Employment in the industry in none of the Southern states, however,

comprised as much as five percent of the total. About 46 percent of apparel employment in 1968 was in the Northeast, about 11 percent in the North Central States, and the remainder in the West.

These data and much additional information concerning labor and economic conditions in the two industries, such as the following, are summarized in a new Bureau of Labor Statistics report, Labor in the Textile and Apparel Industries.

National employment trends in the two industries differed significantly during the postwar period. Between 1947 and 1968, employment in textiles fell by 24 percent, while employment in apparel increased almost 23 percent and in manufacturing as a whole 27 percent. As indicated in the table below, employment trends in textiles, apparel, and all manufacturing combined in most Southeastern States varied from national trends. In a majority of the Southeastern States, during the 1947-1968 period, textile employment increased; apparel employment grew phenomenally; and growth in manufacturing employment far exceeded the national average.

State	Textile Employment (in thousands) 1947	1968	Percent Change	Apparel Employment (in thousands) 1947	1968	Percent Change	Manufacturing Employment (in thousands) 1947	1968	Percent Change
Alabama	54.2	41.4	- 23.6	7.5	44.8	497.3	224.2	305.9	36.4
Florida	NA	NA	NA	2.4	20.4	750.0	95.7	308.2	222.0
Georgia	106.0	116.4	9.8	26.6	68.0	155.6	275.5	449.2	63.0
Mississippi	5.7	6.5	14.0	11.5	38.6	235.7	91.9	174.7	90.1
North Carolina	226.6	278.7	23.0	10.8	69.2	540.7	411.8	686.3	66.7
South Carolina	131.3	148.0	12.7	8.9	41.2	362.9	203.0	323.8	59.5
Tennessee	38.0	32.8	- 13.7	20.0	69.8	249.0	255.5	455.4	78.2
Virginia	40.2	42.8	6.5	13.4	35.6	165.7	236.8	362.2	53.0

The unemployment rate in textiles generally has been somewhat higher than the manufacturing rate in recent years, and the rate in the apparel industry has been significantly higher. In 1968, average unemployment rates in textiles were 3.5; apparel 5.9; and manufacturing 3.2.

Both the textile and apparel industries have unusually high proportions of semi-skilled employees (operatives and kindred workers) - about 67 percent in textiles and 78 percent in apparel compared to 44 percent in manufacturing generally. Skilled workers account for approximately 12 percent of the employed labor force in textiles, 5 percent in apparel, and almost 19 percent in manufacturing as a whole.

Based on latest data available, the educational attainment of workers in both industries, on the average, is below the level in manufacturing generally. The median years of schooling completed by textile workers was slightly less than 8.0; by apparel workers 9.7; and by workers in manufacturing as a whole 11.0.

The employment of women in both industries is relatively much greater than in manufacturing as a whole. Women constitute about 45 percent of the labor force in textiles, compared with approximately 27 percent in all manufacturing. The proportion of women employees in apparel is extraordinarily high - almost 80 percent.

The complete report, Labor in the Textile and Apparel Industries, BLS Bulletin No. 1635, is available for purchase - price $1.00 - from the Regional Administrative Office, U.S. Department of Labor, Room 110, 1371 Peachtree Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30309.

Order (5) copies to come to us and to go to EV
Bob Valdez
Allan Black
SEAN FAIRFAX
AL KEHRER

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
SUITE 540, 1371 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

July 10, 1972

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is a copy of Employment Profiles of Selected Low-Income Areas, Selected Rural Counties in Alabama. As I believe you know, this report is based upon application of the Urban Employment Survey methodology to rural areas. We expect to receive similar reports for selected areasin North Carolina and in Appalachia.

If you know of persons who could use a copy of these reports, I'd appreciate receiving their names and addresses.

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles S. Bullock, Jr.
Deputy Regional Director

Enclosure

After the pixie dust settled

Disney World, Fla.

It's exciting at first, working beneath castles and monorails and beside life-sized chipmunks and mice.

"That lasts for about two days," said a 19-year-old custodial worker at Disney World. "Now it's really getting to be a routine job."

The pay has been low, work has been grueling, and the Disney management has been unsympathetic and worse.

That's why more than 1,300 employees of Walt Disney World soon will be represented by SEIU.

Formation of the union, authorized in an affiliation-card count, is being delayed by a legal challenge to management brought by the Teamsters. But the cards are signed and counted. The bargaining table is ready.

FOR VISITORS, Disney World is out of this world. It's a dazzling, lavish, lollipop world where grownups become children far removed from the pollution and problems and drudgery of day-to-day living, and children are left breathless. It's an escape for adults and a festival for kids.

It's neither for the employees.

Robert Pickin, 19, who begins work at midnight long after the gates are closed to visitors, said he was "pretty excited" at first to be working in the tinsel world.

"I figured they'd bend to go out of their way to help," he said of management.

HE FOUND OUT differently: "They're constantly trying to push you to get done," making employees work grinding [illegible] with bad equipment—"brass nozzles on hoses that constantly cut you, for example."

Raymond Finlaw, 21, who works the same graveyard shift, also complained about the bad equipment, low pay and harassment.

"They tell us we have a ten-minute break," he said. "Then they come around and tell us we don't have to have it."

Their job includes hosing the streets of Disney World so they'll be clean for the next day. Once, Finlaw said, they had to hose them during a rain storm.

Management pays the employees for the time it takes them to take their uniforms off at day's end . . . but not for when they're dressing at the start of their shift.

"THE SUPERVISION leaves much to be desired," said Jerry Frizzell, a custodial worker at the swank Polynesian Hotel.

"They (management) know we have no way of protecting ourselves," he said. "A contract can straighten them out to the point where they know we have just as much going for us as they think they have going for them."

Local 399 Vice-Pres. Max Richardson, who spearheaded the six-month organizing drive, is helping the employees' negotiating committee draw up that contract.

Richardson's local represents workers at Disneyland in California, so he knows the employees' problems.

The employees will join hands not only with the California workers but with some 3,000 other Disney World workers who will be represented by other AFL-CIO unions—the retail clerks, railway and airline clerks, theater and stage employees, and the hotel, motel and restaurant workers.

JANITORIAL workers, ticket takers and ticket sellers make up the SEIU local.

The long organizing drive by the five-union council was hampered not only by management confining organizers to employee parking lots—not all workers park there—but by the huge employee turnover rate. Many employees who quit had signed union cards, and couldn't be counted in the final tally.

Richardson and his wife Chella began organizing last July, long before the $400 million amusement complex formally opened its doors to tourists.

International organizer Tiny Groeteke aided the drive, as did International organizers Pat Henning, Joe Buckley and Gloria Andersen and Local 6 organizer Jill Severn of Seattle, Wash.

THE EMPLOYEES—Disney management calls them "members of the cast"—are young and old, some with families to support, others living with parents and trying to make enough money to go to college next year or the year after.

Many are native Floridians from nearby Orlando or Lake Buena Vista. Some are Cuban immigrants.

One young man's head was seen emerging from the back seat of a car parked in the employees' lot early one morning in the middle of the campaign.

A closer look revealed the car was packed with clothes, kitchen utensils, toilet gear, just about everything he owned. Where was he from?

"Chicago," he said. "I heard about Disney World opening and decided it would be fun to work here for awhile."

HE IS HAVING "fun," but he looks to the day he has enough cash to afford an apartment. His hopes are with the union. Yes, he said, he had signed the affiliation card, and he wished the SEIU organizer "good luck" as he passed through the gate to work.

He isn't the only employee who traveled great distances to share the Disney adventure. License plates vary from state to state as much in the employees' lot as in the guests'.

Like the young man from Chicago, most employees are in need of the wage increases and more job security, Richardson said.

Those are part of the contract proposal the five unions have put together to present to management after the Teamster challenge subsides.

EARLY IN the organizing campaign, many of the young men were angry at being forced by management to wear their hair short. The policy dictated near-GI hair styles. That issue has been resolved even before contract talk.

"We put so much heat on them (management) that they modified it," Richardson said.

Labor strength is just beginning to make itself known in Florida; most Disney employees are learning union benefits quickly. Richardson is convinced the new local will be exciting and powerful.

"Once the people find out the strength they have by pulling together," he said, "there will be some progress."

The influx of new union members in the state also could hurry the day Florida scraps its right-to-work law—"once all these people become union-oriented," Richardson said.

DISNEY WORLD is in the middle of a nowhere that is fast becoming a somewhere, with hotels and motels and restaurants and all types of business popping up all around. Orlando, Fla., about 20 miles away, now harvests tourism that could quickly make it a boom town.

Two hotels already have opened on the Disney property and two more will open before next season. Another is planned soon after.

There's room for more. Disney World property totals 47 square miles—enough for two Manhattans—in central Florida.

The Magic Kingdom itself accounts for less than a tenth of the area. It is Disneyland West (California) and then some.

An 18-story castle dwarfs not only its California likeness but all else in the storybook world below.

International Organizer Joe Buckley shakes the hand of "Dale Chipmunk," one of many Disney characters who mingle with the crowds of tourists at Disney World.

$1,200,000 back pay for LA county employees

Los Angeles, Calif.

SEIU Locals 660 (LACEA) and 434 won nearly $1,200,000 in retroactive pay and step increases for some 10,000 Los Angeles County employees caught in the Phase 1 pay freeze.

The County Board of Supervisors Feb. 8 adopted a unanimous recommendation by top County officials granting the retroactive pay. An estimated $637,000 in withheld pay increases will go to 2,800 employees. Some 7,100 others will receive $507,000 in withheld step increases.

County officials credited Local 660 and 434 with the employees' victory. Joint action by the locals included intensive pressure on the County and direct action at the federal level—LACEA bombarded Congress and the White House with letters and telegrams appealing for relief from the pay freeze.

"We are pleased that County Management has responded to our urgent request. . . . The County is the first major California jurisdiction to take such action," noted LACEA Gen. Mgr. Vic Hochee.

Canada nursing campaign gains

Toronto, Ont.

SEIU's Canadian nursing home drive continues in high gear as Local 204 signed up St. Catherines Extendicare and won a Feb. 15 representation election 23-to-1. That makes six Extendicare nursing homes and some 350 new SEIU members in the past few months, reports SEIU Vice Pres. Albert Hearn.

Nursing assistants, dietary, custodial and maintenance workers are employed at two Extendicares in Ottawa, one in London, Oakville, Scarborough and St. Catherines.

Organizing efforts are expected to bring in two more Extendicares in the near future, "and that'll mean some 200 new members will be protected by a union contract," Hearn said.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Labor – Civil Rights

Human rights

Unfinished business

Discrimination and civil rights long have been synonymous with the struggle of black Americans to win equality in our society.

But, it's not only blacks who feel the sting of prejudice. Other minority groups share the same problems, the same concerns.

As the civil rights movement has grown, it has broadened to become a human rights movement. *Spanish-speaking Americans, women, Indians and members of many ethnic and religious groups belong to it. A family living in poverty, an uneducated man—anyone who does not conform to the "American dream" image—has a stake in it.*

In fact, we all have a stake in the fight for civil rights and economic opportunity. For the family held in poverty in the ghetto or the man chained to a life of menial jobs because of his lack of education cannot contribute his full measure to the general welfare or to the progress of the kind of nation we want to be.

"Now I know all of the words. I know all of the gimmicks and the phrases that would win the applause of black audiences and professional civil rights leaders. I am not going to use them. I am interested in deeds. I am interested in closing a performance gap . . . when I finish office I would rather be measured by my deeds than all of the fancy speeches I may have made."

Richard Nixon
Press Conference
January 30, 1970

Next November Mr. Nixon will be measured by his deeds. On civil rights as on so many other crucial domestic issues.

In this area, the fact seems to be that all of the human rights issues that gained momentum during the 1960's—civil rights, school desegregation, equal housing, voting rights and equal employment opportunities have been sidetracked, slowed down, even abandoned.

The urgency of domestic needs is ignored; Administration civil rights policies have been cut to conform to the design of his political strategy.

Match Nixon's words with his deeds.

In equal housing, these were his words two and one half years after he took office: ". . . continuing, often covert housing discrimination is thwarting or discouraging the efforts of many minority citizens to find better housing in better neighborhoods. This is wrong, constitutionally indefensible. . . ."

The deeds: for two and one half years, none. After the President's statement, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights declared that he had "diagnosed a cancer and prescribed aspirin as the remedy."

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission had even stro criticism: it accused the ministration of retrea from the goal of prom racially open communitie

The Nixon Administr did not neglect voting ri rather it attempted to tage the six-year registr effort by civil rights gr in the South.

The words: "The laws caught up with our consci What remains is to give to what is in the law."

Nixon's deeds: In M sippi, a discriminatory law permitted 26 counti submit new procedures re-registering voters. The tice Dept. failed to exerci power under the 1965 V Rights Act and allowed happen. In those countie registration rolls were clean.

Later a Federal Cou Mississippi reviewed the

Acti

SEIU locals across the try are fighting discrimin —all kinds of discrimin in all kinds of ways.

They share a common pose and a common ban the International union's lutions on civil rights, ad at the 1968 convention.

Their efforts range small steps to large one still larger ones—from d sion to job complaints, litical action. Combined other small steps throu SEIU's network of local u and the entire labor move it's something more: it's at the grassroots level, dividual's level.

SEIU's 1968 resolution

The questions they ask

Before the surge of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, the questions black Americans asked were whether they could sit at lunch counters, vote like everyone else, or ride in the front of the bus.

Things have changed. Some basic issues remain, but the questions have shifted. Vernon Jordan, Urban League executive director, says blacks now are asking whether they can afford to eat in a restaurant, be elected to public office, or ever hope to own and run a bus company.

Joe's a Vietnam veteran just out of the army. He's looking for a job and has a wife and child to support.

Bill is also a veteran, newly discharged after a tour in Vietnam. He's married with one child and jobless.

Neither Joe nor Bill completed high school, though the army taught them some skills. Education and skillwise, they're the same. But, on the job market, they're not.

Joe is white. Bill is black. Bill's chances of going without a job are about twice as great as Joe's. If they both manage to find jobs, statistics show that Bill's income will be only two-thirds as much as Joe's.

Joe and Bill are mythical. But the situation is not. Despite economic and social gains, black Americans still lag behind in employment, income, education and living standards.

BLACK LEADERS admit there clearly has been progress. The problem, they say, is that whites and blacks use different yardsticks to measure it. Whites look at the distance the blacks have moved from where they were ten years ago. But black Americans measure their position in relation to whites.

A good example: some black families now are earning as much as some white families in comparable positions. But, that parity exists only when both the husband and the wife in a black family work compared to the white family where only the husband works. Vernon Jordan says, ". . . now we are told what blacks knew all along, that black wives have to work if a black family is to earn as much as a white family."

Blacks comprise about 11 percent of the nation's total population, but 18 percent of the nation's unemployed and 27 percent of those working part-time involuntarily. They're 30 percent of the nation's poor.

A black worker makes 61 percent of the income of his white counterpart. The gap between the median black family income and the median white family income actually widened between 1960 and 1970—from $2,600 to $3,800. The percentage of white families making over $10,000 is double that of black families. And, on the average it takes three workers in a black family to earn as much as one worker in the average white family.

MORE BLACKS attend school now, but blacks of every educational level continue to earn less than whites. A black college graduate, on the average, makes less than a white high school graduate with no college.

With more education, blacks have moved up the job ladder to better-paying jobs. Still blacks continue to hold a disproportionate amount of lower-paying jobs. About 37 percent of all black men work in service, labor and farm occupations compared to 17 percent of all white men. In nine industries with relatively high wages, blacks hold only 8 percent of the jobs and just one percent of the higher-paying ones.

The value of a union card has long been known to black workers, who comprise 13 percent of all labor unionists. In fact, a higher proportion of black workers are organized than white workers. Wages of black craftsman in unions are 40 percent higher than black craftsmen who are not organized.

The economic gap between whites and blacks is reflected in the gap between their living conditions. The percentage of blacks living in segregated neighborhoods actually increased between 1960 and 1970. One quarter of all black households are forced to live in housing that is either dilapidated or lacks basic plumbing facilities compared to one-sixteenth of white families.

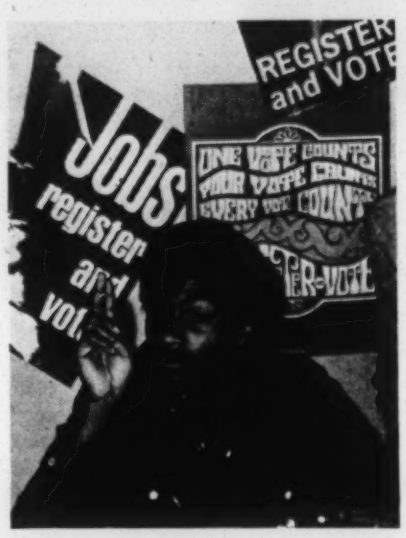
and threw it out. The Court criticized Attorney General John Mitchell for his inaction. A Congressional committee declared the Justice Dept. had not properly enforced the 1965 law and accused the Nixon Administration of inviting "irresponsible people" to disregard laws.

Nixon dragged his heels as school desegregation progressed in the South. Administration attitudes and tactics forced Leon Panetta, head of HEW's Civil Rights Division to resign.

On this issue, Nixon used lots of words: ". . . I intend to use the leadership resources of the executive branch of government in every way possible . . . desegregation is vital to quality education . . . racial isolation ordinarily has an adverse effect on education."

The deeds contradicted the words. Despite a 1969 Supreme Court directive to desegregate schools right away, the Administration's policy was relaxed. It even went to court to postpone the deadline for school districts. For the first time since 1954, the Government went into court to oppose desegregation.

The High Court's answer was no delay, neighborhood schools must go if they maintained segregation. Nixon replied to the Court's decision with an attack on a busing plan formulated by one of his own executive agencies, HEW.



In 1968, President Nixon said, "The thrust of my programs is to provide incentives to move capital into the ghetto . . ."

The words—his only civil rights proposal during the 1968 campaign. The deeds—only one: to create an Office of Minority Business Enterprise in the Commerce Department. But it has no authority to make loans or to fund or supervise programs. The Small Business Administration also got left out in the cold. After Nixon refused to back SBA's request for $200 million for direct loans, a black official quit. He said that on black economic problems the President was capable only of "rhetoric, rhetoric, rhetoric."

On the campaign trail in 1968, Candidate Nixon offered a solution to the nation's racial problems: "more black ownership, black pride, black jobs, black opportunity . . ."

The words were empty. When given the chance to do something, the Administration's deeds fell short again.

After investigating the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission recommended the EEOC be given "cease and desist" powers to enforce anti-discrimination laws. Organized labor, women and civil rights groups strongly backed the bill in Congress that would do just that. The Nixon Administration did not.

• The fact that the EEOC had been able to enforce action in less than half of the more than 30,000 cases of job bias found by the agency didn't seem to impress the President. Nor the fact that the number of complaints received by the EEOC is soaring—1970 charges were up 62 percent over the previous year.

President Nixon said he was interested in closing the "performance gap" in civil rights.

But his deeds add up to a "less than adequate" rating, according to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Furthermore, the Commission's latest report accused President Nixon of failing to instill "a sense of urgency over the need to end discrimination." The Government as a whole gets only a "marginal" rating from the Commission, an independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957.

The record not only shows a "performance gap" between "deeds" and "fancy speeches," but a gap which, under the Nixon Administration, was widened considerably.

ion-in all kinds of ways

on all members and local unions to join the fight. It declared support for legislative programs to fight poverty, to provide jobs and adequate housing for all citizens and urged increased support for educational expenditures.

It commended local unions on their continuing efforts to negotiate non-discrimination clauses in their contracts. Finally, the International urged each member to make the civil rights movement his own personal battle.

Here's what that fight looks like at the local union level:

A NURSE'S AIDE at Kaiser Hospital in Los Angeles was fired—the hospital said she had been continually tardy. Her record showed that she had been warned and counseled before she was terminated. Local 399 stepped in to take a look and the hospital's claim seemed reasonable.

But wait a minute: the aide claimed she had been discriminated against because she was black. The local took another look. Its Civil Rights Committee turned up other employees who had been late to work, too—later and more often than the fired nurse's aide—but they were white. The committee gathered the facts and went to the hospital administrators with the case. The aide got her job back with pay for the time she lost.

Local 399 also worries about discrimination against women. Like other SEIU unions, they fight hard for equal pay scales for women employees in their contracts. That would seem to be an obvious thing, but women aren't always protected by the equal pay law, not from unscrupulous employers who try to disguise different wage scales with terms like "light housework" and "heavy housework."

LOCAL 399 knows that the ballot box is often the key to the fight for equal rights. Voter registration comes under the COPE committee but the two committees work together. All organizers and business reps in the local are trained registrars. They carry their registration books with them to sign up voters on the spot.

Any hospital agreement Local 399 signs has a clause providing a career ladder program for job training and upgrading.

Local 144 in New York City knows all about job training programs. It just received the largest single federal grant of its kind to train disadvantaged and jobless workers for careers in health care services.

The $1.7 million JOBS grant will enable the local to convert its old four-story headquarters to an educational center with classrooms and equipment and to turn out 700 graduates this first year. (See page 2)

ANOTHER SEIU local union, School Employees Local 118 in St. Louis, fights the frustration of inadequate job opportunities with a program to help members upgrade their present jobs. It means losing members to another union, but Local 118 thinks helping workers to improve the quality of their life is more important than membership figures.

The local cooperates with the University of St. Louis in administering the course. Graduation for a custodian, ground crewman or storeroom attendant means moving up to jobs as maintenance men without having to pass additional exams. It means better positions, more responsibility, more money.

Members of Local 82 in Washington, D.C., think voting is one of the best ways a man can fight for his civil rights. So they devote a lot of time and energy to the voter registration program of the D.C. Chapter of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The Institute, founded in 1964, has a three-fold purpose—to serve the cause of civil rights, to strengthen black ties with other political activist groups and to work for economic and social progress. Chapters around the nation provide active voter education and voter registration programs.

Many SEIU locals fight discrimination through strong, established organizations like the Institute. Local 372 members in Chicago are active in the Urban League, the NAACP, and others—they participate in fund raising, give their time and efforts to voter registration drives.

Local 347 in Los Angeles protects its members from subtle forms of discrimination—like civil service tests. Walter Backstrom, business agent for the local, points out that by and large, the tests are written by white, middle class, college graduates.

The local created enough static about the tests that the union now is allowed to review the tests and protest against wording that discriminates against a minority worker—or any worker experienced enough to do the job, but not educated in the way of civil service tests.

Job dignity. That's another Local 347 concern. "Vocational education is a dirty word," Backstrom asserts. "No matter what your job is, you've got to feel some kind of professionalism." The local helps members find that feeling with educational classes to teach job pride.

DISCRIMINATION, inadequate educational and job opportunities, and poor living conditions—they all create a contempt for our society. Local 47 in Cleveland attacked poor living conditions for disadvantaged families in the inner city.

Along with another union, the local sponsored a low and moderate income housing project. Community for Better Living, Inc., was the first rent supplement apartment complex in the country. It was also the first new housing in the Hough area of Cleveland in 50 years.

Local 47 and the Meatcutters union pledged $100,000 in union funds to get the project off the ground. Federal financing helped out with the rest.

It stands today, eight buildings with 94 units plus a unique day care center for working parents in the project.

ACTION, not words. That's what the civil rights movement is to SEIU local unions. Better jobs, better housing, better education—a better life for all members.

BLACKS ARE more likely than whites to be victims of serious crimes and crimes of violence. Despite drops in overall infant and maternal mortality rates, the mortality rate for black mothers is about three times that of white mothers. Black infant mortality rates are higher also. The life expectancy of blacks is about ten percent lower than whites in all age groups from 25 to 55 years of age.

The proportion of black voters has almost caught up with white voters. Six out of every ten blacks voted in the 1968 Presidential election, compared with seven out of every ten whites. But, blacks hold only .3 percent of the elective offices in the country.

The figures don't lie. Blacks made impressive gains during the 1960s, but still lag far behind the rest of the American society. The civil rights questions of the sixties have been answered, the new economic rights questions must be dealt with.

Quality counts

The AFL-CIO Executive Council adopted the following statement at its winter meeting:

"The AFL-CIO has consistently supported both quality education and integrated education. We have just as staunchly supported mass investment of federal funds to improve substandard schools. We have fought for legislation to achieve open housing as the most effective way to achieve integrated education.

"The AFL-CIO Executive Council categorically reiterates these positions and adds:

"1. We wholeheartedly support busing of children when it will improve the educational opportunities of the children.

"2. We deplore the actions of those individuals or groups who are creating a divisive political issue out of America's vital need for quality, integrated education.

"3. We will oppose the constitutional amendment approach because it will do a disservice to the quality, integrated education which we support."

Policemen link with SEIU

A national police union, affiliated with the Service Employees International Union, has been announced by Gen. Pres. George Hardy.

The National Union of Police Officers (NUPO) will be established in SEIU as a separate and autonomous division. It will provide a vehicle for grouping SEIU police locals into a cohesive unit devoted exclusively to the special problems of law enforcement officers.

Since last May, SEIU has organized nearly 2,500 police officers in three Southern states, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. The Patrolman's Association of New Orleans, Local 641 was the first group organized. After that the drive snowballed with ten more locals receiving charters.

". . . THE HIGHLY complex problems which unions of police officers face require the establishment of a strong national union to coordinate their activities and to provide organizing information, research and legislative assistance," Pres. Hardy said in his announcement of the creation of NUPO.

"Police officers are the only large group of public employees who don't have an AFL-CIO union to speak for them and to represent their interests nationally. . . ."

Hardy also announced the appointment of John Cassese as president of the new union. Cassese has been a police union leader for over 20 years. He headed the 30,000-member New York City Policeman's Benevolent Association for 11 years and is a past president of the International Conference of Police Associations.

NUPO's national headquarters will be located in the SEIU offices in Washington, D.C.

AFL-CIO blasts Nixon, sounds call for November

Bal Harbour, Fla.

Labor leaders have sounded an urgent call for political activity to help liberal candidates win "the most important election of the century."

The AFL-CIO executive council called for "the total mobilization of the labor movement at every level for a commitment by all members and all union officials to join in the COPE program to the fullest extent."

Meeting in its mid-winter session, the council sharply criticized the Nixon Administration and declared "a massive effort" is needed "to register every union member and voting age member of his or her family . . ."

"At every level of government there is a clear and pressing need to elect progressive, liberal men and women, committed to moving this country forward again," the council said.

"MANY of the candidates for national and state office are proven friends of workers, consumers and ordinary citizens. They deserve re-election and they merit our support."

Other office-holders who are "proven allies of big business . . . deserve defeat and they merit our opposition," the resolution said.

Success in the November election "means an all-out effort to collect $2 for COPE from every member to help narrow the funding gap that always exists between labor's political friends and its political foes," the council said.

The council blasted the Nixon Administration for giving us "the highest unemployment in ten years" with little hope for improvement.

"UNDER present administration policies," the council declared, "unemployment will not go down appreciably, if at all."

Under Nixon, unemployment rose while productivity went up—"the increase in unit labor costs was cut in half. But the rise in the price level continued, with only little abatement, and the lion's share of the productivity gain went to profits . . . and other business income."

"The administration's remedy for this prolonged economic mess is optimistic rhetoric, combined with trickle-down policies of increasing government subsidies for big business," the council said.

IN OTHER resolutions, the council declared:

- "Flagrant favoritism" toward business and against workers and the poor "is rapidly destroying public support" for the Nixon wage-price control program.
- Special federal money is needed to meet a third of the total cost of social security benefits to provide a decent standard of living for the elderly without a sharp rise in taxes.
- Congress should pass a national voter registration-by-mail law that would remove artificial barriers that discourage and disqualify people from registering.
- It warned political candidates against making the busing problem a "divisive, political issue," and opposed a constitutional amendment that would forbid it. Labor is for "quality, integrated education."

THE COUNCIL also awarded the Murray-Green Award for outstanding humanitarian service to one of its own members—A. Philip Randolph, president-emeritus of the Sleeping Car Porters and a leading civil rights figure.

Executives run Labor Dept.

The U.S. Labor Dept. was set up in 1913 to protect the interest of American workers. Under the Nixon administration, its roster of top officials looks like a "Who's Who" of big business.

These are the officials—and their backgrounds—who determine policy for the Labor Dept. which was created to "advance the public interest by promoting the welfare of the workers of the United States, improving their working conditions, and advancing their opportunities for profitable employment."

Starting at the top, Labor Sec. James Hodgson was a Lockheed Corp. vice president. His top assistants include:

William Schmidt—Lockheed Corp. information director.

Carl Uehlein—lawyer, worked with management clients on labor law.

Frederick Webber—lobbyist for lumber industry trade group.

Laurence Silberman—lawyer, specialized in labor law for management and business clients.

Richard Wise—John Hancock Life Insurance industrial relations executive.

Frank Zarb—investment banking and oil company executive.

George Guenther—John H. Guenther Hosiery Co. president.

Malcolm Lovell—Ford Motor Co. and American Motors executive.

Richard Gruenwald—Olin Corp. vice president.

Richard Schubert—Bethlehem Steel Corp. labor relations executive.

Donald Irwin—executive with Chrysler, John Deere and Hawaiian Airlines.

John Blake—Marine Midland Trust Co. executive.

John Wilks—headed public relations firm with Standard Oil, Chrysler and F. W. Woolworth Co. as clients.

Oh yes, there are three (out of 17) officials with labor backgrounds. Bill Usery, IAM, Paul Fasser, Steelworkers and Robert Brown from the UAW.

Canadians get hikes

Canadian trade unionists got pay hikes averaging 7.8 percent in 1971. The majority of the agreements were for two years, reports the Canada Labour Dept.

Of 333 agreements signed in 1971, 172 were for two years, 111 for three years and there were 50 one-year contracts.

Pay increases averaged 9.6 percent in the first year, 6.6 percent in the second of the two-year contracts. Three-year contract gains averaged 9.4, 6.8 and 5.6 percent. The one-year pacts gained an average 8.5 percent increase.

Campaign spending law approved, now ignored

Don't expect the new campaign spending law to reduce the influence of corporations and the wealthy on the election process.

Nobody in the Justice Department has been given the responsibility for enforcing the law. Oversight? Hardly. Nixon's campaign manager in 1968 was John Mitchell. Attorney General Mitchell since then has completely dismantled the enforcement operation.

So a new law hailed by the press as "the first major reform in campaign election laws in 46 years" is almost certain to go unenforced.

While Congress was closing loopholes in the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, Mitchell quietly got rid of the enforcing operation.

When the Nixon team took office, the task of enforcing campaign spending laws was assigned to two veteran Justice Department attorneys and several young lawyers. One of Mitchell's first actions was to overburden them with work in other fields.

The two experienced lawyers have now taken jobs elsewhere and Mitchell hasn't replaced them. The only attorney left in the office is a young lawyer who will also leave shortly.

Result: the new law is likely to be just as useless as the old one.

Backpay for Local 183

Belleville, Ont.

Seventeen SEIU Local 183 members are sharing $2,678 for benefits denied them by Belleville General Hospital when they worked over 24 hours a week.

The employer wasn't living up to a union contract which provided contract protection and benefits to part-time workers when they worked more than 24 hours a week.

The local informed SEIU Vice Pres. Albert Hearn and International Rep. James Hughes of the violation. Hearn and Hughes demanded compliance and set a deadline for correction of the abuses.

The hospital settled. The $2,678 paid the 17 covers overtime, pay increases, holiday premiums, and other benefits the hospital had denied them.

Mechanics win back pay of $6 million in lockout

Miami, Fla.

Six million dollars in back pay will be paid to nearly 1,000 IAM mechanics and ground service workers illegally locked out for over a year by National Airlines.

The International Association of Machinists settlement is the largest back pay award in U.S. labor history.

IAM Vice Pres. William W. Winpisinger said union members will receive checks ranging from $500 to nearly $10,000 each for a 53-week period that began in January, 1969. The average will be over $6,000.

The Fifth U.S. Court of Appeals ruled National Airlines violated the law when it arbitrarily changed work rules during contract negotiations, then fired union members when they struck in protest.

The Supreme Court refused to consider an appeal by National Airlines. Negotiations for a settlement have been going on for nearly a year.

"This is a $6 million reminder to the airline industry that, under the law, an airline cannot arbitrarily change working conditions," Winpisinger said.

Labor scene

News & notes that concern unionists

January 12, 1966

Mr. Louis Levine, Director
U. S. Employment Service
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210

Dear Mr. Levine:

Thank you for your letter of January 7. I look forward to seeing the list of full-time minority group representatives when it has been compiled.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary

/jb

IN REPLY REFER TO

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

JAN 7 1966

Miss Joan C. Browning
Secretary, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Browning:

The Secretary of Labor has asked me to reply to your recent letter requesting information about the minority group specialists who will be appointed to the staffs of State employment security agencies.

Appropriations for the improvement of the public employment service for fiscal year 1966 included funds for 50 full-time minority groups representative positions in State and metropolitan area administrative offices. These positions are now being allocated among State agencies on the basis of the agencies' requests for these positions and the resources available.

Since the allocation of the positions is not yet final, we are unable to provide you with a list of the States and cities in which the specialists will be stationed. We shall be pleased to furnish this information to you when it is available.

Thank you for your interest in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Louis Levine

Louis Levine, Director
U. S. Employment Service

NEWS DIGEST 2/21/66
NEGRO WORKER PROGRESS - p.13

(2) Didn't they say not employed & would need to be?

(1) Did we ok for get this list?

State Employment Offices Get Minority Group Specialists: Secretary Wirtz expands Labor Department's program of job-finding assistance to minority groups by appointing 50 new minority group employment specialists.

Investigators Check Discrimination Complaints: Especially trained investigators are dispatched by the Labor Department to check charges of discrimination in cases involving use of Federal funds. Secretary Wirtz indicated some 100 cases covering State Employment Services, Neighborhood Youth Corps Programs, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training programs and programs such as on-the-job training.

(3) If so, this needs some about your [illegible] policies

Mark Battle Named Deputy Director of Neighborhood Youth Corps: Minority Group member Mark Battle, and executive of the Neighborhood Youth Corps from its inception, is named Deputy Director.

Wait for agent name list

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
SUITE 540, 1371 PEACHTREE STREET NE.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

February 14, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is a copy of the Gordon Committee report, Measuring Employment and Unemployment. This is a regional office copy, consequently I shall appreciate your returning it when you have finished using it.

I hope to be able to send you within the next day or so a copy of the paper prepared for the 1965 meeting of the American Statistical Association, "Research in Labor Force Concepts." At the moment, we have none for distribution; hence the delay.

Very truly yours,

C. S. Bullock, Jr.

Charles S. Bullock, Jr.
Assistant Regional Director

Enclosure

March 18, 1966

Mr. Frank H. Cassell, Director
U. S. Employment Service
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210

Dear Mr. Cassell:

I note from the News Digest that the fifty new minority group employment specialists have been appointed. We would like to have a list of the persons so appointed and the city and/or state in which they are to serve.

Thanks for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

Directory of

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY REGIONAL

and

STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

MINORITY GROUPS REPRESENTATIVES

March 22, 1965 (rev.3/66)

BES Regional

Region III

North Carolina
Virginia

Lee Giannoni
BES, U.S.Dept. Labor
301 Professional Arts Bldg.
Chambersburg, Pennsylvania
17201

Region IV

Alabama
Georgia
South Carolina
Florida
Mississippi
Tennessee

Phenizee F. Ransom, Jr.
BES, U.S. Dept. Labor
Room 631
1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Region V

Kentucky

Henry Cockfield
BES, U.S. Labor Dept.
Engineers Bldg., Rm. 202
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Region VIII

Arkansas
Louisiana
Texas

John W. Whitaker
BES
U.S. Dept. Labor
1114 Commerce Street, Rm. 220
Dallas, Texas 75202

State

ALABAMA

M. M. Daniels
Dept. of Industrial Relations
State Office Bldg.
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

ARKANSAS

Tyrone C. Greene
Employment Security Division
Department of Labor
Employment Security-Welfare Bldg.
Box 2981
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Victor Daly
U.S. Employment Service for the
District of Columbia
Employment Security Bldg., Rm. 617
Sixth and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20001

FLORIDA

L. V. Davis
Industrial Commission
Caldwell Bldg.
Tallahassee, Florida 32304

GEORGIA

Hoyt Blackwell
Employment Security Agency
Department of Labor
State Labor Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

KENTUCKY

Victor Shoemaker
Bureau of Employment Security
Dept. of Economic Security
Capitol Office Bldg.
Frankfort, Kentucky 40601

LOUISIANA

Rev. Nathaniel Williams
Division of Employment Security
Department of Labor
Employment Security Bldg.
2200 Baton Rouge Expressway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70804

MISSISSIPPI

Charles Huhn
Employment Security Commission
1520 W. Capitol Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

NORTH CAROLINA

Edward MacRae
Employment Security Commission
Jones and North McDowell Streets
Raleigh, North Carolina 27602

SOUTH CAROLINA

Katheryn Lewis
Employment Security Commission
1225 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29202

TENNESSEE

Ralph H. Hughes
Dept. of Employment Security
Cordell Hull State Office Bldg.
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

TEXAS

Harry Carr
Texas Employment Commission
TEC Bldg.
Austin, Texas 78701

VIRGINIA

Kenneth Moore
Virginia Employment Commission
703 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia 23211

June 22, 1966

Mr. Harold L. Smith
Regional Consultant
Bureau of Labor Standards
U. S. Department of Labor
1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Smith:

I was pleased to see the announcement of the seminar on protective labor legislation to be held at Florida A. & M. University. I regret that my schedule is such that I will be unable to participate in the seminar.

Perhaps you could do two things for me: one, keep me on the list for any announcements of future programs of this sort in the Southern states; two, send me any reports or copies of papers used at the seminar in Tallahassee.

I hope the seminar will be a great success.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

June 20, 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Via:

An announcement on a Seminar on Protective Labor Legislation is enclosed. This seminar will be held on the campus of Florida A & M University on Monday, June 27, 1966. I hope your schedule will permit you to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Smith
RB

Harold L. Smith
Regional Consultant

Enclosure

Stamp

M. S. Thomas, Director
Vocational-Technical Institute
Florida A. and M. University
Tallahassee, Florida

P. O. Box 164

Tear off and mail

APPLICATION

To: M. S. Thomas, Chairman, Steering Committee
Seminar on Protective Labor Legislation
Florida A. and M. University
Tallahassee, Florida

Kindly register the following person(s) for the ONE DAY SEMINAR ON PROTECTIVE LABOR LEGISLATION to be held at Florida A. and M. University on MONDAY, JUNE 27, 1966.

Name and Occupation	City	Check below if you plan to attend Luncheon Meeting
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....

..... Signed .....
Company or Organization

FLORIDA A. & M. UNIVERSITY

Tallahassee, Florida

announces a

Seminar on
Protective Labor Legislation

MONDAY, JUNE 27, 1966

Co-sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor

Sponsor

This Seminar will be sponsored by the Vocational-Technical Institute, the Department of Economics, the Department of Business, and the Office for Continuing Education of Florida A. and M. University in cooperation with the Bureau of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor.

Purpose

A one-day Seminar designed to provide opportunity for an analysis and discussion of some of the critical labor problems involved in Florida's rapidly expanding economy. It is planned that those attending will gain a better understanding of the many issues and needs related to protective labor legislation and the developing concepts in this area.

The major topics to be discussed are:

The Philosophy Underlying Protective Labor Legislation

The Need for a State Minimum Wage Law

The Need for Extended Coverage of Labor Laws to Agricultural Workers

The Need for Improving Consumer Information and Protection

A Look at Florida and the Changing Employment Situation

Participants

This Seminar is primarily designed for industrial, labor, agricultural and educational leaders together with businessmen and others interested in the manpower development of Florida.

Seminar Location

The Seminar will be held on the campus of Florida A. and M. University in the new air-conditioned Grand Ballroom of the Student Union.

Guest Speakers and Consultants

An outstanding and impressive roster of speakers and consultants has been scheduled including leaders in business, state and national government.

Registration

Registration is planned for 8:00-9:00 Monday morning in the lobby of the Grand Ballroom. Those registering in advance will save time at the registration booth.

Food and Lodging

A fee of two (2) dollars will be charged those planning to attend the luncheon meeting. This is payable at the time of registration. Those wishing lodging arrangements should contact the hotels or motels directly. Information about convenient facilities will be provided upon request.

A ONE DAY Seminar to provide you the information that you should know about:

- Minimum Wage-Hour Legislation
- Extended Coverage of Labor Laws to Agricultural Workers
- Consumer Information and Protection
- Changing Manpower Needs in Florida

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

November 2, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

In accordance with your request, I am pleased to send you a copy of the paper I presented at the University of Wisconsin Conference on Apprenticeship on September 8.

Sincerely yours,

David J. Farber,
Assistant Chief
Division of Research

Enclosure

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
516-1371 PEACHTREE ST., N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

November 25, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you very much for your warm expression of welcome and encouragement. I too regret that we were unable to meet at the open house, but I look forward to a later meeting and to being of service to you in our areas of mutual concern.

Sincerely,

June H. Wakeford

June H. Wakeford
Regional Director

IN REPLY REFER TO

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

R01V-30 Gen (UI)

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

Room 700 - 1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
December 15, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

This is an extra copy which our Regional Director had in his files. If we can be of any further assistance, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Luther L. McGahee

Luther L. McGahee
Social Administration Adviser

Enclosure

December 20, 1966

Mr. Charles S. Bullock, Jr.
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Room 540
1371 Peachtree St., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charles:

Thanks for sending me the December issue of "Occupational Outlook Quarterly". We could address your envelopes for a promotional flyer. And I would be happy to distribute about twenty-five copies with a personal letter to other organizations in the South.

Let me know if your plans develop there and if you would like for us to do anything further.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

1050 Lynhurst Dr., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30311
August 19, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta

Dear Emory,

I am enclosing a copy of the report on the Men and Religion Forward Movement that I did for the Christian Council. As I mentioned on the phone I emphasized the ecumenical aspect of the movement for the Christian Council. But you can get a little of the flavor of their involvement in the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill strike. The story is much more detailed than what I have in the report, and I will elaborate it some more in the report I am doing for SRC. In terms of the labor history of Ga. it is a story that I think is worth reconstructing. It ought to be recounted in full sometime.

Sincerely,

Harry

Harry G. Lefever

HARRY G. LEFEVER
1050 Lynhurst Drive SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30311

ATLANTA, GA FEDERAL ANNEX
AUG 19 PM

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

THE MEN AND RELIGION FORWARD MOVEMENT IN ATLANTA

a case study in ecumenism and social justice

Harry G. Lefever

In the years preceeding World War I a movement swept through the American Protestant churches known as the Men and Religion Forward Movement. It originated in 1911 in New York, but quickly spread to ninety cities across the country with the objective of finding 3,000,000 men missing in participation in church life and of doubling the enrollment of men's Bible classes. It was motivated by a Social Gospel theology as evidenced by the seven volumes of published speeches of the 1912 Men and Religion Forward ~~conference~~ congress, which carries such names as Walter Rauschenbusch, Washington Gladden, ~~and~~ Frank Mason North, and Henry Sloane Coffin. Two other well-known persons who spoke at the congress were George Palmer and Booker T. Washington. ~~and Booker T. Washington~~. The slogan of the movement was "enlistment of men in the program of Jesus as the world program of daily affairs."

Atlanta was one of the ninety cities selected for the organization of the Movement. The first Atlanta meeting was held April 17, 1911 in the Atlanta YMCA, with ex-Governor William J. Northen presiding. At the meeting John J. Eagan was elected president and Marion M. Jackson vice-president. Although laymen, both of these men were active in the Evangelical Ministers' Association and both were associated with the YMCA. Mr. Jackson at the time was president of the YMCA, a post he held from 1908-1916. Several ministers who served on the first executive committee and board of directors of the Movement were Rev. W. C. Schaeffer, pastor, English Luther Church; Rev. John E. White, pastor, Second Baptist Church; Rev. C. B. Wilmer, rector, St. Luke's Episcopal Church; Rev. M.J. Cofer (church unknown).

The Movement was highly organized. For example, the following commit-

tees were operating in Atlanta by late 1911: Business and Finance, Publicity, Eight-Day Campaign and Special Events, Auxiliary Cities, Boy's Work, Bible Study, Evangelism, Community Extension, Social Service, and Missions. By 1913 their budget called for $30,000, raised largely from Atlanta's churches.

The men who represented the Movement worked closely with the Atlanta Evangelical Ministers' Association. Many of the men who served as chairmen of the Movement's committees were also members of the Ministers' Association. (The Association evidently accepted both ministers and non-ministers. At least the meetings were attended by both). The Association at its December 4, 1911 meeting passed the following resolution:

> Whereas the Program of Work of the Man and Religion Forward Movement is the program of the practical activities of the Christian Church,
>
> Be it Resolved, First, that we heartily endorse the Movement and pledge it our cordial and loyal support, and
>
> Secondly, that during the coming year, regular provision be made for the consideration during the executive session of our monthly meetings of those matters that are the common interest of this Association and the Forward Movement.

The Movement was deeply concerned about the social evils of Atlanta and expended its energy toward the elimination of them. One of the first undertakings was to clear up the prostitution houses in the "red light district" of Atlanta. Those in the Movement worked closely with Police Chief Beavers on this project. Along with the closing of the prostitution houses they were involved in opening up Martha's House for unwed mothers. Some of the other social causes they took up over the following years were prison reform, prohibition, support of child labor legislation, and labor justice. Their concern for the later is well illustrated in the action of the Movement in response to two strikes in Atlanta in 1914 -- one at the

Index Publishing Company, and the other at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills. They decided that there was little they could do about the strike at the Index Publishing Company, but they went on record in favor of the workers' right to organize. The Evangelical Ministers' Association passed the following resolution on February 2, 1914:

> As pertaining to the controversy between the Atlanta Typographical Union and the Index Publishing Co., we recognize the matter to be outside the province of the Evangelical Ministers' Association; and that this committee representing the Association has no more authority in this particular instance than with regard to any other business concern.
>
> But be it resolved that we express the deepest sympathy with the efforts of laboring men to better their conditions and recognize their wisdom and right in organizing to this end.

In contrast to this stance of non-involvement with the strike at the Index Publishing Co., the Ministers' Association and the Men and Religion Forward Movement were deeply involved with the strike at Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills. The strike at the Mills lasted for more than three months, from late May to early September, 1914. On July 6, 1914, the following resolution was passed by the Association:

> That this association of Evangelical Ministers commend to both parties in the controversy at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills the duty of arbitrating their difficulties and tender to this and the good offices of this association in any way which may be deemed useful.

Rev. C. B. Wilmer, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, and a member of the Ministers' Association declared that the Men and Religion Committee and Mr. Marion Jackson, president of the YMCA "were proving the strongest influence in the city for keeping order during the strike." One of the ways they exerted their influence during the strike was to devote many of their three-column bulletins, which appeared weekly (sometimes twice weekly) in the Atlanta <u>Constitution</u>, to the subject of the strike. They began

publishing these bulletins in June, 1912 to keep the readers informed about social conditions in Atlanta. When the strike at Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills came in 1914 they had a ready mouthpiece and used it effectively. In fact, they were so effective in calling the public's attention to the social conditions of Atlanta that public pressure was put on the Constitution to stop publishing the bulletins, because they were giving Atlanta a bad image and were distracting the interests of the industrialists who were looking toward Atlanta. The Constitution gave in to public pressure and after September, 1914 they refused to accept any more bulletins from the Men and Religion Forward Movement. But by this time they had published 140 bulletins.

In addition to the bulletins the men in the Movement helped to organize public meetings to discuss the conditions at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills and the circumstances surrounding the strike. A mass meeting held at the Grand Opera house on June 28, 1914, was attended by 2000 people. The speakers at the meeting included three key men from the Movement, namely, Rev. C. B. Wilmer, Rev. John E. White, and Marion M. Jackson. Rev. Wilmer spoke on "Industrial Democracy" and Rev. White on "Mediation." But the speech that received the greatest attention on the front page of the June 29 Constitution was Marion Jackson's, entitled, "The Coming of the Kingdom of God."

In spite of all these efforts the strike accomplished no permanent improvement for the workers. By September the strikers' energies were dissipated. Those involved in the strike were fired by the Mill, and as far as the management was concerned things were soon back to normal operation.

During the period of the next couple of years the Men and Religion Forward Movement continued its program of social justice in Atlanta with modest success. In the meantime many of the other chapters of the Movement

in other cities had died out. Rather than have this happen in Atlanta, the executive committee of the Movement recommended to the Ministers' Association in October, 1916 that a Committee on Church Co-operation be appointed to take over and continue the work of the executive committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. The recommendation was accepted by the Ministers' Association and a Committee on Church Co-operation was forthwith appointed. The committee was composed of both clergy and laymen from a cross-section of Atlanta's church life. A perusal of the persons involved indicates the wide representation on the committee: Dr. Charles W. Daniel, pastor, First Baptist Church; Dr. Charles O. Jones, pastor, Trinity Methodist Church; Mr. John A. Manget; Mr. John J. Eagan; Dr. C. S. Wilmer, rector, St. Luke's Episcopal; Mr. Jacob W. Paterson; Dr. J. H. Elder, pastor, Ponce de Leon Ave. Methodist Episcopal; Mr. H. A. Etheridge; Mr. J. V. Wellborn; Mr. J.p. Jackson; Dr. R. O. Flinn, pastor, North Ave. Presbyterian; Dr. L. O. Bricker, pastor, First Christian; Rev. W. C. Schaeffer, pastor, Church of the Redeemer (Lutheran); Dr. Thomas H. Johnson, dean St. Phillips Cathedral (Episcopal); Prof. Floyd Field; Dr. Dunbar H. Ogden, pastor Central Presbyterian; Mr. M. M. Jackson; Mr. John W. Crenshaw; Dr. J. F. Purser, pastor West End Baptist Church; Mr. Walker Dunson; and ex-officio Dr. J. S. Lyons, president of the Evangelical Ministers' Association.

The appointment of the Committee on Church Co-operation meant that formally the Men and Religion Forward Movement in Atlanta was dissolved. However, the spirit of the Movement in the form of concern for ecumenism and social justice lived on in the Committee of Church Co-operation.

October 30, 1969

Mr. Paul Buechle
Mennonite House
540 Houston Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Beuchle:

Enclosed is a draft copy of a paper by Harry Lefever on Cabbagetown. Although the get-together at our home on Sunday evening is informal and social, I hope we will have some opportunity to discuss Cabbagetown and Harry's paper.

I trust the three of you coming from Mennonite House will have an opportunity to scan the paper before coming over.

I would like to have the paper returned Sunday night.

I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure - 1

Dear Mr. Beuchle:

Enclosed is a draft copy of a paper by Harry Leeuwen on Cabbagetown. Although we get together at ~~our~~ our home on Sunday evening is informal and social, I hope we will have some opportunity to discuss Cabbagetown and Harry's paper.

I trust the terms of your coming from Mennonite have will have an opportunity to scan the paper before coming over.

I look forward to meeting you.

Smith

Paul Baechle
Mennonite House
540 Houston, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga

37,750

26,081

63,831

-26,000 Salvage

1050 Lynhurst Dr., S.W.
Atlanta
Jan. 20, 1970

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta,

Dear Emory,

Listed below are the names of the persons from Mennonite House who helped with my study with their addresses and the number of interviews completed. In our conversation on Monday you had mentioned the figure of between $.75 and $1.00 per interview as a realistic possibility.

14 - Tina Buechele, Mennonite House, 540 Houston St. N.E., Atlanta 30312
12 - Paul Buechele, " "
2 - Beverly Hillman, " "
5 - Paul Quiring, 3031 E. Platt, Apt. G., Fresno, Calif. 93701
4 - Cornelia Brown, Box 8371, Stanford, Calif., 94305
7 - Curt Boylls, 329 Richard Rd., Naperville, Ill., 60540

I mentioned yesterday that Will Campbell will be coming to Cabbagetown this Friday night. I'm sorry to say, he now has a conflict and will be unable to come.

Your mention of Harry Sharp rang a familar note with me. I have several of his articles. His address (which you prebably already know) is: Survey Research Lab., 905 Un. Ave., Madison, Wisc. 53715. I don't know his telephone #. If you have opportunity to contact him or anyone else who could answer some of the research questions we discussed I would appreciate learning about it.

I'm returning a corrected copy of my report. Starting on p. 4 you will note "start" and"Stop" in the margin. This was a quick attempt to cut out all the portions that might be offensive to Cabbagetown readers. This is a fast way to get a 25-30 page summary (more if appendix is included). Would that at all be the type of summary you had in mind? After you have time to look it over I will talk with you about it.

Sincerely,

Harry

Fila: Harry Lefever

THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE MEN AND RELIGION FORWARD MOVEMENT IN A 1914 LABOR STRIKE IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Harry G. Lefever

In the years preceeding World War I a movement swept through American Protestantism known as the Men and Religion Forward Movement. It originated in New York City, but quickly spread to ninety cities across the country. Among the objectives of the Movement were "to find 3,000,000 men missing in participation in church life" and to double the enrollment of all men's Bible classes. "Enlistment of men in the program of Jesus as the world program of daily affairs" was their slogan.

Initiated by a group of businessmen, who believed that religion could be sold, the Movement early exhibited the business principles of brisk efficiency, detailed organization, and the use of sales techniques. On the premise that "the army of the Lord moves on its stomach," dinner meetings were held from coast to coast. In each city in which a chapter was launched, a flood of publicity was released, followed by an intensive eight-day campaign. Speakers and specialists were present to explain the objectives of the Movement and to discuss the details of local social conditions that needed correcting.

The Movement was motivated by the "social gospel," a theological emphasis of the liberal Protestant churches which attempted to apply Christian principles to social issues during the turn-of-the-century decades. According to Charles Hopkins,

> the acceptance of the social gospel by the churches was most obviously demonstrated in the "Men and Religion Forward Movement," which was the most comprehensive evangelistic effort ever undertaken in the United States. Although it had not been planned to stress social messages disproportionately, the popularity of this phase of its program virtually converted the Movement into a social-gospel campaign, so that [Walter] Rauschenbusch could well say that it had "probably done more than any other single

> agency to lodge the social gospel in the common mind of the Church," and that it had "made Social Christianity orthodox."[1]

The social gospel emphasis is clearly evident throughout the seven volumes of published speeches of the Men and Religion Forward Congress, held in New York in 1912. Among those who spoke at the Congress, were the following prominent social gospel leaders: Walter Rauschenbusch, Washington Gladden, Frank Mason North, and Henry Sloan Coffin. Appearing at the Congress along with these recognized social gospel promoters were two other well-known persons, Jane Adams and Booker T. Washington, names perhaps not usually associated with the social gospel movement, but persons, nevertheless, who along with the social gospelers, were concerned to improve the social conditions of America.

* * *

Atlanta, Georgia, was one of the ninety cities selected for the organization of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. The first Atlanta meeting was held April 14, 1911 in the Atlanta YMCA, with ex-Governor William J. Northen presiding.[2] At the meeting John J. Eagan was elected president, Marion M. Jackson, vice-president, and Rev. W. C. Schaeffer, secretary. Mr. Eagan, an industrialist (founder of the American Cast Iron Company of Birmingham), was active in philanthropic and civic endeavors. He was an elder of the Central Presbyterian Church in Atlanta and served as the superintendent of the Central Presbyterian Sunday School for more than twenty years. Mr. Jackson was president of the Atlanta YMCA, a post he held from 1908-1916. Rev. Schaeffer was pastor of the English Lutheran Church.

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1. The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 296
2. The Men and Religion Forward Movement in Atlanta (Atlanta, n.d. A 15-page pamphlet published by the Executive Committee of the Movement)

The men who represented the Movement worked closely with the Atlanta Evangelical Ministers' Association. Many of the men (both laymen and ministers) who served as chairmen of the Movement's committees were also members of the Ministers' Association. The Association formally endorsed the Atlanta chapter of the Men and Religious Forward Movement at its December 4, 1911 meeting with the passage of the following resolution:

> Whereas the Program of Work of the Men and Religion Forward Movement is the program of the practical activities of the Christian Church,
>
> Be it Resolved, First, that we heartily endorse the Movement and pledge it our cordial and loyal support, and,
>
> Secondly, that during the coming year, regular provision be made for the consideration during the executive session of our monthly meetings of those matters that are the common interest of this Association and the Forward Movement

Of common interest to both the Association and the Movement was the task of eradicating the "social evils" that existed in Atlanta. Their first combined undertaking in 1912 was to work with Atlanta Police Chief James Beavers in an effort to clear ~~up~~ out the prostitution houses in the "red light district" of the city. Other projects and causes they took up over the following years were to open a house for unwed mothers, prison reform, prohibition, support of child labor legislation, and labor justice.

An opportunity to support the cause of labor justice came in the summer of 1914, when a strike took place at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills in Cabbagetown, a poor white community in southeast Atlanta. For six months prior to the beginning of the strike, from December, 1913, until May, 1914, workers had tirelessly presented their grievances to the owners of the mill. In order to better express their concerns the workers formed a union. The mill owners, in learning of this action, immediately fired 78 workers.

By late spring the president of the Georgia Federation of Labor, S. B. Marks, was involved in the dispute. He wrote a letter to the mill owners asking for an audience with them, and demanded that the discharge of employees for joining the union stop. No reply was ever received. So on May 20 a strike was called.

An open air mass meeting to discuss the grievances of the strikers was held at Grant Park on Sunday afternoon, May 31. The list of complaints to the more than 1000 present included the high brick walls topped with broken glass which surrounded the mills, the written passes required of the operatives when they left the mill, and the docking system which fined workers for inferior work or coming late to work.

Speakers at the mass meeting were Charles A. Miles, AFL organizer from New York; S.B. Marks, President, Georgia Federation of Labor; and Mrs. E. B. Marks, an Atlanta labor leader. (Three weeks after this meeting Mrs. Marks was appointed by AFL president, Samuel Gompers, to take local charge of the strike). These speakers claimed that 435 operatives were out on strike at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills. They also declared that 5,000 workingmen of Atlanta had agreed to share their salaries with the Fulton operatives during the strike, and that 2,000,000 other workers in the country were back of the strike financially. Also they informed the audience that the National Textile Workers' Association had camped in Atlanta and would be here, if necessary, "until Gabriel blows his trumpet, if the Fulton mill owners were that long in agreeing to right the prevailing industrial conditions."[3]

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3. Atlanta Constitution, June 2, 1914, p. 2

A week later the strikers took their protest to the streets. On the afternoon of June 3, more than 200 striking workers paraded through the streets of downtown Atlanta. The Constitution reported that "the line created a unique spectacle, as the men and women - paried off in couples - marched silently over the streets."[4]

On the same day that the strikers marched, the Constitution carried a three-column article, paid for by the management of the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills. They felt that the publicity surrounding the strike had presented views that were factually incorrect. So in order to present their side of the story they took out an advertisement in which was printed the following:

> Statements have appeared in the news columns during the past few days so unwarranted in fact that we deem it proper to state the following:
>
> The average number of persons employed by us regularly is 1,400.
> We now have in our employ 1,360.
> The number of employees who went out on strike are 78, about five per cent of the total.
> The people now in our employ desire to work.
> Those on strike, 78, aided by strangers, are endeavoring to prevent, by usual methods, the 1,360 who wish to work.
> Our weekly payroll amounts to the sum of $11,500 per week; the average wages are $8.50 per week, per person.
> The fines per week do not exceed the sum of $10.00 out of a payroll of $11,500 per week. It costs this Company more to audit the fines than the amount so received, but it is at times necessary to impose slight fines to insure proper performance of duties.
> This company has always anticipated legislation as to hours of labor, and age of employment.
> Since 1881, during panic as well as prosperity, it has run without cessation.
> It has no commissary, and has always paid its employees in cash.

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4. ibid., June 4, 1914, p. 5

The striking employees, we think, are misled by persons who are not employees, and some of these strangers have never been in our employment, and are not citizens of this State.

We have in our employ 14 minors between the ages of 12 and 14, and 50 minors between the age of 14 and 16, all of whom have strictly complied with the law covering the employment of minors.

We do not believe this community can be benefited by having mis-statements spread broadcast, hence we furnish the facts.

(Signed) FULTON BAG & COTTON MILLS[5]

In response to this statement, several other statements appeared in the Atlanta Constitution representing the labor side of the strike. The one was published by the Atlanta Federation of Trades; the others by the executive committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. The Federation of Trades statement appeared on June 7 and read as follows:

The public should be made aware of the real reason for the strike, and have a truthful statement of the number involved and of other facts surrounding the situation. The organization of the textile union was the outgrowth of a strike in the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills several months ago, when the operatives protested against the nefarious docking system and prison rules imposed upon them.

The management at that time agreed to certain terms and the employees returned to work, but during the existence of the strike a union was formed. Several of those in active formation of the union were discharged. It was only a short time later that conditions became worse than formerly, and members of the union were discharged as fast as it was ascertained by cotton mill officials.

About 385, and not only 78, walked out at the signal of the committee, while about 100 or more did not return to work when the whistle blew for the return from dinner. A commissary has been opened to supply provisions for the strikers, who have been out since Wednesday, May 20.

Employees are compelled to sign a contract before going to work in the mill that places them in almost slavery; they are docked unmercifully for frivolous offenses, and the wages of the

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5. ibid., June 3, 1914, p. 3

grown men and women are horribly low, the home surroundings of the operatives are insanitary, and it is the hope of the mill officials to starve the strikers into submission.

(Signed) ATLANTA FEDERATION OF TRADES,

J.B. Hewitt, President
J.F. Bradfield, Secretary
William Van Houten, Secretary and Treasurer[6]
L.P. Marquardt, Chariman, Board of Trustees

The Men and Religion Forward Movement statements appeared in the weekly (occasionally twice-weekly) bulletins which they published in the Constitution. The practice of publishing bulletins in the Constitution was initiated in June, 1912 by the executive committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement, with the purpose of stating their views and registering their concern regarding social issues. When the strike at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills began in 1914, they devoted a number of their bulletins to that issue. Bulletins 119, 121 and 123 are representative of the position they took with regard to the strike.

Men and Religion Bulletin No. 119

LET US HAVE JUSTICE

"I hate, I despise your feasts --- "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. "But let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." (Amos 5:21-23-24)

...This quiet crowd moving through our city's streets is ... in search of happiness. Policemen are at the column's head, where walks a man bearing the American flag. They are strikers.

Look to the East! There on the city's edge, three smokestacks tower above massive buildings; a great wall surrounds them; glass and barbed wire run along its top. Above it one sees a gaunt black bridge; over it goes a group of children as the warning whistle blows; a little girl not over twelve, her pink dress fluttering against the grime, runs through a forbidding door to work.

SHE AND THEY SHOULD BE AT PLAY.

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6. ibid., June 7, 1914, p. 5B

Just over the way are those who neither work no play; they sleep in Cakland Cemetery.

Graves of the living are between it and the mill - dreary, drab, monotonously the same, row after row of houses.

Behind them, sanitary conditions which are a menace to the city's health.

Laborers live here.

They have a grievance; underlying it are many complaints.

They struck.

They say, "The Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill discharged 78 of us for joining the Union."

This the mill owners deny. But why do they refuse to have an impartial board investigate and dispose of these complaints?

The strikers are willing.

YESTERDAY, MARSHALS OF OUR COURTS WERE PUTTING HOUSEHOLD GOODS INTO THE STREETS: THE STRIKERS MUST MOVE ON: THE MILLS MUST HAVE THEIR HOUSES. GOD PITY AND PROTECT THEM AND THEIR KIND!

... Our age calls for justice to all.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT REPORT upon conditions in cotton mills states that a man, having a wife and three children of 10 to 4, must earn $600.74 a year to maintain a fair standard of living. This standard does not allow savings to meet the contingency of any unusual event, such as lack of employment, or an accident to the father. It makes no provision for old age.

The report states that the minimum for such a family is $408.26. Below this for such a family is actual suffering.

Think of these figures! WHAT DOES YOUR FAMILY REQUIRE?

The Fulton Bag & Cotton Mill states that its average wage is $8.00 per week. If this be true, among 1,400 employees, what of those who receive less than the average, which, providing the worker loses not a week of the 52 must amount to $416.00 per annum, providing that it is not reduced by any fines or penalties?

Mark you - the Government's figures are for a family consisting of a father and mother and three little children of 4 to 10. As these grow their demands must increase.

Think! And you will see that the presence of children, who should be in school and at play, working their lives away in mills, is not wholly due to shiftless fathers who will not work, but to the grave necessity for supporting the family life - THE LACK OF A LIVING WAGE.

THERE ARE NO PROBLEMS IN THE GRAVEYARD OVER WHICH THE THREE STACKS BELCH THEIR SMOKE, BUT THERE ARE QUESTIONS BENEATH THEIR MOVING SHADOWS WHICH GOD WILL HAVE YOU ANSWER. ...

The spirit of God is abroad in the world.

And men are crying for justice.

In the end they will have it.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MEN AND RELIGION FORWARD MOVEMENT[7]

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7. ibid., June 6, 1914, p. 7

Men and Religion Bulletin No. 121

... At present a strike is on in one of our largest mills. The strikers claim that between seven and nine hundred workers are out because of unbearable conditions in the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills. The mill owners claim that only about seventy-eight are out, and that conditions in their mills are better than in any others, and are constantly being improved.

But all who have looked know that sanitary conditions are unspeakable in the mill settlement. And all who know ought of charity in Atlanta are aware that thousands of dollars go to relieve the needs of mill workers.

No harm can come of an impartial investigation of conditions in this mill. Much good may be accomplished by it.

IF AN INJUSTICE HAS BEEN DONE THE MILL OWNERS, IMPARTIAL MEN CAN RIGHT IT. IF CONDITIONS ARE CAUSING WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO SUFFER, THEY CAN BE -- THEY WILL BE CORRECTED.

The owners of the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills want no money from the starved lives of women and children.

The workers do not want to ruin or harm the mill upon the success of which their welfare must depend.

Both want only their right. And the public asks that both do justice. Let the truth be known.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MEN AND RELIGION FORWARD MOVEMENT[8]

Men and Religion Bulletin No. 123

ATLANTA WANTS PEACE

"The rich and the poor meet together: the Lord is the maker of them all." Proverbs 22:2

On the one hand, laborers representing several thousand souls.

On the other hand, the officers of a corporation, the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills, representing its few stockholders.

The rich and the poor have met. And a great cry for justice goes up to God.

Hundreds of laborers have struck, risking privation and want for themselves and their loved ones.

The corporation's officers say, "They have no cause."

THE STRIKERS URGE, "INVESTIGATE."

They write to this Committee -

"Reference has been made in your recent bulletins to the conflicting statements made by both interested parties in the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills strike.

"Realizing that your Movement, representing, as it does, the spirit of the Churches of the City, and aiming to apply the teachings of

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8. ibid., June 17, 1914 p. 5

Christianity to the practical affairs of life, we are willing to permit you to be our judge and jury.

"WE ARE WILLING TO SUBMIT THE WHOLE MATTER AT ISSUE TO A COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY YOU, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT BOTH SIDES MAY PRESENT THEIR EVIDENCE TO THE COMMITTEE, WHO SHALL ARBITRATE THEIR DIFFERENCES: THEIR FINDINGS SHALL BE HANDED DOWN IN WRITING, AND BE FINAL AND BINDING UPON BOTH PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED IN THE STRIKE."

The Church of the living God, with no other purpose than to serve our Maker by serving men, calls you to think of these things.

Should the few refuse to permit a fair and impartial investigation of the claims made by these hundreds of workers?

Did you see their procession Saturday afternoon?

They marched through the city's streets.

Heat radiated from the pavement.

It beat upon the little children and women, walking with husbands and fathers.

Their silence hurt.

IT SPOKE OF GRAY, COLORLESS LIVES, LIVED APART FROM THE JOY AND LIFE OF THOSE WHO MOTOR OVER COOL COUNTRY ROADS OR PLAY GOLF THESE WEARILY HOT SUMMER AFTERNOONS, WHEN LITTLE CHILDREN WORK IN MILLS.

These people want no war. They seek peace.

They are bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh.

What shall we do?

God has given to our business men a great opportunity.

Shall we travel together solving these problems which bear alike upon both capital and labor? Or, shall we wait and hesitate, until endless wrangling and fighting has wrought in Georgia the shame and spread abroad a stain of blood like that which has disgraced West Virginia, New England, Wisconsin and Colorado?

TODAY, WE CAN CONTROL WITH LOVE.

TOMORROW, HELL, WITH ALL OF ITS IMPS OF HATE, MAY BE IN THE SADDLE.

Atlanta and Georgia want industrial peace.

City and State watch and wait.

This coming Sunday, in the afternoon, at the Grand Opera House, will be a mass meeting to hear and consider the bearing of the teachings of Jesus Christ upon these questions which we must answer.

Keep the afternoon open for this.

Sunday morning, go to your church and pray God's guidance upon our people.

Then, come and meet with us.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MEN AND RELIGION FORWARD MOVEMENT[9]

The bulletins had their effect. In fact, they were so effective in calling the public's attention to the social conditions of Atlanta that public pressure was put on the Constitution to stop publishing the

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9. Ibid., June 24, 1914, p. 9

bulletins, because they said they were giving Atlanta a bad image and were distracting the interests of the industrialists who were looking toward Atlanta. The Constitution gave in to public pressure and after September, 1914 they refused to accept any more bulletins from the Men and Religion Forward Movement. Their last bulletin published was No. 140.

In addition to the bulletins the men in the Movement helped to organize public meetings to discuss the conditions at the mill and the circumstances surrounding the strike. A mass meeting held at the Grand Opera House on Sunday, June 28, 1914, was attended by 2000 people. The speakers at the meeting included three key men from the Movement, namely, Rev. C.B. Wilmer, rector, St. Luke's Episcopal Church; Rev. John E. White, pastor, Second Baptist Church; and Marion M. Jackson, president, Atlanta YMCA.

The meeting received front-page coverage in Monday morning's Constitution. The speech that was accorded the greatest attention in the article was Marion Jackson's entitled, "The Coming of the Kingdom of God." The first part of Jackson's speech was devoted to a recounting of the history of the Jews and the constant struggles for freedom and justice they experienced. He cited Moses as the leader of the first strike - that of the Israelites against slavery to Pharaoh in the brick yards of Egypt. Jackson then went on to appeal to the Jewish owners of the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills to be true to their tradition. "The Jews in Atlanta may not hold to the same religious beliefs that I hold to, but they recognize the principles of right and justice on which that religion is founded."

Included in his speech were attacks on a contract drawn up by an attorney for the Mills. He made reference to a statement in the contract which declared that the mill is to pay the employee only for such services as are rendered and is not to pay for loss of time arising from accidents,

disability or any other cause. He also called attention to the fact that the contract allowed the company to discharge an employee whenever it shall become unwilling to retain him. The latter clause, Jackson pointed out, gave the mill owners authority to discharge any employee if he joined the union.

He went on to say that "there are people who have no patience with labor unions, and say there should be none. But out at those mills there are now, or were only a short time ago, insanitary conditions such as threaten not only the lives of the people who live and work there, but also the health of the entire city. Now, there comes a strike to have these conditions remedied. If these conditions cannot be remedied in any other way, is it right that we should say that there should be no such thing as an organization to fight against such conditions?"

At the close of his speech, Mr. Jackson submitted a resolution for the audience to consider. After some discussion it was subsequently adopted. The resolution read as follows:

> Whereas, the strikers at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill have signified their willingness to have the differences between them and the mill arbitrated; and
>
> Whereas, for the protection of women and children and the health of the community, the public is very vitally interested in the solving of the points of the truth or the difference between both the strikers and the mill owners; be it
>
> Resolved, that we, citizens of Atlanta and Fulton county, in mass meeting assembled, do urge upon the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill the necessity for meeting this offer in the same spirit of fairness and that an arbitration be had between the strikers and the mill in a manner and form to be determined by them.[10]

The day following the mass meeting, the mill management, represented by vice president Oscar Elsas, replied to the resolution with a one-sentence statement.

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10. ibid., June 29, 1914, p. 1

> After carefully considering the suggestion that we arbitrate our business affairs, we have decided, in view of the fact that we have at the present time about 1,200 satisfied employees at work, and less than 85 now out, there is nothing to arbitrate.[11]

Prior to the June 28 mass meeting the strikers had suggested that the Men and Religion Forward Movement and the ministers of Atlanta select a mediation board. This was discussed at the meeting and it was decided that it would be better for the employees and the mill owners to select their own board. This, of course, never happened, because the mill owners claimed that there was nothing to arbitrate.

The Evangelical Ministers' Association, nevertheless, let it be known that they were ready to help in any way they could. At their July 6 meeting they passed a resolution to that effect.

> That this association of Evangelical Ministers commend to both parties in the controversy at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills the duty of arbitrating their difficulties and tender to this and the good offices of this association in any way which may be deemed useful.[12]

Although the Men and Religion Forward Movement and the Ministers' Association never had an opportunity to formally arbitrate in the dispute, Rev. C. B. Wilmer, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church and a member of the Ministers' Association, was of the opinion that the Men and Religion Committee and Mr. Marion Jackson, president of the YMCA "were proving the strongest influence in the city for keeping order during the strike."[13]

On July 12 another mass meeting was held at the Baptist Tabernacle to discuss the issues of the strike and the problems of Capital and Labor in general. Eight hundred were present at the three-hour meeting. John Eagan,

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11. ibid., June 30, 1914, p. 1
12. Minutes, Evangelical Ministers' Association, July 6, 1914
13. ibid.

president of the Men and Religion Forward Movement spoke on the need to apply Christianity to labor problems. After his speech a laborer rose from his seat in the gallery and shouted, "We have been waiting for nineteen hundred years for Christ to solve our problems and they are yet unsolved; it is time for us to get busy ourselves!"[14]

Perhaps it was this urgent plea from the gallery that inspired the Rev. John E. White, pastor of the Second Baptist Church and a member of the executive committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement, to offer the opinion at the meeting that he did. He declared publicly that he thought the Atlanta papers were not giving the labor problems a fair deal.[15]

The following week, July 19, another mass meeting sponsored by the Men and Religion Forward Movement was held with 2000 reportedly present. Rev. J. Sprole Lyons, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church spoke. It was declared by those representing the strikers that over 300 were now out on strike. It was also reported by the Men and Religion Forward Movement that two U.S. Representatives, Mesrs. Robinson and Husband, were in Atlanta to "try to adjust differences" at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills.

The strike, which by mid-summer had reached a stalemate, dragged on through August. During all this time the strikers were cared for by a group from the National Textile Workers' Association. They had arrived in Atlanta a few days after the strike began and set up a tent colony in Cabbagetown which served as a commissary and sleeping quarters for 247 families who had been evicted from mill housing. The tent colony, disparaged by those who opposed the strike as the work of outside agitators,

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14. Atlanta Constitution, July 13, 1914, p. 1
15. This opinion of Rev. White is substantiated by the fact that during the entire three-month duration of the strike the Atlanta Constitution never once editorialized about the dispute.

became the focus of some wild gossip. For example, a 77-year-old resident of Cabbagetown, now retired but who was working at the mill at the time of the strike, recounted the "immoral sleeping arrangement" of the strikers' tents. He said that the result of the experience was that many families, formerly stable and reputable, were broken. He added that it was reported that nine months later Grady Hospital was crowded with unmarried teenage girls from the strikers' families who had gone there to have their babies delivered.

By September the strikers' energies were dissipated. With a large supply of new labor available the mill owners could afford to ignore the strikers' efforts. The strike gradually petered out as the jobless workers sought other work before winter came. As far as the management of the mill was concerned things were soon back to normal operation.

As for the Men and Religion Forward Movement and the others who represented the workers' point of view, it seems that nothing was accomplished. And yet George Mitchell reports that the strike lent moral support to the workers' cause. In his book, Textile Unionism and the South, he writes that the strike "gave the union good talking points in an appeal for funds, and it aired to the full its views of Southern conditions ... Defeat did not injure the union's propaganda; from Atlanta the sense of grievance spread."[16]

During the period of the next couple of years the Men and Religion Forward Movement continued its program of social justice in Atlanta with modest success. In the meantime many of the other chapters of the Movement

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16. Textile Unionism and the South (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1931), p. 34f.

in other cities had died out. Rather than have this happen in Atlanta, the executive committee of the Movement recommended to the Ministers' Association in October, 1916, that a Committee on Church Co-operation be appointed to take over and continue the work of the executive committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. The recommendation was accepted by the Ministers' Association and a Committee, composed of both clergy and laymen, was forthwith appointed.

The appointment of the Committee on Church Co-operation meant that formally the Men and Religion Forward Movement in Atlanta was dissolved. However, the spirit of the Movement in the form of a concern for social justice lived on in the Committee of Church Co-operation.

* * *

The involvement of the Men and Religion Forward Movement in the 1914 strike at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills stands out in contrasting fashion to Southern Protestantism's more usual conservative role in economic matters. Many writers have characterized southern religion as basically individualistic and fundamentalistic, and as disassociated from causes of social justice. These same writers have pointed out that in the instances when the Southern Protestant churches have become involved in social issues they have done so on the side of the status quo.

For example, C. Vann Woodward states that in the decades surrounding the turn of the century, "the current in the South ran counter" to socialized religion.[17] In a similar vein, Samuel S. Hill, Jr. declares that "the southern church has never devoted its energies to the redemption of the social

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17. Origins of the New South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), p. 450

structures, and certainly warrants no identification with the 'social gospel' tradition ..."[18] Also representative of this view is the interpretation Liston Pope gives to his findings in his classic study of the role of the churches in the 1929 Gastonia, North Carolina, strike. He summarized his findings with the following words:

> In the cultural ~~cirisi~~ crisis of 1929 Gastonia ministers revealed that their economic ethicways were products of the economic system in which they lived, with no serious modification by any transcendent economic or religious standard. They were willing to allow the power of religious institutions to be used against those who challenged this economic system, and themselves assisted in such use. At no important point did they stand in opposition to the prevailing economic arrangements or to drastic methods employed for their preservation. In no significant respect was their role productive of change in economic life. By and large, they contributed unqualified and effective sanction to their economic culture, insofar as their words and deeds make it possible to judge.[19]

Perhaps the interpretation of Woodward, Hill, and Pope is generally valid for the southern region as a whole. It is an interpretation, however, that is not without exception. The 1914 involvement of the Men and Religion Forward Movement in Atlanta on the side of labor is just such an exception. This incident seems to lend credence to the argument of Kenneth K. Bailey who points out that "although the social gospel movement was much weaker in the South than in the North, yet social concern was more manifest among southern religious leaders than has been generally recognized."[20] The role of the Men and Religion Forward Movement in the 1914 Atlanta strike provides a concrete example to substantiate Bailey's general description of the moderately progressive stance that developed in the

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18. Southern Churches in Crisis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), p. 171
19. Millands and Preachers (New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 330
20. Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 43 fn.

southern churches during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century.

> Between the turn of the century and World War I, the three major southern white Protestant groups /Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian/ underwent significant changes in program and outlook. Absorbed at the turn of the century in evangelism and little mindful of social needs beyond blue laws and prohibition, they emerged during the next fifteen years as advocates of social justice, proclaiming the Christian obligation to fashion Christ's kingdom on earth.[21]

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21. ibid., p. 42

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS

C O L L E C T I V E B A R G A I N I N G C O N F E R E N C E

FEBRUARY 16 - 17, 1963

WISCONSIN CENTER
702 LANGDON STREET
MADISON, WISCONSIN

SPONSORED BY

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS
and
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS, THE UNIVERSITY OF
WISCONSIN EXTENSION DIVISION

School for Workers
The University of Wisconsin

Discussion Work Sheet--Administration of the Branch

The first NALC Training and Education Handbook points out that "Branch officers are now faced with something entirely new . . . . They will soon be required to actually negotiate a contract . . . which will govern working conditions for a stated period in that office."

Should administrative procedures of the Branch be changed in order that Branches will be better prepared to handle, this new duty of negotiating an agreement and if so, how? A discussion of some of the following questions may be helpful in highlighting the different problems to be solved.

Qualifications?

1. How should the negotiating Committee be selected, how big should it be and who should serve on it? 1) STATION Representatives. 2) "Supervision"

2. What power should the Branch delegate to the negotiating committee? What should be the relationship of this negotiating committee to the existing structure? written agreement — ratification — only bargain what previously agreed to (exact form?)

3. Should reports by the negotiating committee be made at each branch meeting? Should these reports be oral or written?

4. Should the negotiating committee be dissolved upon successfully completing negotiation of a local agreement?

5. Will the Branch have to create some type of committee to administer the agreement after it has been negotiated? If so, how should the activities of this committee be coordinated with other Branch activities? what did grievance discussion show?

6. Should Branch by-laws be revised to reflect the structure created to handle the negotiation of a local agreement and the administration of this agreement after completion of negotiations?

Stewards Separate

7. In what other ways will Branch activities be changed by the addition of this new type of duties?

Other questions from groups — that have already arisen that relate to

Mang. must confer with ~~ex~~ rep.

(1) How do you institutionalize the new function — build it into structure — for 1) understandability
2) responsibility (assigned)
3) continuity & effectiveness —

(3) What is the Committee Structure now
Press? Ed.? Recreat. [Required: 1) ON organization
2) Billet Claims Referrals]

* How has "Bargaining" function been handled in past
How gear bargaining functions with other Committees

Not policy-making, but discussion of potential policy —

How avoid becoming just a "sounding board" as compared to a negotiating agent
[Important because of nature of employment & Ex. Order]
e.g. Attention to individuals; detailed regulations remove most areas of bargaining [Watch systematically]
When handle Union affairs — not on govt. time —

* Is it desireable to make clean break with new Ex. Order —

Agency facilities for Assoc. Affairs [Sect 7(?) Part IV "Employee-Management Coop" — Civil Service]
1) May have meetings on govt property (May not admitted to)
2) Lunch periods for business 3) Bulletin Bds 4) Perhaps Intra-Agency Communications
5) Notices in "House Organs" 6) Office Space (Special Conditions)

Emery

By Laws of Branch 507 Oc

Article 1. Name & Number

Section 1. This subordinate Branch shall be known as "Fo City" Branch 507 of the National Association of Letter Carriers

Article 2. Meetings

Section 1. Regular meetings of this Branch shall be held on 2nd Tuesday of each month, at such time and place as designated by Branch; except that in case of emergency, it shall be the duty of t ident and executive officers of Branch 507 to provide a place and da for the meeting.

Section 2. The numbers of members to be inserted in the Space provided in Article 3, Section 2, of the Constitution for the Governmen of Subordinate Branches of the N.A.L.C. shall be seven(7). This refers to the number of signers required to call special meetings.

Article 3. Nominations and Elections.

Section 1. Nominations for Branch officers shall be made at the October meeting and the elections will be held in November.

Section 2. Nominations of delegates to the Nat'l Association of Letter Carriers convention, shall be made at the October meeting prior to each National Convention. ~~Delegates nominated for the Wisconsin State convention shall be held in October meeting prior to each State Convention.~~ Elections of delegates shall take place at the November meeting preceeding the dates of such conventions. The number of delegates which the branch desires to send shall be elected by a plurality. Those who receive the most votes shall be declared elected delegates, and the next equal number shall be declared alternates. ~~At the January meeting, any member who desires to attend either convention, paying his own expenses, and to be accredited delegate, shall be automatically nominated as such delegates. All such candidates shall be voted on by the branch at this meeti . The number of members, equal to the number of remaining credentials, receiving the most votes declared elected.~~

Section 3. Nomination for Branch Officers and delegates to the convention shall be made by the nominating committee, consisting of three(3) members of the branch who shall be appointed by the President, and shall serve for the ensuing year.

Apply + Begin?

Section 4. Immediately after the report of the nomination committee is read, additional nominations may be made from the floor. All candidates for office, or delegates must be present at the time of nomination, or shall have signified their willingness to serve if elected, and shall also be in good standing on the books of the branch. All candidates for office must have attended at least five(5) of the last ten(10) meetings. All candidates for delegate must have attended at least ten(10) of the last twenty(20) meetings.

Article 4. Quorum

Section 1. 15 members of the Branch in good standing shall constitute a quorum.

Article 5. Fees.

Section 1. The initiation fee shall be one(1) dollar, payable in advance, provided that this fee may be suspended by action of the branch.

Section 2. The dues of regular and Sub-carriers shall be one dollar and a half($1.50) per month, payable in advance, provided that

Raise for Bng Con supply ?

Proposed Change in Branch 507 By Laws

Submitted Oct. 9,1962

Change Article 6-Section I to the Following

The President, Vice- President, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Nat'l Sick Benefit Collector, Mutual Benefit Collector, and Sgt-at-Arms shall have their dues paid during their term of office, and in addition to this the President shall receive $50.00 per year as expenses, the Vice President shall receive $25.00 per year as expenses, the Financial Secretary shall recieve $25.00 per year for expenses, the Treasurer shall receive $25.00 per year for expenses.

Signed _____

Signed Ralph W. Riley

Signed _____

Read at the Oct. meeting

Read at the Nov meeting

Read at the Dec meeting

Passed at - Dec. Meeting - Unanimously

Proposed change in Branch 507 By-Laws

Submitted Oct. 9.1962

Change Article 5 Section 2 Fees

The dues of regular and sub-carriers shall be $10.00 per year if paid in advance. The dues of regular or sub-carriers, if paid by the half-year or 6 months, whall be $20.00 per year payable in two installments of $10.00 each, and they be allowed a grace period of 10 days for installment paying, and the dues of any regular or sub-carrier, if paid by the month, shallbe $2.00 per month, plus 3% of one months dues, however once any member reaches a total of three months dues past due, they will automatically be dropped.

Signed: _____

Signed: Ralph W. Riley

Signed: Charles H. Frost

Read at the O.K. meeting.

Read at the Nov meeting.

Read at the Dec meeting.

Passed - Unanimously

Proposed change in Branch 507 by-laws

Submitted Oct. 9,1962

Change Article 5-Section 3 to the following.

Retired and members who have voluntarily seperated from the service shall remain as members on payment of $10.00(Ten Dollars) per year payable in advance.

Signed _____

Signed _____

Signed _____

Read at the Oct meeting.

Read at the Nov meeting.

Read at the Dec meeting.

Passed - Unanimously

that any member fully paid up to date may pay fifteen(15.00) for the next twelve months or seven-fifty($7.50) for the next six months.

Section 3. Retired and members who have voluntarily separated from the service may remain as members on payment of eight($8.00) dollars a year, payable in advance.

Section 4. A grace period of twenty(20) days is granted for payment of dues in advance.

Article 6. Salaries

Section 1. The President, Vice-President, Financial Secretary, and Treasurer shall have his dues paid during his term of office.

Section 2. The recording Secretary shall have his dues paid during his term of office and $7.50 per month.

Section 3. If there is no officer elected from any of the stations the president will appoint a station representative who shall have his dues paid for the year.

Article 7. Funds.

Section 1. The funds of the Branch shall be deposited in the name of Four Lakes City Branch 507, N.A.L.C. in a reputable financial institution in the City of Madison, or invested in Government bonds, provided that a reasonable amount be kept on hand in a checking account, to defray current expenses.

Article 8. Appointment of Committee

Section 1. The President shall by the January meeting appoint the following committees. Organization or resolutions committee of three members, membership, sick, press, and entertainment committees The term of office for all standing committees shall be for one year, or until their successors are appointed.

Section 2. The duties of the membership committee of this branch shall be to endeavor to secure new members, to counsel and advise with delinquent and suspended members with the view to securing their reinstatement, to assist in promoting attendance at meetings and to report to the branch anything coming under observation that might be either helpful or harmful to the membership as a whole.

Section 3. The duties of the sick committee shall be; to visit the sick members of the branch, to report their condition to the branch at the meetings, to have charge in the matter of floral tributes or other remembrances in the event of the death of a member or of a members family. $7.50 shall be allowed for floral tributes for members and their immediate family, which shall consist of wife, children or parents of members. It shall aid the family of the deceased, in the event of death, in making of funeral arrangements if such aid is desired by the family. The clerk of the N.S.B.A. shall be ex-officio a member of this committee.

Section 4. The duties of the press committee shall be ; to give publicity to the press or other medium of such matters as will be of benefit to letter carriers, to this branch, and the N.A.L.C. and which will assist in obtaining the things that this branch and the N.A.L.C. are working for. The Secretary whall be Ex-officio a member of this committee. No publicity whall be released without endorsement of the branch president.

Section 5. The duties of the entertainment committee whall be ; to furnish the entertainment and arrange for and have charge of the social functions of this branch. The vice-president shall be chairman of this committee.

Article 9. Rules of Order.

Section 1. "Roberts Rules of Order, Revised shall govern in all

matters not provided for in these By-Laws. These By-Laws may be suspended by unanimous consent of the members present at a branch meeting.

Article 10. Amendments of By-Laws.

Section 1. These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting of the Branch by a two-thirds(2/3) vote of all members present and voting, provided that the amendment has been submitted in writing, signed by three(3) members in good standing, and read at a previous regular meeting before adoption and published in one monthly bulletin. These By-Laws shall be effective upon approval by the National Board of Laws.

Submitted by the By-Laws Committee consisting of;

Felix Grosse & RussAyen, Chairmen
Fred Braun
Joseph Conners
Floyd Schwab
Charles Easton

APPROVED WITH EXCEPTIONS NOTED

BOARD OF LAWS
NAT'L ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS

CHAIRMAN

Approved 10/25/59 Joseph A. Lawrence

Charles H. Cox Jr.

Approved with exception
Art. 1, Sec. 2
Art. 10, Sec. 1
and

Proposed Change in Branch 507 By Laws

Submitted Oct. 9,1962

Change Article 6-Section 1 to the Following

The President, Vice- President, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Nat'l Sick Benefit Collector, Mutual Benefit Collector, and Sgt-at-Arms shall have their dues paid during their term of office, and in addition to this the President shall receive $50.00 per year as expenses, the Vice President shall receive $25.00 per year as expenses, the Financial Secretary shall recieve $25.00 per year for expenses, the Treasurer shall receive $25.00 per year for expenses.

Signed_____

Signed_____

Signed_____

Read at the _____ meeting

Read at the _____ meeting

Read at the _____ meeting

Proposed change in Branch 507 By-Laws

Submitted Oct. 9,1962

Change Article 5 Section 2 Fees

The dues of regular and sub-carriers shall be ~~$10.00~~ $20.00 per year if paid in advance. The dues of regular or sub-carriers, if paid by the half-year or 6 months, shall be $20.00 per year payable in two installments of $10.00 each, and they be allowed a grace period of 10 days for installment paying, and the dues of any regular or sub-carrier, if paid by the month, shallbe $2.00 per month, Plus 3% each month dues, however once any member reaches a total of three months dues, past due, they will automatically be dropped.

Signed:_____

Signed:_____

Signed:_____

Read at the _____ meeting.

Read at the _____ meeting.

Read at the _____ meeting.

Proposed change in Branch 507 by-laws

Submitted Oct. 9,1962

Change Article 5-Section 3 to the following.

Retired and members who have voluntarily seperated from the service shall remain as members on payment of $10.00(Ten Dollars) per year payable in advance.

Signed_____

Signed_____

Signed_____

Read at the _____ meeting.

Read at the _____ meeting.

Read at the _____ meeting.

Addition to Branch By-Laws submitted Feb. 14,1961
Change of Branch By-Laws submitted Feb. 14,1961.

Article 6 Section 1 to be changed as follows.

The President, Vice President, Financial Secretary, Treasurer and Nat'l Sick Benefit Association member shall have his dues paid during his term of office.

Submitted by:

Anthony C Litto
Wesley C Hart
Eugene W Tibbe

read at February meeting of Feb 14, 1961 –
read at March meeting of March 14, 1961 –
read at April meeting of April 11, 1961 –

Passed at the April meeting of Branch 507

Change Section 8

Addition to Branch By-Laws submitted Feb. 14,1961
Change of Branch By-Laws submitted Feb. 14,1961.

Article 6 Section 1 to be changed as follows.

The President, Vice President, Financial Secretary, Treasurer and Nat'l Sick Benefit Association member shall have his dues paid during his term of office.

Submitted by:

Anthony C. Lillet

Wesley E. Lot

Eugene M. Wilke

Change Section 4

THE WHITE HOUSE

EXECUTIVE ORDER

10988

EMPLOYEE-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION IN THE FEDERAL SERVICE

WHEREAS participation of employees in the formulation and implementation of personnel policies affecting them contributes to effective conduct of public business; and

WHEREAS the efficient administration of the Government and the well-being of employees require that orderly and constructive relationships be maintained between employee organizations and management officials; and

for difficulties resulting from legalistic interpretation

WHEREAS subject to law and the paramount requirements of the public service, employee-management relations within the Federal service should be improved by providing employees an opportunity for greater participation in the formulation and implementation of policies and procedures affecting the conditions of their employment; and

WHEREAS effective employee-management cooperation in the public service requires a clear statement of the respective rights and obligations of employee organizations and agency management:

This countered by the effect of "let's do things differently" from the top "new" attitude may prevent legalism

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution of the United States, by section 1753 of the Revised Statutes (5 U.S.C. 631), and as President of the United States, I hereby direct that the following policies shall govern officers and agencies of the executive branch of the Government in all dealings with Federal employees and organizations representing such employees.

Section 1. (a) Employees of the Federal Government shall have, and shall be protected in the exercise of, the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist any employee organization or to refrain from any such activity. Except as hereinafter expressly provided, the freedom of such employees to assist any employee organization shall be recognized as extending to participation in the management of the organization and acting for the organization in the capacity of an organization representative, including presentation of its views to officials of the executive branch, the Congress or other appropriate authority. The head of each executive department and agency (hereinafter referred to as "agency") shall take such action, consistent with law, as may be required in order to assure that employees in the agency are apprised of the rights described in this section, and that no interference, restraint, coercion or discrimination is practiced within such agency to encourage or discourage membership in any employee organization.

(b) The rights described in this section do not extend to participation in the management of an employee organization, or acting as a representative of any such organization, where such participation or activity would result in a conflict of interest or otherwise be incompatible with law or with the official duties of an employee.

Section 2. When used in this order, the term "employee organization" means any lawful association, labor organization, federation, council, or brotherhood having as a primary purpose the improvement of working conditions among Federal employees, or any craft, trade or industrial union whose membership includes both Federal employees and employees of private organizations; but such term shall not include any organization (1) which asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States or any agency thereof, or to assist or participate in any such strike, or which imposes a duty or obligation to conduct, assist or participate in any such strike, or (2) which advocates the overthrow of the constitutional form of Government in the United States, or (3) which discriminates with regard to the terms or conditions of membership because of race, color, creed or national origin.

Section 3. (a) Agencies shall accord informal, formal or exclusive recognition to employee organizations which requests such recognition in conformity with the requirements specified in sections 4, 5 and 6 of this order, except that no recognition shall be accorded to any employee organization which the head of the agency considers to be so subject to corrupt influences or influences opposed to basic democratic principles that recognition would be inconsistent with the objectives of this order.

(b) Recognition of an employee organization shall continue so long as such organization satisfies the criteria of this order applicable to such recognition; but nothing in this section shall require any agency to determine whether an organization should become or continue to be recognized as exclusive representative of the employees in any unit within 12 months after a prior determination of exclusive status with respect to such unit has been made pursuant to the provisions of this order.

(c) Recognition, in whatever form accorded, shall not --

Unions will have to police its members -

(1) preclude any employee, regardless of employee organization membership, from bringing matters of personal concern to the attention of appropriate officials in accordance with applicable law, rule, regulation, or established agency policy, or from choosing his own representative in a grievance or appellate action; or

(2) preclude or restrict consultations and dealings between an agency and any veterans organization with respect to matters of particular interest to employees with veterans preference; or

(3) preclude an agency from consulting or dealing with any religious, social, fraternal or other lawful association, not qualified as an employee organization, with respect to matters or policies which involve individual members of the association or are of particular applicability to it or its

members, when such consultations or dealings are duly limited so as not to assume the character of formal consultation on matters of general employee-management policy or to extend to areas where recognition of the interests of one employee group may result in discrimination against or injury to the interests of other employees.

Section 4. (a) An agency shall accord an employee organization, which does not qualify for exclusive or formal recognition, informal recognition as representative of its member employees without regard to whether any other employee organization has been accorded formal or exclusive recognition as representative of some or all employees in any unit.

(b) When an employee organization has been informally recognized, it shall, to the extent consistent with the efficient and orderly conduct of the public business, be permitted to present to appropriate officials its views on matters of concern to its members. The agency need not, however, consult with an employee organization so recognized in the formulation of personnel or other policies with respect to such matters.

Section 5. (a) An agency shall accord an employee organization formal recognition as the representative of its members in a unit as defined by the agency when (1) no other employee organization is qualified for exclusive recognition as representative of employees in the unit, (2) it is determined by the agency that the employee organization has a substantial and stable membership of no less than 10 per centum of the employees in the unit, and (3) the employee organization has submitted to the agency a roster of its officers and representatives, a copy of its constitution and by-laws, and a statement of objectives. When, in the opinion of the head of an agency, an employee organization has a sufficient number of local organizations or a sufficient total membership within such agency, such organization may be accorded formal recognition at the national level, but such recognition shall not preclude the agency from dealing at the national level with any other employee organization on matters affecting its members.

(b) When an employee organization has been formally recognized, the agency, through appropriate officials, shall consult with such organization from time to time in the formulation and implementation of personnel policies and practices, and matters affecting working conditions that are of concern to its members. Any such organization shall be entitled from time to time to raise such matters for discussion with appropriate officials and at all times to present its views thereon in writing. In no case, however, shall an agency be required to consult with an employee organization which has been formally recognized with respect to any matter which, if the employee organization were one entitled to exclusive recognition, would not be included within the obligation to meet and confer, as described in section 6(b) of this order.

Section 6. (a) An agency shall recognize an employee organization as the exclusive representative of the employees in an appropriate unit when such organization is eligible for formal recognition pursuant to section 5 of this order, and has been designated or selected by a majority of the employees of such unit as the representative of such employees in

such unit. Units may be established on any plant or installation, craft, functional or other basis which will ensure a clear and identifiable community of interest among the employees concerned, but no unit shall be established solely on the basis of the extent to which employees in the proposed unit have organized. Except where otherwise required by established practice, prior agreement, or special circumstances, no unit shall be established for purposes of exclusive recognition which includes (1) any managerial executive, (2) any employee engaged in Federal personnel work in other than a purely clerical capacity, (3) both supervisors who officially evaluate the performance of employees and the employees whom they supervise, or (4) both professional employees and nonprofessional employees unless a majority of such professional employees vote for inclusion in such unit.

Excluded from Unit

(b) When an employee organization has been recognized as the exclusive representative of employees of an appropriate unit it shall be entitled to act for and to negotiate agreements covering all employees in the unit and shall be responsible for representing the interests of all such employees without discrimination and without regard to employee organization membership. Such employee organization shall be given the opportunity to be represented at discussions between management and employees or employee representatives concerning grievances, personnel policies and practices, or other matters affecting general working conditions of employees in the unit. The agency and such employee organization, through appropriate officials and representatives, shall meet at reasonable times and confer with respect to personnel policy and practices and matters affecting working conditions, so far as may be appropriate subject to law and policy requirements. This extends to the negotiation of an agreement, or any question arising thereunder, the determination of appropriate techniques, consistent with the terms and purposes of this order, to assist in such negotiation, and the execution of a written memorandum of agreement or understanding incorporating any agreement reached by the parties. In exercising authority to make rules and regulations relating to personnel policies and practices and working conditions, agencies shall have due regard for the obligation imposed by this section, but such obligation shall not be construed to extend to such areas of discretion and policy as the mission of an agency, its budget, its organization and the assignment of its personnel, or the technology of performing its work.

Time off for Sessions Regular meetings

Limitations

?

Section 7. Any basic or initial agreement entered into with an employee organization as the exclusive representative of employees in a unit must be approved by the head of the agency or any official designated by him. All agreements with such employee organizations shall also be subject to the following requirements, which shall be expressly stated in the initial or basic agreement and shall be applicable to all supplemental, implementing, subsidiary or informal agreements between the agency and the organization:

Does this mean "entered into" by a Subordinate body, then approval by head — Top-Many veto?

(1) In the administration of all matters covered by the agreement officials and employees are governed by the provisions of any existing or future laws and regulations, including policies set forth in the Federal Personnel Manual and agency regulations, which may be applicable, and the agreement shall at all times be applied subject to such laws, regulations and policies;

(2) Management officials of the agency retain the right, in accordance with applicable laws and regulations, (a) to direct employees of the agency, (b) to hire, promote, transfer, assign, and retain employees in positions within the agency, and to suspend, demote, discharge, or take other disciplinary action against employees, (c) to relieve employees from duties because of lack of work or for other legitimate reasons, (d) to maintain the efficiency of the Government operations entrusted to them, (e) to determine the methods, means and personnel by which such operations are to be conducted; and (f) to take whatever actions may be necessary to carry out the mission of the agency in situations of emergency.

Does this reduce "organized" activity to little more than a Security board

Section 8. (a) Agreements entered into or negotiated in accordance with this order with an employee organization which is the exclusive representative of employees in an appropriate unit may contain provisions, applicable only to employees in the unit, concerning procedures for consideration of grievances. Such procedures (1) shall conform to standards issued by the Civil Service Commission, and (2) may not in any manner diminish or impair any rights which would otherwise be available to any employee in the absence of an agreement providing for such procedures.

(b) Procedures established by an agreement which are otherwise in conformity with this section may include provisions for the arbitration of grievances. Such arbitration (1) shall be advisory in nature with any decisions or recommendations subject to the approval of the agency head; (2) shall extend only to the interpretation or application of agreements or agency policy and not to changes in or proposed changes in agreements or agency policy; and (3) shall be invoked only with the approval of the individual employee or employees concerned.

Advisory Arbitration

Internal union matters on off-duty time —

Section 9. Solicitation of memberships, dues, or other internal employee organization business shall be conducted during the non-duty hours of the employees concerned. Officially requested or approved consultations and meetings between management officials and representatives of recognized employee organizations shall, whenever practicable, be conducted on official time, but any agency may require that negotiations with an employee organization which has been accorded exclusive recognition be conducted during the non-duty hours of the employee organization representatives involved in such negotiations.

if union requests & mang. approves

?

Section 10. No later than July 1, 1962, the head of each agency shall issue appropriate policies, rules and regulations for the implementation of this order, including: A clear statement of the rights of its employees under the order; policies and procedures with respect to recognition of employee organizations; procedures for determining appropriate employee units; policies and practices regarding consultation with representatives of employee organizations, other organizations and individual employees; and policies with respect to the use of agency facilities by employee organizations. Insofar as may be practicable and appropriate, agencies shall consult with representatives of employee organizations in the formulation of these policies, rules and regulations.

where are they — isn't this the gist of the Union Admin angle of the bill

How this happens — on local level?

Section 11. Each agency shall be responsible for determining in accordance with this order whether a unit is appropriate for purposes of exclusive recognition and, by an election or other appropriate means, whether an employee organization represents a majority of the employees in such a unit so as to be entitled to such recognition. Upon the request

of any agency, or of any employee organization which is seeking exclusive recognition and which qualifies for or has been accorded formal recognition, the Secretary of Labor, subject to such necessary rules as he may prescribe, shall nominate from the National Panel of Arbitrators maintained by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service one or more qualified aribitrators who will be available for employment by the agency concerned for either or both of the following purposes, as may be required: (1) to investigate the facts and issue an advisory decision as to the appropriateness of a unit for purposes of exclusive recognition and as to related issues submitted for consideration; (2) to conduct or supervise an election or otherwise determine by such means as may be appropriate, and on an advisory basis, whether an employee organization represents the majority of the employees in a unit. Consonant with law, the Secretary of Labor shall render such assistance as may be appropriate in connection with advisory decisions or determinations under this section, but the necessary costs of such assistance shall be paid by the agency to which it relates. In the event questions as to the appropriateness of a unit or the majority status of an employee organization shall arise in the Department of Labor, the duties described in this section which would otherwise be the responsibility of the Secretary of Labor shall be performed by the Civil Service Commission.

Section 12. The Civil Service Commission shall establish and maintain a program to assist in carrying out the objectives of this order. The Commission shall develop a program for the guidance of agencies in employee-management relations in the Federal service; provide technical advice to the agencies on employee-management programs; assist in the development of programs for training agency personnel in the principles and procedures of consultation, negotiation and the settlement of disputes in the Federal service, and for the training of management officials in the discharge of their employee-management relations responsibilities in the public interest; provide for continuous study and review of the Federal employee-management relations program and, from time to time, make recommendations to the President for its improvement.

Section 13. (a) The Civil Service Commission and the Department of Labor shall jointly prepare (1) proposed standards of conduct for employee organizations and (2) a proposed code of fair labor practices in employee-management relations in the Federal service appropriate to assist in securing the uniform and effective implementation of the policies, rights and responsibilities described in this order.

Has this been done also — Union Admin. Ofs.

(b) There is hereby established the President's Temporary Committee on the Implementation of the Federal Employee-Management Relations Program. The Committee shall consist of the Secretary of Labor, who shall be chairman of the Committee, the Secretary of Defense, the Postmaster General, and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission. In addition to such other matters relating to the implementation of this order as may be referred to it by the President, the Committee shall advise the President with respect to any problems arising out of completion of agreements pursuant to sections 6 and 7, and shall receive the proposed standards of conduct for employee organizations and proposed code of fair labor practices in the Federal service, as described in this section, and report thereon to the President with such recommendations or amendments as it may deem appropriate. Consonant with law, the departments and agencies represented on the Committee shall, as may be necessary for the effectuation of this section, furnish assistance to the Committee in

accordance with section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945, 59 Stat. 134 (31 U.S.C. 691). Unless otherwise directed by the President, the Committee shall cease to exist 30 days after the date on which it submits its report to the President pursuant to this section.

Section 14. The head of each agency, in accordance with the provisions of this order and regulations prescribed by the Civil Service Commission, shall extend to all employees in the competitive civil service rights identical in adverse action cases to those provided preference eligibles under section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, as amended. Each employee in the competitive service shall have the right to appeal to the Civil Service Commission from an adverse decision of the administrative officer so acting, such appeal to be processed in an identical manner to that provided for appeals under section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act. Any recommendation by the Civil Service Commission submitted to the head of an agency on the basis of an appeal by an employee in the competitive service shall be complied with by the head of the agency. This section shall become effective as to all adverse actions commenced by issuance of a notification of proposed action on or after July 1, 1962.

Ex. 11 this be the most important section in effect — and yet this deals necessarily with individual rights.

Section 15. Nothing in this order shall be construed to annul or modify, or to preclude the renewal or continuation of, any lawful agreement heretofore entered into between any agency and any representative of its employees. Nor shall this order preclude any agency from continuing to consult or deal with any representative of its employees or other organization prior to the time that the status and representation rights of such representative or organization are determined in conformity with this order.

Section 16. This order (except section 14) shall not apply to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, or any other agency, or to any office, bureau or entity within an agency, primarily performing intelligence, investigative, or security functions if the head of the agency determines that the provisions of this order cannot be applied in a manner consistent with national security requirements and considerations. When he deems it necessary in the national interest, and subject to such conditions as he may prescribe, the head of any agency may suspend any provision of this order (except section 14) with respect to any agency installation or activity which is located outside of the United States.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

THE WHITE HOUSE,

January 17, 1962.

# # # # #

Will this become the false hope of collective bargaining in the federal service — what practices will change? which unions will change their relations to depts? will it be because of provisions of exec. order or just the shot in the arm effect

may lead to formalization by union of assistance given to members in handling grievances, solution of local irritants on a local level,

Emory

NEUTRALITY AND COOPERATION
(Concurrent policies for Management)

The concepts of the program for employee management cooperation require management to hold two basic attitudes: one, toward the relationship of individual employees to employee organizations, and the other, toward the employee organizations themselves. It is important to distinguish clearly between these attitudes for a proper understanding of the program.

A. Neutrality on the issue of joining or not joining organizations

Agencies must maintain a posture of neutrality toward their employees' *joining* or *not joining* employee organizations regardless of the degree of recognition an organization may achieve. This is a basic policy extending back to the Lloyd-LaFollette Act. Further, a closed shop or a union shop is not appropriate to our system of public employment.[1]

The Executive Order on Employee-Management Cooperation Section 1(a), states: "It is the policy of the Federal Government that its employees have, and shall be protected in the exercise of the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist any employee organization or to refrain from any such activity. * * * The head of each * * * (agency) shall take such action, consistent with law, as may be required in order to assure that employees in the agency are apprised of the rights described in this section and that *no interference, restraint, coercion or discrimination is practiced within such agency to encourage or discourage membership in any employee organization.*" (Emphasis supplied). The initiative to form or join employee organizations must come from the employees themselves.

[1] The terms "closed shop" and "union shop" can be defined simply as follows: "Union shop"—an agreement requiring that all employees become union members within a specified time after hiring (or after the agreement) and remain members as a condition of employment. "Closed shop"—an agreement under which only union members may be hired and only union members in good standing retained.

B. Affirmative willingness to deal with employee organizations

This attitude of neutrality toward the actions of individuals should not be confused with the nature of the relationship between the agency and employee organizations. When an organization has only a few members, management has no special obligation to deal with it but, in the words of the Task Force, "Wherever any considerable number of employees have organized for the purpose of collective dealing the attitude of the Government should be that of an affirmative willingness to enter such relations." These relations may be more or less formal depending on the degree of recognition to which the organization is entitled, but the basic willingness to deal with the *organization* is highly important.

Dealings With Individuals

The program for employee-management cooperation is, of course, mainly concerned with group relations. This does not mean that relationships between individual employees and management are no longer of interest or that the concept of neutrality extends generally to relations with employees. The introduction of the program should in no sense be viewed as an effort to deemphasize the importance of the individual or to dilute existing programs designed to meet his needs and protect his rights. It would hardly be desirable or practicable to do this in any event given the requirements of the merit system and the continuation of the policy of strict neutrality with respect to the decision of employees to join or not join an organization. Two-thirds of Federal employees (five-sixths outside the Post Office) do not belong to employee organizations and there is no intent to force them to do so. In some agencies there is little likelihood that employee organizations will play a significant role in employee-management relations.

Concern for the rights of individual employees is evident throughout Executive Order 10988 and the Task Force Report. In the Executive Order, for example, section 1(a) protects the right of employees *not* to join a union and section 6(b) requires that where a union is given exclusive recognition it must represent *all* the employees of the unit *including nonmembers*, without discrimination. Section 3c(1) points out that nothing in the order precludes an individual from bringing matters of personal concern to the attention of the agency officials and there is nothing to prevent his free choice of a representative in appellate actions. Where there is exclusive recognition, a representative of the employee organization has a right to be *present* when an action has reached the formal stage (as distinguished from discussion of personal matters with a supervisor) but the employee organization representative still may not supplant the employee's own representative if he has chosen one. Further, section 8(a) protects the rights of the individual to any procedural benefits he would have in the absence of an exclusive recognition agreement and section 8(b) also specifies that arbitration procedures can be invoked only with the consent of the aggrieved employee.

Questions

1. Should an agency prohibit supervisors and other management officials from joining an employee organization which includes rank and file employees?

   Answer: No. Section 1(a) makes it clear that all employees have a right to join an employee organization without any restraint whatsoever by management.

2. Should lists of names and home addresses be furnished to unions for solicitation purposes?

   Answer: No, that would not be in keeping with the posture of neutrality which management must maintain. It would be assisting the organization directly.

3. A department's policy now includes a statement *encouraging* employees to organize and join employee groups. Should this be continued?

   Answer: No.

REQUIREMENTS FOR RECOGNITION

There are several basic tests an organization must meet before management may consider it an employee organization for the purposes of the program for employee-management cooperation.

A. Positive Requirements

An organization must:

1. be a lawful organization
2. have as a primary purpose the improvement of working conditions among Federal employees
3. be formed voluntarily by employees (not by management)

Whether or not the organization is called a union, association, or by some other name is not in itself significant. However, the basic purpose of the organization is important and organizations whose primary purpose is social, fraternal, religious, and so on, may not be recognized under this program although the views of such groups may be considered in matters of interest to their members. The term employee organization also includes groups of organizations, e.g., a "council" composed of several local craft unions.

However, "council" does *not* include management sponsored "employee councils." Such groups do not meet the conditions for recognition. They are generally established by management, often have management representatives as members, and can be changed or abolished by management action. Thus while some agencies have found employee councils of this type a valuable source of employee views (and may continue them if they determine it is in the interest of employee-management cooperation to do so) they do not fall within the scope of this program and may not be given recognition under Executive Order 10988.

B. Prohibited Practices

An organization must not:

1. assert the right to strike
2. advocate the overthrow of the Government
3. discriminate in the terms or conditions of membership because of race, color, creed, national origin
4. be subject to corrupt influences or to the influence of any party movement or other group opposed to basic democratic principles.

Employee organizations are, in the great majority of cases, responsible, law abiding groups which should, of course, be presumed innocent of engaging in prohibited practices unless it can be shown they have done so.

Among the things an organization must not do, the first two are simply a reflection of long standing policy. Established employee organizations in the Federal service do not assert the right to strike and, it hardly needs to be said, they do not advocate change in our system of Government by unlawful means.

Discrimination, the third disqualifying practice serving to exclude an organization from recognition, is a significant item involving new policy for the Government as applied to organizations of its own employees. Until recently agencies have not necessarily looked into the membership requirements of employee groups with which they have dealt. However, the President in his memorandum of June 22, 1961, establishing the Task Force on Employee-Management Cooperation specifically mentioned nondiscrimination as one of three basic conditions for dealing with employee groups (the other two were no strikes, no advocacy of overthrow). One of the first public acts of the Task Force was to issue a letter to the heads of Federal agencies and the heads of national labor organizations informing them that the President's policy was in effect, pointing out that dealings with organizations which practice discrimination were prohibited, and asking agencies to report on the steps taken to implement the policy.

Thus, the Executive order incorporates a policy already put into effect throughout the Government. It is consistent with the position of the Federal government in related fields as,

for example, in contracts for Government work.

As one illustration of discriminatory practices there have been instances, when more than one racial group is represented in the work force, in which two locals of the same employee organization have been chartered for the same Government "unit" or installation with the result that each has only members of one race. These are known as "dual locals." The weight of past experience indicates that dual locals create a situation of de facto segregation, and therefore of discrimination. (The overriding consideration is actual practice, whether or not the charters of the organizations contain specific racial restrictions.)

Management may not maintain relations with any employee organization established in this manner which has not undertaken in good faith to discontinue the practice. Refusal to deal with such organizations is not only in line with Federal policy on discrimination but is also a recognition of the manifest impossibility of dealing with an organization purporting to represent the employees of a unit when in fact it excludes some employees of the unit from membership. Dealing with such organizations would not be proper even in the extreme instance where dual locals together claimed to represent every employee of the unit. (Two organizations could not, in any case, be given exclusive recognition in the same unit, and units established on racial lines would not, of course, be appropriate.)

The agency dealing with an employee organization is responsible for determining whether there is reason to believe that the organization is discriminating in its membership either nationally or in one or more of its subordinate locals and for insisting upon elimination of discriminatory practices if they are found to exist.

If corrective measures are not taken in good faith, the agency is required to withdraw recognition. Normally, consultation with union officials, including when necessary the head of the national organization involved, should result in affirmative measures being taken by the union to correct the discriminatory practices.

When a firm commitment to initiate corrective measures is obtained, the agency is free to decide to continue relations with the employee organization pending completion of the corrective action. Where recognition is withdrawn from the local unit of a national organization, it may be withdrawn from the particular unit involved without disturbing the national recognition given to the union or to other locals of the union.

Dual local situations may be resolved by merger of the two organizations, or by dissolution of one organization and continuance of the remaining local without discriminatory practices.

Discrimination problems, of course, are not confined to dual locals, and policies or practices of discrimination in membership where only one local exists also are disqualifying.

The fourth disqualifying condition is a finding that an employee organization is subject to corrupt influence or to the influence of any party, movement or other group opposed to basic democratic principles. The determination that this condition exists is entirely up to the head of the agency in which the organization is seeking recognition. This is a complex and difficult area. The Civil Service Commission and the Department of Labor are drafting standards of conduct bearing on this issue which will be submitted to the Temporary Committee on Implementation of the President's Task Force on Employee-Management Cooperation. That Committee will in turn submit recommendations to the President but the form, content, and manner in which guidance to agency heads may be forthcoming is not yet known.

C. Relationships with other organizations and special groups

The program for employee-management cooperation does not affect the right of employees to form or join lawful groups which do not meet the conditions for recognition or to present the views of these groups to management. There are many social, religious, and other groups with Federal chapters and management is free to deal with these groups in areas of interest to them, but such dealings may not extend to matters outside the special concerns of

these groups. They may not be given recognition under Executive Order 10988.

The recognition of employee organizations should not affect the special relationship of veterans organizations with Government agencies. Congress has granted special rights and privileges to Government employees who are veterans, and, over the years, veterans organizations have been active on behalf of their members in exercising these rights and privileges. The development of more formal employee-management relations should not be permitted to inhibit, restrict, or impair these services to veterans organizations, but as in the case of other special groups, consultation with veterans organizations should be confined to matters of particular concern to their membership.

FORMS OF RECOGNITION

There are three degrees of recognition: informal, formal, and exclusive. They reflect a significant difference between Government and the practice in private industry. In the private sector of the economy, management is not obliged to deal with employee organizations which do not represent a majority of the employees of the bargaining unit. In Government, however, the varied development of employee management relations among agencies and within agencies, the inherent limitations on collective bargaining in the public service, and established Federal policies and practices in employee consultation combine to make differentiation in levels of dealing desirable.

A. Informal Recognition

Informal recognition gives an organization the right to be heard on matters of interest to its members but management is under no obligation to seek the views of the organization. It is simply an extension of the long established practice of receiving employee views, and is limited to such consideration as management believes can reasonably and conveniently be given. Informal recognition will be granted to any organization seeking it (unless the organization engages in certain prohibited practices) regardless of what degrees of recognition are accorded to other organizations.

It is an "all other" category encompassing dealings with any organization not entitled to more formal recognition. Informal recognition should not for this reason be dismissed lightly any more than the needs and views of individual employees should be ignored. Moreover, circumstances change and an organization with only a small membership in one year may grow in the next, or, conversely, an organization with a substantial number of members may lose its right to formal recognition (perhaps without losing any members) if another organization gains exclusive recognition.

B. Formal Recognition

The principal requirement for formal recognition (beyond the basic conditions all organizations must meet) is that an organization have a stable membership of 10 percent or more of the employees of the unit. (Under this requirement, agencies need not grant formal recognition to an organization whose membership frequently drops below 10 percent.) Where the facts are well known there is no need for elaborate procedures. If, for example, it is generally conceded that the membership figure is, say, one in four, or five, or six employees, it is not necessary for management to be able to say that membership is exactly 16⅔ percent or whatever the precise proportion might be. In borderline cases, however, management may have to obtain rather exact membership figures for the organization requesting recognition. (One way to obtain these figures is through an independent audit conducted by a Certified Public Accountant or other impartial source.)

At the national level an organization may be granted formal recognition when it has, in the judgment of the agency, a sufficient number of members or of locals to warrant recognition. This point might be more or less than 10 percent.

Formal recognition gives an organization *the right to be consulted* on matters of interest to its members (but it may not speak for nonmembers). At this state of recognition, management must seek the views of the organization although it is not obliged to try to reach agreement. Since to achieve formal recognition an organization should have 10 percent or more of the employees of the unit as members, management is likely to want to consider its views quite apart from any requirement to do so. In any event, management has a *positive obligation* to seek the views of such organization from time to time. Formal recognition is the stage of recognition where an attitude of "affirmative willingness" to deal with employee organizations must come fully into play. The extent of the

relationship with such organizations is not as great as when an organization achieves exclusive recognition. Nevertheless, management's basic attitude toward the organization should be the same at both levels of recognition.

If one organization has attained exclusive recognition in a unit, no other organization can be granted formal recognition, no matter how many members it enrolls in the unit; it reverts to the informal recognition state.

C. Exclusive Recognition

> "An employee organization which is eligible for formal recognition * * * and which has been designated or selected by a majority of the employees of an appropriate unit as the representative of such employees, shall be recognized as the exclusive representative of the employees in such unit * * *"
>
> "When an employee organization has been recognized as the exclusive representative of employees of an appropriate unit it shall be entitled to act for and to negotiate agreements covering all employees in the unit and shall be responsible for representing the interests of all such employees without discrimination and without regard to employee organization membership * * *"
>
> (Executive Order 10988, Section 6(a))

At this point, recognition practices in private industry and the Federal program for employee-management cooperation are most nearly alike. The principle of majority rule applies. The employee organization speaks for *all* the employees of the unit and is the source to which management turns when seeking the views of employees on matters of general personnel policy and practice. This does not mean that management must cut itself off from all contact with other employee groups or from relationships with individual employees. It does mean, however, that management must confer with the representatives of the employee organization, and must in good faith attempt to reach agreements and resolve questions arising under existing agreements. It means further that the organization has a stake in various aspects of employee-management relations which it is entitled to protect. For example, although an employee has the right to choose his own representative in a grievance, the organization with exclusive representation also has the right to have a representative present if the employee chooses to be represented by someone other than an organization representative. Also, the organization has the right to be represented at discussions between management and other employee groups in the unit.

To gain the right to speak for all employees in the unit the organization must be eligible for formal recognition and more than 50 percent of the employees of the unit must indicate their desire to be represented by the organization.

There are a number of ways of finding out how much support an employee organization has. Presumably, agencies will use the simplest method that gives a valid result. This might mean obtaining evidence that a majority of the unit's employees are members of the organization, or receiving written authorization by a majority of the employees of the unit, or holding an election at the request of the organization to determine whether it can obtain the support of the employees of the unit. It is clear that when the majority determination is made by other means than an election, management must assure itself that a majority of all the employees of the unit wish to be represented by the employee organization.

Elections need not be undertaken oftener than once in any twelve months. The object of this limit on frequency of elections, is, of course, to avoid having to hold one every time an organization thinks it might have a chance to win. There are similar restrictions under NLRB procedures. Not only are unions in the private sphere limited as to the frequency with which they may participate in bargaining unit elections, but NLRB will also not hold an election unless 30 percent of the employees of the unit are in favor of doing so. Similarly, it will not hold an election to "decertify" a union as a bargaining agent unless 30 percent of the employees of the unit indicate they want a chance to express themselves on this point.

When it seems advisable to have outside help in these matters, an agency (or an employee

organization seeking exclusive recognition) may request the Secretary of Labor to nominate an arbitrator or arbitrators from the National Panel of Arbitrators maintained by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service to conduct an election, or supervise an election, or by any other appropriate means advise on whether an employee organization represents the majority of employees in a unit.

The following table presents a brief comparison of employee organization rights according to type of recognition.

Employee Organization Rights According to Type of Recognition

	Type of Recognition		
	Informal	*Formal*	*Exclusive*
Membership required in appropriate unit	None specified.	10%	10% [2]
Right to be heard on personnel policy	Yes [1]	Yes [1]	Yes
Right to be consulted on personnel policy	No	Yes [1]	Yes
Right to negotiate written agreement	No	No	Yes
Right to represent employee in grievances and appeals (if he wishes)	Yes [3]	Yes [3]	Yes [3]
Right to negotiate for advisory arbitration of grievances and appeals	No	No	Yes
Eligible for voluntary dues withholding (if lawful)	No	Yes	Yes
Department-wide or agency-wide relationships	Yes	Yes [4]	Yes [5]

[1] More than one organization within the same unit may be granted formal recognition. However, when an organization within a unit is granted Exclusive recognition, all grants of Formal recognition are withdrawn; other organizations concerned revert to Informal recognition status.

[2] But the organization must have majority support whether determined by membership, votes, or other evidence.

[3] When an employee organization is accorded exclusive recognition then that organization shall have the right to be present and be consulted in these situations whether or not the employee has designated another organization or person to represent him.

[4] Formal recognition and its rights may be granted at national level for the whole department when an organization is deemed to have a sufficient number of locals or of total membership within the department. The 10% rule does not necessarily apply as either a minimum or maximum.

[5] The emphasis of the program is on the development of *local* employee management relations. Exclusive recognition on an agency-wide basis should be avoided and should not be granted unless management is unable to carry on meaningful negotiations on a smaller unit basis.

Questions

1. Must an organization seeking informal recognition in an establishment of a Federal agency have members who are employees in that establishment?

   Answer: Yes. Recognition is granted on a members-only basis. Accordingly, the organization should be required to show that it represents some employees in the establishment.

2. May an agency require an employee organization seeking informal recognition to present a copy of its constitution, a list of its local officers, etc.?

   Answer: Yes, the agency may require a reasonable showing that the organization is a bona fide employee organization.

3. If an employee organization does not agree with the agency's decision for granting formal recognition at the national level, does the Order provide an avenue for seeking redress?

   Answer: No. The agency head has complete discretion on the granting of formal recognition at the national level.

4. If a union just barely showed ten percent, how soon can management ask for a re-verification of this?

   Answer: Nothing limits management from asking for re-verification at any time if it wishes; however, the organization should not be arbitrarily or capriciously asked to demonstrate that it meets the requirement.

5. In an election to determine majority status for exclusive recognition purposes, should the winner obtain a majority of eligible employees (an absolute majority) or simply a majority of those who actually vote?

   Answer: The President's Temporary Committee on the Implementation of the Federal Employee-Management Relations Program believes that a consistent rule should be applied by all agency heads on this point. It advises that:

   (a) Exclusive recognition should be granted to the organization chosen by a majority of those voting, provided that there is a representative vote. Generally, a "representative

vote" should mean a minimum of 60 percent of those in the unit eligible to vote. In particular situations, an agency might determine that a percentage slightly less than 60 percent is representative.

(b) When an absolute majority of employees in the unit votes for one organization the 60 percent rule would not apply. For example, if only 52 percent voted of those eligible to vote, the agency still should grant exclusive recognition if 51 percent voted for one union.

MANAGEMENT PARTICIPATION IN EMPLOYEE ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

The President's Task Force on Employee-Management Relations concluded that "One of the principal needs of the Federal service today is the development of a more emphatic concept of management responsibility on the part of Government officials who have functions similar to those of managers in the private sphere." The Task Force expected that a significant result of the adoption of its recommendations would be to make the role of management clearer and better defined. A central factor in the accomplishment of this end is the identification of who properly belongs to "management." This term has not before required rigorous definition, at least as to the distinction in employee relations matters between "management" and "employee."

The image of the public servant (with all that this implies in terms of subordinating personal views to the public interest), the concepts of the merit system, the impact of various personnel laws, and the separation of powers have led to the development of employee management relations in the Federal service along lines which have left the distinction between management and employees less sharply drawn than in the private sphere. The successful operation of a formal program for group relationships between employees and management within the Executive branch now requires that this distinction be brought more clearly into focus in Government. The need for clear definition stems immediately from possible conflicts of interest, or the appearance of conflict, between the responsibilities of managers to management and the activities managers might engage in as members of employee organizations. As the Task Force indicated, "it is equally important to carry over the policy laid down by Congress that in the private sphere employers may not 'dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it * * *' "

Section 1(a) of Executive Order 10988 affirms the right of Federal employees to join and assist employee organizations and defines assistance to include management of the organization and acting as its representative. However, there are limits to the assistance Federal employees may give, and those are stated in section 1(b) as follows:

> "The rights described in this section do not extend to participation in the management of an employee organization, or acting as a representative of any such organization, where such participation or activity would result in a conflict of interest or otherwise be incompatible with law or with the official duties of an employee."

Although the terms of this section do not restrict the possibility of conflicting interests to any particular types of employees, the most likely groups to be affected are those identifiable as part of management. As the Task Force stated, "A minimal requirement is that no management official and no personnel officer should hold office in an employee organization."

There is no fixed definition of management in the Executive Order and circumstances within individual agencies may lead to somewhat varying conclusions. The Civil Service Commission considers the following to be a general guide on what constitutes management for this purpose: *Persons who make or recommend management policies or who direct, control, or supervise Government operations or personnel, and those associated with or assisting in such direction or control generally carry responsibilities incompatible with leadership in an organization of rank and file employees.* This general guide does not apply, of course, when an agency is satisfied that no conflict of interest would arise for persons in designated specific positions or classes of positions.

Under this guide the conflict of interest provision of the Order could well apply to the following groups of employees:

(1) employees who have responsibility for directing and controlling the program operations of the agency.

(2) those supervisors who have significant managerial responsibilities.

(3) employees serving in support activities whose principal duties involve

advising or assisting management on program administration and/or manpower utilization.

(4) employees directly engaged in personnel work in other than a clerical capacity.

(5) employees whose assigned duties require that they represent the interests of the agency or activity in consultations or negotiations with representatives of employee organizations.

Examples of nonsupervisory persons whose management support activities *might involve a conflict of interest* are budget analysts, manpower planners, management analysts, and internal investigators and auditors.

Examples of non-supervisory persons who are associated with or assist management but who *would not likely have a conflict of interest* are librarians, statisticians, and accounting technicians who maintain records of allotments of funds.

As indicated previously, when an agency is satisfied that no actual or potential conflict of interest exists, the above general guide will not be applicable.

Agencies may not go so far in placing restrictions on participation in the affairs of employee organizations as to prevent membership. The right to join employee organizations is basic and extends to all Federal employees whether or not they have management responsibilities. The right is protected under the Executive order.

It can be assumed that anyone who is eligible to be a member of an employee organization can also vote, attend meetings, sign petitions, and engage in similar activities which clearly do not involve a role of leadership or influence. Participation in the management of an employee organization, however, is another matter. Here the conflict of interest provision would apply.

Participation clearly includes holding office and serving as a representative of an employee organization; either of these functions would be incompatible with the duties of persons identified as part of agency management. However, there are many other activities to consider. Whether or not writing articles for union publications would be appropriate could depend on the content. If the article were an explanation of agency policy this might be regarded differently from an article advocating an employee organization stand directly opposed to agency personnel policy. A committee for some social event or to improve safety practices might be viewed differently from a committee to draft convention resolutions. It will be important to distinguish between ordinary membership activities and activities associated with leading, organizing, policy making, and representing employee groups.

Organizations of Supervisors

In discussing both the definition of management and the extent to which members of management might participate in employee organization affairs, organizations of supervisors have not been singled out for special treatment. This is because supervisors who join together to advance their own interests are in this respect in the same position as employees generally and may deal with higher management in matters of concern to supervisors under the same conditions as do organizations of nonsupervisors. Of course, where exclusive recognition is involved, supervisors who evaluate the performance of other supervisors could not appropriately be included in the same unit as those they supervise. (Subsection 6(a) Executive Order 10988).

Questions

1. Can an agency require that all supervisors refrain from running for, holding office in, or acting as a representative of an employee organization?

   Answer: Yes (except for organizations of supervisors) if at every level the agency's supervisors possess significant managerial responsibilities and are in fact part of the management group. In this event, their official duties would result in conflicts of interest.

2. Should holding office in or acting as a representative of a national organization be regarded differently from holding office or acting for a local where the employee works?

Answer: No.

3. What is the relationship of conflicts of interest and membership in unions?

Answer: The two things are separate. The right to *join* a lawful union extends to all employees, whether or not engaged in managerial, personnel, or similar duties, and many not be restricted by agencies. But if management and certain other officials were to *take an active role* in union affairs (by serving as an officer or representative, etc.) these activities would be incompatible with official duties and therefore represent conflict of interest.

4. Must a supervisor or management official who is an officer of a rank-and-file union be required to vacate his union office by July 1, 1962?

Answer: No, agencies should allow the official such reasonable time as the union needs to arrange for his replacement. For example, if the official's term of office were due to expire within a few months following July 1, he might be authorized to continue until the expiration of his term.

5. Does the degree of recognition an employee organization has achieved bear any relationship to the question of conflict of interest?

Answer: It might, depending on the individual agency situation. As was pointed out above in connection with the general guide, an agency might satisfy itself that no conflict of interest would arise for persons in specific positions or classes of positions associated with management. In arriving at this conclusion one avenue of approach (along with others) could be to explore whether, given the nature of the relationship between the agency and the organization, any actual conflict is likely to arise. Thus in some informal or formal recognition situations an agency might find that there would be no such conflict.

UNITS OF RECOGNITION

Determination of Appropriate Units[1]

There is no simple definition and no easy-to-apply rules can be formulated which will remove all uncertainty from the process of deciding what is an "appropriate unit." Each determination must be made on its own facts, on a case-to-case basis. The process requires evaluation and analysis of facts, and reason and common sense must be applied. "Guidelines" in this area can do no more than suggest a few basic principles and approaches which, if applied to individual cases, should produce a rational unit structure.

Community of interest is the essential ingredient in every appropriate unit. Any unit should include individuals who share certain things, such as skills, working conditions, common supervision, physical location, or function, to such a degree that it makes sense for them to deal collectively with management through a single voice. Conversely, no unit can be appropriate if its members are so divided by different interests arising from their work, skills, location or function that it is unreasonable to assume that they can speak with a single voice.

Some of these factors indicate "community of interest" very clearly. Craft status, for instance, has traditionally bound individuals together and made the single craft unit a common part of the industrial scene. This identification starts with the apprenticeship process and is strengthened through the continuing discipline of true craft work. All pipefitters share certain skills and techniques, master certain tools, know certain things about hydraulics or pressures—and they do not share any of these things with carpenters, who have an entirely different set of skills, techniques and knowledge. Electricians have a third set of these factors, and bricklayers a fourth. These are traditional craft groups, and a detailed, factual study of each group usually leads to the conclusion that each may constitute an appropriate unit.

Even this generalization has its exceptions, however. A group of craftsmen may perform a maintenance function or operate a powerhouse in an arsenal. Many crafts may be represented, and the differences in skills and knowledge may be well marked. Nevertheless, such a group may constitute a single appropriate unit, despite the diversity of crafts, because the interests and working conditions that derive from their status as a maintenance or powerhouse group override the differences caused by their crafts.

What are some of the factors that may come from function? First, all of these men probably work from a single shop, with a common locker and related facilities unlike the separate sheds or trailers so common in the construction industry. Second, they probably share common supervision by the maintenance or powerhouse foreman, instead of having separate craft foremen. Third, the jurisdictional lines observed by many craftsmen may be blurred, and the machinist may touch up the paint on the machine he has repaired, or the pipefitter may help erect a scaffold before he starts to weld. Fourth, the maintenance shop may run a second or a third shift, or the powerhouse may be on round-the-clock, continuous operations, so that all employees in the functional group share the problem of changing work times and night or weekend work.

Many other things may be examined in the search for that "community of interest" which leads to an appropriate unit finding. In the Federal service, as in private industry, one of the most important is organizational structure.

Good employee relations in a collective dealing context require that the employee representative be brought face-to-face with management representatives who are able to deal authoritatively with the problems to be discussed. The identification of such management representatives will not necessarily be easy and uncomplicated, for authority over some things may reside at one level, and authority over others may repose at higher or lower levels. Nevertheless, appropriate units should lie within some ascertainable organizational boundary, within which the management rep-

[1] This discussion of appropriate units is principally the contribution of the Department of Labor.

resentative can make authoritative decisions on a significant range of probable topics of discussion.

In some cases, of course, complex agency functions are reflected in organizational arrangements. At a large installation, for example, operations, maintenance, and other functions may be physically intermixed but organizationally separate. Management has two options where such plural lines of authority exist. Each segment of management can deal separately with the employee organization or organizations, for employees within its authority. This would produce fairly clearcut relationships and responsibilities, but it might also produce an undesirable subdivision of the workforce into small units, each competing with others for greater benefits or more lenient interpretations of policy, and could produce a whipsawing process that would be troublesome to management.

If such effects can reasonably be expected to result from efforts to have simple unit structures related to clearcut management responsibility, other approaches may be preferred. Management may prefer a larger unit including numerous administrative subdivisions with delegated negotiating responsibility centered in one management representative, or a management team of negotiators.

Before it is decided to combine functions into a single unit for the sake of administrative simplicity, the agency should consider the general principle that good employee relations start at the lowest levels of supervision. The management responsibility should be located at a level where employee problems are understood. However, this choice should result from a realistic appraisal of actual facts.

If the agency has to choose between a local unit and a broader one, the local unit should not be ruled appropriate simply to satisfy a rule that local responsibility is best if, in fact, the local manager has little or no authority to make decisions on things which will be the subject of dealing. Furthermore, one manager, or one source of authority, may deal with more than one appropriate unit. When considering the pyramid of authority that converges in a given manager's office, it is not necessary to include all the structures within the pyramid in a single unit.

For example, a hospital administrator may be a manager with the kind of authority which requires that negotiations, to be meaningful, must take place with him or his immediate agency. An appropriate unit, however, need not include *all* hospital personnel. Two or more units may be appropriate, each dealing with the same management official. Housekeeping personnel may be in one unit, food service workers in another, and clerical employees in still a third. In each case, the choice should be dictated by those factors of working conditions, interests, skills, location, etc., that lead to a conclusion that a community of interest ties the group together.

Where more than one unit seems appropriate, management should be careful not to subdivide its operations to such an extent that its efficiency will be impeded. No manager should be expected to spend an unreasonable amount of his time in negotiations. A manager, for instance, might find that if he follows a principle of separate craft units he will have a dozen or more appropriate units to deal with. If he concludes that a single blue collar unit is appropriate, one way this may be worked out is through a trades council, or joint council, in which each craft is represented.

Joint councils exist at such places as TVA and Bonneville Power Administration, with excellent results in terms of time saved, minimized competition for benefits, and comprehensiveness and consistency in treatment of like groups. Of course, if the employee organizations involved cannot establish satisfactory working relationships with each other, attempts to conduct joint dealings may not be as successful.

No consideration of an appropriate unit can be complete if a history of past relationships between organizations and management is not included. If a practice of consultation for a well-defined group of employees began long before the Executive order, this fact may show better than anything else that a strong community of interests has existed for the represented group, and it may suggest the nature and extent of an appropriate unit.

Situations of this sort should be approached with some care, however, for they create implications with respect to the Executive order's ban against making extent of organization a controlling factor in a unit decision.

The Executive order does not completely prohibit any consideration of extent of organization, which may reveal otherwise hidden or intangible facts about community of interest. The order does prohibit unit determinations in which extent of organization is controlling and is used to justify one unit instead of another which might otherwise make more sense.

An illustration of this would be a case in which a district includes nine homogenous offices in a reasonably compact geographical area. An organization seeks a unit comprised of six of the nine offices, and supports its claim only by asserting that it has organized, and represents, the employees in the six offices. If the other facts relevant to the problem support a district-wide unit, extent of organization may not interfere with the determination that the district unit is appropriate.

On the other hand, suppose that the six organized offices in the district are all located in a well-defined urban region, such as Los Angeles, which has unique problems, and the three unorganized offices are in Hawaii. Clearly, a six office unit might well be appropriate. The employees might frequently be interchanged among the offices, or they might be called together for periodic staff meetings. All of these things would indicate a community of interest that could not be shared by employees in the Hawaiian office.

In such a situation a six-out-of-nine unit should not be defeated merely because it coincides with the area of union representation. Extent of organization would simply confirm the other evidence supporting the six-office unit, and it could and should be considered for this purpose.

Professional Employees

The special interests of professional employees are protected under Executive Order 10988 by the requirement that professionals need not be included in exclusive representation units unless they wish to. This is simply a recognition of the commonly accepted view that the needs and goals of professional employees may be sufficiently different from those of other employees to warrant separate consideration. The distinction exists in private industry also.

In most cases, the question of who is a professional should not be difficult to resolve for employees covered by the Classification Act. A determination as to whether or not an occupation involves professional duties is basic to the definition of occupational series under the Classification Act. More than 160 series definitions in the Handbook of Occupational Groups and Series of Classes state that the duties of positions in those series are to "advise on, administer, supervise, or perform professional work," or in similar language indicate that the series is professional. Persons properly classified in these series would be considered professional employees for the purposes of defining exclusive units under Executive Order 10988. (Some might also meet the definition of managerial executive or supervisor and would be treated accordingly.)

There are substantial numbers of persons in occupations outside the Classification Act, of course, but for the most part their status as professionals should also not be difficult to determine, as for example, physicians, dentists and nurses in the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans Administration, engineers in AEC or TVA and so on. Obviously, any position paid under the Wage Board system at prevailing rates is by definition *not* professional.

In doubtful cases outside the Classification Act agencies will frequently be able to make comparisons with similar positions under the Classification Act. If such comparisons are not feasible, agencies may find the basic definition of professional employees contained in the Taft Hartley Act useful. That act defines a professional employee as:

(a) any employee engaged in work
  (i) predominantly intellectual and varied in character as opposed to routine mental, manual, mechanical, or physical work;

(ii) involving the consistent exercise of discretion and judgment in its performance;

(iii) of such a character that the output produced or the result accomplished cannot be standardized in relation to a given period of time;

(iv) requiring knowledge of an advanced type in a field of science or learning customarily acquired by a prolonged course of specialized intellectual instruction and study in an institution of higher learning or a hospital, as distinguished from a general academic education or from an apprenticeship or from training in the performance of routine mental, manual, or physical processes; or

(b) any employee, who

(i) has completed the courses of specialized intellectual instruction and study described in clause (iv) of paragraph (a), and (ii) is performing related work under the supervision of a professional person to qualify himself to become a professional employee as defined in paragraph (a).

In making these determinations agencies should not lose sight of the fact that professionals are not *necessarily* excluded from units of recognition by virtue of their occupation. If it seems otherwise desirable to define a unit of exclusive recognition so as to include professional employees, they need only be given the opportunity to choose whether or not the organization seeking exclusive recognition is acceptable as their representative. Professional employees may, of course, form or join organizations of their own in which case they may be granted one of the three forms of recognition that may be accorded any bona fide employee organization.

Identification of "Supervisors"

A guide that may be used in determining who is a "supervisor" for the purposes of determining exclusive units of recognition under sec. 6(a) of Executive Order 10988 is given below. This list is in accord with criteria outlined in the Supervisory Grade Evaluation Guide published by the Commission in the first volume of Position Classification Standards. Where an employee performs a preponderance of the following duties, he should be considered a supervisor for purposes of this program:

- Assigns and schedules work for employees reporting to him.
- Initiates requests for filling vacancies.
- Selects or participates in the selection of employees.
- Recommends promotions, reassignments, other status changes, or recognition of outstanding performance of assigned personnel.
- Initiates classification actions.
- Checks attendance and approves leave, including all ordinary sick and annual leave and vacation schedules.
- Receives complaints and grievances.
- Holds corrective interviews and proposes disciplinary action to higher authority.
- Conducts informal training; broadens employee training and provides back-up skills by cross training; recommends more formalized training where needed.
- Keeps subordinates informed on important features of management's personnel and employee relations programs.
- Sets or participates in setting performance standards and prepares formal evaluations of employee performance.

Questions

1. What effect does past practice have on inclusion of executives, supervisors, and personnel people in exclusive units of recognition?

   Answer: While section 6(a) of Executive Order 10988 permits exemptions, it is not a general escape clause. It is a savings clause only, and is directed at a handful of situations where there is a well-established practice of collective bragaining by employee organizations on behalf of any or all of these special categories of employees. A history, even a long history, of consultation of the type generally existing in the Government up to now is not enough in itself to invoke the past practice clause.

2. Could units of recognition differ in extent or occupational coverage from establishment to establishment within an agency?

   Answer: Yes, the program allows flexibility to meet local problems.

3. Is there a minimum *number* of employees a unit may contain?

   Answer: No, but as a practical matter very small units should be avoided in the interest of efficiency and convenience in dealing with employees. If there is a tendency to create many small units at one establishment, it may be that there is over-emphasis on occupational differences or narrow orzanizational lines to the exclusion of broader common factors.

4. May a personnel officer or other management official be a member of a union local which is the exclusive representative for a unit, although he is not included in that unit?

   Answer: Yes. The membership of a local of a union need not be confined to a unit for which it is the exclusive representative. A management official may be a member of a lodge or local of a union, without being eligible for inclusion in an exclusive unit represented by that lodge or local.

5. Is it possible for a supervisor who cannot be included in the same unit with his subordinates (under 6(a) of the order) to participate in the management of the union (under 1(a))?

   Answer: Yes, if in the judgment of his agency his supervisory duties do not involve sufficiently significant management responsibilities to lead to a conflict of interest between his role in the union and his role as a supervisor.

6. In an agency one employee organization represents most of the rank and file, and another represents the professional employees. Each requests exclusive recognition for its part of the employee group and each has a majority in a unit so defined, but there are a few employees left over—for example, the boilermakers or other crafts which are not identified with either group. In defining units, are agencies under an obligation to make certain that all employees are included?

   Answer: The fact that there are some employees who will be left out or not represented is not necessarily material unless, of course, they were being left out because of discrimination. Eventually, it may result that this residual group has an appropriateness of its own, the community of interest being that they are all among a peripheral group that is left outside looking in at the represented groups. That gives them a homogeneous interest, even if they might have lacked some of the other interests, such as common supervision or common hours of employment. Thus, when recognizing units, agencies need not worry about the fact that there would be an unrepresented residual group.

SCOPE OF CONSULTATION OR NEGOTIATION

After an employee organization has been granted formal recognition, agency officials will consult with representatives of that organization from time to time on the formulation and implementation of personnel policies that are of concern to the members of the organization. After an employee organization has been granted exclusive recognition, agency officials will negotiate with representatives of that organization with the objective of reaching agreement on personnel policies or practices affecting all the employees in the unit of recognition.

Once recognition has been given, what are the subjects for consultation or negotiation? In general, these are personnel policies and practices and matters affecting working conditions which are within the administrative discretion of the agency officials concerned. The key word here is "policy." Once policies are established, *management officials need not seek the views of representatives of employee organizations on each individual application of a policy.* Consultation provides the framework for action; the taking of personnel action is a management responsibility. If the employee organization believes that a particular policy is not being properly applied or implemented, then it may ask for a meeting with management officials; or the employees concerned may seek correction of the situation through discussions with their supervisors, or, failing this, through use of established agency grievance machinery.

Certain matters are reserved for management decision. Section 7 of Executive Order 10988 states:

"Management officials of the agency retain the right, in accordance with applicable laws and regulations, (a) to direct employees of the agency, (b) to hire, promote, transfer, assign, and retain employees in positions within the agency, and to suspend, demote, discharge, or take other disciplinary action against employees, (c) to relieve employees from duties because of lack of work or for other legitimate reasons, (d) to maintain the efficiency of the Government operations entrusted to them, (e) to determine the methods, means and personnel by which such operations are to be conducted; and (f) to take whatever actions may be necessary to carry out the mission of the agency in situations of emergency."

Also, section 6(b), in discussing matters appropriate for negotiation under conditions of exclusive recognition, states:

"In exercising authority to make rules and regulations relating to personnel policies and practices and working conditions, agencies shall have due regard for the obligation imposed by this section, but such obligation shall not be construed to extend to such areas of discretion and policy as the mission of an agency, its budget, its organization and the assignment of its personnel, or the technology of performing its work."

On a hasty reading of these provisions, it might seem that there was little of significance left to talk about. It would be a mistake to assume so. Typical clauses in private union management contracts also reserve important powers to management, for example:

"The management and the operation of the works and plants of the company, including the direction and disposition of the working force, the right to hire, rehire, transfer, discipline, suspend or discharge for proper cause, employees of the company, and the right to relieve employees from duty because of lack of work or for other legitimate reasons, are vested exclusively in the management of the company."

Despite language of this sort there are obviously many matters employers and employee representatives in private industry find to discuss concerning working conditions, and personnel matters generally, as well as wages.

There is an additional limitation on consultation between management and employees in Government which is recognized in section 7 of the Executive order in these words [concerning the extent of exclusive agreements]:

"In the administration of all matters covered by the agreement, officials and employees are governed by the provisions of any existing or future laws and regulations, including policies set forth in the Federal Personnel Manual and agency regulations, which may be applicable, and the agreement shall at all times be applied subject to such laws, regulations and policies."

This does not mean, however, that employee organizations may not have their views considered in the formulation of such laws, rules, and regulations. Employee organizations can,

of course, present their views to Congress, the President, the Civil Service Commission, and agencies on any matter.

Nevertheless, an agency should not establish such detailed national regulations on personnel policy practices, or matters affecting working conditions that there is no room and no need for dealings with employee organizations at the local level. It is true that Section 7 makes all agreements subject to agency regulations; however, over-restrictive agency-wide regulations which would prevent cooperative dealings at subordinate echelons would clearly be contrary to the intent and spirit of this program.

Clearly, matters that may be appropriate for consultation will vary according to the extent to which personnel authorities are delegated in the agencies.

An example is promotion policies in the competitive service. Fundamental merit principles are not subject to consultation under this program, e.g., basic Civil Service Commission qualifications standards and the principle of selection on merit from among the best qualified condidates wherever they are found. However, consultation may be appropriate on such matters as coverage of promotion plans, the techniques for locating and screening qualified candidates, etc., depending on management's discretion to change these things at the level of dealing concerned.

For purposes of illustration, the following list presents matters that might in given circumstances be appropriate subjects for consultation. It should be clearly understood that not all of the items listed are necessarily subjects for dealing in every unit of recognition of every agency, or that all possible items are included.

1. *Policy on Grievances and Internal Agency Appeals*

Development and operation of grievance and appeals systems.

2. *Policy on the Work Environment*

Light, heat, ventilation, cleanliness and sanitation, and safety practices and equipment.

3. *Policy on Design and Scheduling of Work*

Assignment of work is a management prerogative, but this does not preclude consultation on: tours of duty, rotation assignments, joint employee-management cooperation committees, meal periods, and vacation scheduling.

4. *Policy on Career Policies and Procedures*

Promotion plans (coverage, methods, etc.), opportunities for career mobility (reassignment, detail procedures, etc.), opportunities for training, apprenticeship, reduction-in-force procedures, and disciplinary practices and procedures.

5. *Policy on Employee Benefits and Services*

Lunch rooms, snack bars, coffee breaks, banking, check-cashing services, provision or use of recreation facilities, and transportation and parking arrangements.

6. *Policy on Pay*

Where law permits, the *implementation* of pay policies may be subject to consultation. For example, the prevailing rate wage policy is a matter of law, but such matters as participation in periodic wage surveys are not necessarily fixed. Similarly, *implementation* of other types of pay policy may be discussed, such as overtime, call back, and differential pay, particularly with respect to how opportunities to earn such special types of pay are granted.

7. *Policy on Services to Employee Organizations*

Bulletin boards, use of intra-office distribution system, official newspapers, and on-site meeting facilities.

Fundamentals of Negotiation

Where an employee organization has been granted exclusive recognition how should negotiations be approached on matters such as those given above? The art of negotiation is best learned through practice. Nevertheless it will be important to keep certain fundamentals in mind. Consider the following (far from exhaustive) list:

1. The basic objective of negotiation is to reach agreement. This requires a willingness to listen and to compromise. Adoption of a "take it or leave it" attitude is not a suitable basis for negotiation, since, in effect, it serves notice that there is really nothing to negotiate about. Often the best way to facilitate general agreement is to deal first with an issue on which there is a

very good chance that there will be agreement.

2. There is no requirement that agreement must be reached every time or on all issues. Each side may find that some or perhaps all of the other's demands are unreasonable or impossible to put into effect. However, persistent failure to reach agreement is a symptom of something wrong on one or both sides of the table. On the other hand, overeagerness on the part of management to agree or to "do something" for the union is not the intent of the program.
3. Real success in cooperative efforts requires that each side believe the other will act in good faith and is not out to destroy the basic authority or position of the other.
4. As in any kind of bargaining each side is likely to ask for more or offer less initially than it is willing to settle for. This is the simplest, oldest, and most commonly used tactic in negotiation whether the field is commerce, diplomacy, union-management relations, or whatever. It gives both sides the opportunity to gain something and give up something, and in the process one side may perhaps get more or give up less than would otherwise be the case.
5. As in most relationships, more factors may be involved in reaching agreement than resolution of the specific issues in question. There are matters of "face," traditional attitudes, "expected" behavior, personal ambitions, disputes within organizations, personality clashes, and so on, which may affect negotiations.

The Executive order deliberately does not provide for any compulsory settling of disputes. (*Advisory* arbitration in grievances, appeals, or in establishing exclusive recognition is another matter). The two parties to the dispute must settle it for themselves or leave it unsettled, although mediation, conciliation, referral within the agency, and similar measures might be agreed to.

PROVISION OF AGENCY FACILITIES TO EMPLOYEE ORGANIZATIONS

Section 9 of Executive Order 10988 specifically prohibits the use of official duty time for solicitation of membership, dues, and the conduct of internal employee organization business. Other than this, management has substantial leeway in deciding what official facilities will be made available. As in all of the matters already discussed, however, there should be careful consideration of the consequences before action is taken. Privileges, once given, form a precedent for future action. This means, of course, they should not be given lightly.

In considering requests for the use of facilities, management will want to satisfy itself on three basic points: (1) that the facilities requested are really necessary to the organization; (2) that other organizations in similar circumstances are given similar treatment; (3) that reasonable conditions for the use of the facilities are established and that these are specific enough to permit withdrawal of such use if it should be abused.

Questions

1. May an organization be permitted to have meetings on Government property?
   Answer: This is not prohibited by the order. This privilege, however, should not be loosely granted.
2. May employees attend such meetings on Government time?
   Answer: No.
3. May employees collect or pay dues on Government time.
   Answer: No.
4. May an agency permit union representatives to solicit members during the lunch period?
   Answer: Yes.
5. May agencies permit employee organizations to use agency bulletin boards?
   Answer: Yes.
6. Is it desirable for an agency to authorize use of its intra-office messenger system for distribution of union publications?
   Answer: Generally, this may be viewed as undesirable. If authorization for the use of intra-office messenger systems is granted, there should be a clear understanding in advance as to the kinds and classes of materials to be distributed.
7. Is it permissible to allow unions to place notices of meetings or other notices in agency "house organs"?
   Answer: Yes.
8. May employee organizations be granted free office space on Government premises?
   Answer: While not prohibited by the order, this is generally not good practice; however, it would be permitted under unusual conditions such as in a remote place (e.g., where other facilities are not reasonably available).

U.S. Civil Service Commission, Employee-Management Cooperation in Federal Service, Part V.

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BCSS

BISHOPS' COMMITTEE FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING

INTERNATIONAL BLDG. - ROOM 401
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS 78205
512 - CAPITOL 5-3207

April 25, 1967

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

I just received a copy of the pamphlet, "More Money For You, Your Rights Under the Minimum Wage Law". It's an excellent job written in a way that the people who need it most can understand. Would there be any chance that my office and yours could cooperate in a second edition in Spanish? There is a real need for such a pamphlet to be distributed throughout Texas and other parts of the Southwest.

If you care to cooperate in such a venture, this office would handle the translation and assist in subsidizing the reprints. I assume, however, that those who are distributing them pay something towards the cost of printing.

If there is no income from distribution and the cost is too high, would we be able to get the Labor Department or the United States Civil Rights Commission to handle the printing?

Sincerely,

Rev. John McCarthy

JMcC/cj
cc: Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Mr. Jack Sisson

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May 3, 1967

Rev. John McCarthy
Bishop's Committee for the
Spanish Speaking
International Bldg.
Room 401
San Antonio, Texas 78205

Dear Father McCarthy:

I am greatly pleased that you liked our pamphlet, "More Money for You?", and that you would like to see it translated into Spanish. We will be happy to cooperate with you in every way that we can to see that a Spanish edition is produced. However, there will be a serious limit on how much further money I can put into this minimum wage effort. But let's discuss some of the facts and then we can see what they mean for each of us later.

Our original run was for 10,000 pamphlets. The cost, including Georgia sales tax, was $880. If the run had been for only 5,000 the cost would have been approximately $580; and if it had been 2,500 it would have cost approximately $430. Our printer here indicates that he could do a Spanish edition for the same price. It would be understood that someone else would have to take care of translation and proof reading.

It could well be that you could have the job handled there more cheaply and with less confusion regarding translation and proof reading. The only complication would be getting the plates for the art work to your printer and returned to ours. Mechanically, our printer feels it is easier to set the type here to the plates than to have the plates sent to you for type setting.

We would, of course, want the work done in a union shop with a union label. I think that we could put in $200 from my program here towards defraying the cost of the Spanish edition. Several things further. There is an error by implication on one page which should be corrected in any reprint. The pamphlet as it now stands is good for 1967 only and it should be updated by a chart or other convenient means to indicate the minimum wage for subsequent years. I am enclosing a copy of our Minimum Wage Campaign Kit which includes the pamphlet. You will see that the kit itself pushes the idea of local groups organizing to assist in the enforcement of the law and provides some guidelines as to how to proceed. The pamphlet was intended for popular distribution by those groups undertaking such a campaign.

The complete kit sells for $1.00 (60¢ in quantity). I lose a little on each kit at the quantity price. The pamphlet sells in quantity at 8¢, and again I lose a little.

You should think through what your potential audience is and what quantities would be required. I would suggest, also, that you give some thought to the means of distribution- which agencies and organizations will really undertake such a campaign. We have had our best response to date from the two groups we primarily sought to reach- State Councils on Human Relations and Labor Unions.

I do not believe that the Labor Department would be interested in directly subsidizing the reprinting of the pamphlet. I say this because our materials, the pamphlet included, are somewhat less formal and technical than they feel they can properly do. However, we have had a good response from the Wage and Hour Division within the region and nationaly to our materials. The Regional office was good enough to check each of our own materials for general technically accuracy.

I hope that this information is of assistance to you and that I will hear from you soon regarding your further interest.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

BCCSS

BISHOPS' COMMITTEE FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING
INTERNATIONAL BLDG. - ROOM 401
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS 78205
512 - CAPITOL 5-3207

July 27, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Many thanks for your letter of July 24th. When you informed me in May that you would be pleased to see a Spanish edition of "More Money for You?" I turned the project over to Mr. Ernest Cortes who was in our office at that time. In late May he was hired by the United States Civil Rights Commission and has not as yet been replaced. I haven't been able to give any time to this.

Since Mr. Alcocer is also interested in the possibilities of a Spanish edition I will take this up with him at the first opportunity, and will also send a copy of the pamphlet to the Social Action Director of the Diocese of Brownsville to see if there is any chance of getting some financial support from that Diocese.

Many thanks for your patience and I hope something comes from your efforts.

Sincerely,

John McCarthy

JMcC/cj

cc: Mr. John P. Sisson
Mr. Alex Alcocer

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SECRETARY

STATEMENT OF

ARNOLD E. SCHAEFER

CHIEF, NUTRITION PROGRAM,

HEALTH SERVICES AND MENTAL HEALTH ADMINISTRATION,

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

ON

APRIL 27, 1970

BEFORE

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

Arnold E. Schaefer
Parklawn Building
5600 Fishers Lane
Rockville, Maryland 20852
301-443-1308

SECOND REPORT ON THE NATIONAL NUTRITION SURVEY

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I welcome the opportunity to appear once again before this Committee and to present a second progress report on the National Nutrition Survey.

Rather than reiterate the background information presented last year, I would like to submit for the record a summary of the development and progress of the Survey (Attachment I). However, I will briefly summarize the current status.

The data collection has been completed in nine states and New York City and will be finished in the tenth state (Massachusetts) very shortly. The most complete analyses available are from Texas and Louisiana and these data will be the subject of today's report. We are completing the analysis of the data from New York State, Michigan, and Kentucky. Data have been received from New York (City), South Carolina, California, West Virginia, and Washington and are being processed for analysis.

Last year, we reported that our preliminary data clearly indicated the presence of malnutrition in an unexpectedly large proportion of the sample population. We found a high prevalence of signs associated with inadequate nutrition, including growth retardation. Anemia, and unacceptable levels of serum albumin, vitamin A, vitamin C, and urinary riboflavin were very common. These findings demonstrated the seriousness and the magnitude of the problem. The completed data from Texas and Louisiana support those preliminary findings.

Analyses of data from other states are not sufficiently advanced to state whether the same degree of prevalence of malnutrition exists in those areas.

Today, we would like to present expanded information for Louisiana and Texas which will indicate some of the underlying or contributing factors to the problem of malnutrition. We will also present a more detailed description of the population surveyed.

Sample Characteristics

The National Nutrition Survey is weighted in favor of low-income areas since it was felt that the prevalence of malnutrition would be highest in the segment of the population with the lowest income. The sample was drawn from the lower quartile of income areas. The actual sample procedure used was described in detail in our last testimony. We emphasize that caution must be used in the interpretation of our data. Since our sample is not a random sample of the total United States population, the findings cannot be projected for the total United States. When the data analysis is completed on our total sample, some general projections can be made for populations having characteristics similar to those in our sample.

Within Louisiana and Texas we studied a population of 13,373 individuals. The sample included 7,351 Negro Americans, 2,247 white Americans, and 3,775 Spanish-speaking Americans. The latter group were all from Texas (Table I).

Over half of the survey population was under twenty years of age. (Table II) Average household size was between four and five persons, but there were a number of one and two member households, particularly among the older population.

A most important characteristic of our population is the income status. Because adequate income is basic to the provision of adequate nutrition, we have looked at income in relation to a number of the various parameters used to assess nutritional status. Since the dollar value is influenced by such factors as geographic area, family size, sex, and age of head of household, we have used a Poverty Index Ratio rather than an absolute dollar figure for such correlations. This Poverty Index Ratio (attachment II) does not equalize all factors but does correct for family size, farm and nonfarm household, and for sex of head of household. Where appropriate, we will present the remainder of this report in the context of its relation to Poverty Index.

On the basis of the Poverty Index, in Texas 66 percent of the households were below poverty level while in Louisiana 53 percent had incomes below the poverty level.

As an example of the environmental situation, within Texas 12 percent of the households had no public water supply and 17 percent reported inadequate cooking facilities.

As to be expected, the major portion of the sample in the National Nutrition Survey had low income, in many instances below the poverty level, with a large segment from minority groups. Formal schooling was very limited and home conditions frequently substandard.

How do such limiting characteristics affect the daily living patterns? Are there more than the usual number of health problems? Do families utilize resources available to them? Are there adequate resources?

In both Louisiana and Texas a variety of public health resources are available without charge in addition to medical and dental care from the private sector. Although these services are not necessarily available in all areas, it is interesting to note the immunization record from Texas: less than one-half of all children in the Texas sample who were under six years of age had received the recommended immunizations. Fifty-three percent had completed the diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus series; 57 percent polio; 44 percent smallpox, and 39 percent measles.

The dental examinations in both states repeatedly revealed poor or a complete lack of dental care. Many times this was due to lack of availability of a dentist as well as to lack of knowledge of the importance of such care or to lack of money. Of 3,500 persons examined by the dentist in the Texas survey, one-half had never seen a dentist. Of persons over five years of age, 92 percent needed either fillings or extractions.

It is of interest to note that in Texas there are a number of areas where the naturally occurring fluoride in water approaches or even exceeds that recommended for the prevention of dental decay. Within these areas, 30 percent fewer dental problems were observed than in other geographic areas.

Resources for welfare and food distribution are of major importance to a population such as we have described. Mere availability does not assure that the needy will or can participate. For example, at the time of the survey in Texas, 19 of the 26 counties surveyed had food commodity programs; 3 of the 26 had food stamp programs; all but one county had school lunch programs. Yet less than 10 percent of the households participated in either food distribution plan. Of a total of 699 children attending school in the Texas sample, 639 attended school where a lunch program was available. Approximately 27 percent of these did not participate in the program. Of those who did participate 74 percent were from homes below the poverty level. There was only a small difference between the children from homes above and below the poverty level with regard to the number of times per week they participated. Approximately 19 percent ate school lunch less than 3 times per week. (Table III.)

Full advantage is not being taken of existing programs by many individuals. Lack of transportation to source, lack of understanding of programs, and eligibility regulations all exerted an influence on participation. For example, at the time of the survey in Louisiana, a person with a monthly income of $100 would have been eligible for $40 stamps. Although this would have carried a bonus of $21, it is frequently impossible for persons on such incomes to have the entire $40 available at the necessary time.

DISCUSSION OF SURVEY RESULTS

At the time of our first report to your Committee in January 1969, we discussed in some detail clinical findings, including problems relating to growth, dental health, and biochemical findings. No dietary data were available. At this time, we would like to review major findings briefly and expand on data presented in the first report. In addition, we will delineate relationships between nutrition problems identified and possible causative factors to permit identification of those individuals or families requiring nutritional assistance.

All of the previously mentioned factors, i.e., low income, poor housing, etc., undoubtedly contribute to the various nutrition problems identified in the survey. It is difficult, and often impossible, to determine the contribution of each of these factors, since they are interrelated to the problems observed. Whenever possible, we will relate clinical, biochemical, dietary, socioeconomic, and other data. In our discussion, certain standards are referred to; for example, the guidelines used for defining acceptable biochemical levels are listed in attachment III and for dietary in attachment IV.

Dietary data were collected by securing a review of the previous day's food consumption. Information was obtained from 497 households in Texas and 670 households in Louisiana and from individuals of selected vulnerable groups. The average calculated intake of certain essential nutrients is shown for each category in Table IV. The calculated 24-hour intakes for each nutrient were expressed as percent of the reference

standard for each category (see Attachment IV). The mean percent adequacy is given in Table V for each age group and for households. It should be stressed that averages of adequacy for intakes of individuals do not reveal the proportion of those individuals who consume low and high amounts so the usefulness of such data is limited in delineating the problems of malnutrition. Group means may meet or exceed the mean reference standard considered to be adequate, while significant proportions of the group may be consuming diets falling considerably below the reference standard. With this in mind, it is cause for concern that several of the group means actually fell below the reference standard. This was especially true for iron intakes, where every group mean in Louisiana and those for 0-3 year old children, 10-16 year olds, and pregnant/lactating women in the Texas sample failed to meet the reference standard. An average of only 50 and 73 percent of the reference standard for iron was consumed by 0-3 year old children in Texas and Louisiana, respectively. This most widespread occurrence of inadequate dietary intakes is consistent with the biochemical findings in all age groups.

In addition to the low iron intakes in Louisiana, pregnant/lactating women and persons 60 years of age and over had intakes of protein which for the entire group averaged below the reference standard.

Recognizing that group means can and usually do mask the problems of certain sub-groups within the mean, the data were combined for all enumeration districts within a county and summarized on that basis (Table VI). Population segments by county would be expected to be more homogenous than on a total state basis. The average for each category of individuals or

households in each county were expressed as percent of reference standards. Table VI shows the percent of counties in each state, by nutrient, which had average intakes for each age group (except for pregnant/lactating women) or households that failed to meet the reference standard. The large percentage of counties with group means below these standards support the evidence for dietary deficiencies of iron among all age groups and for protein in those persons 60 years of age and over. In addition, there is evidence for low intakes of vitamin A and thiamine in all age groups and for vitamin C in infants in several counties.

It is well known that one day's food intake cannot be used to appraise the adequacy of an individual diet, since any particular day may not be representative of the usual food intake. Nevertheless, when daily food consumption of a large proportion of any population group fails to meet the standards required for adequacy, it is almost certain that many individuals within the group will consume poor diets regularly. Tables VII through XII show the percent of people in the sample in both Texas and Louisiana that consumed diets on the day prior to the survey that supplied less than 70 percent, from 70 to 100 percent or over 100 percent of the reference standards for iron, vitamin A, vitamin C, thiamine, riboflavin, and protein. These same data are presented graphically in Attachment V. These data reveal that 30 to 81 percent of all daily diets were low in iron, 26 to 63 percent low in vitamin A, and 27 to 56 percent low in vitamin C. Low daily thiamine, riboflavin, and protein intakes were found in up to 44, 32 and 54 percent, respectively, in certain age groups (pregnant/lactating women and persons over 60 years).

More than three-fourths of children under age 3 in Texas and Louisiana ate diets providing less than 70 percent of the standard for iron. In Louisiana 81 percent of pregnant women reported diets that provided less than 70 percent of the standard for this nutrient. Forty-two percent of Louisiana and 30 percent of Texas households reported food intakes inadequate in iron.

Dietary intakes of vitamin A are low in most age groups, and markedly so in those ages 10-16, and pregnant women. Among both groups, more than half consumed diets which provided less than 70 percent of the standard for vitamin A.

Between one-fourth and one-third of children unage age 3 in Texas and Louisiana and up to 60 percent of the other age groups were eating foods that provided less than 70 percent of their vitamin A standard. Food intake information indicates that more than one-fourth of the family groups were eating foods providing less than 70 percent of the recommended standard for vitamin C.

Reported food intakes show that 27 percent and 32 percent of the adolescent and aged groups in Texas, respectively, were consuming less than 70 percent of the standard for riboflavin.

Thiamine did not meet 70 percent of the standard in diets of up to 37 percent of adolescents and 44 percent of aged in Louisiana.

With regard to protein, dietary intakes of over half the pregnant women and 46 percent of the aged in Louisiana failed to provide 70 percent of their protein needs.

Data for Louisiana show that more persons from families below poverty

than above poverty reported diets which supplied less than 50 percent of the reference standards for vitamin A. This was true for protein, thiamine, riboflavin, and vitamins A and C for persons over 60 years of age.

Multiple Biochemical Abnormailities

In attempting to summarize the biochemical findings, the number of persons with multiple unacceptable values has been determined. Using the six basic determinations, hemoglobin, serum albumin, serum vitamin A, and vitamin C, and urinary riboflavin and thiamine, over one-third (35 percent) of the survey population in Texas were observed to have two or more of these six biochemical levels in the unacceptable range (Table XIII). The picture becomes clearer as to where the problems are when one separates the population on the basis of poverty levels.

Persons living in households with a Poverty Income Ratio of less than 0.50 had considerably higher rates (44.7 percent) of two or more unacceptably low biochemical levels than other poverty groups and over twice the rate (21.1 percent) of persons from households with a Poverty Income Ratio of 2.0 and over. Persons living in households with a Poverty Income Ratio of less than 0.50 had a rate (16.3 percent) of three or more unacceptably low biochemical levels more than five times greater than the rate (2.8 percent) of persons from households with a Poverty Income Ratio of 2.0 and over. The Negro population in Texas has the highest rate of persons with multiple unacceptable values.

The highest rates of multiple biochemical abnormalities were found in the thirteen to sixteen year old group, where over one-half of the

individuals had two or more unacceptable values. Males over sixty years of age also had a high prevalence of more than two unacceptable values of the six basic values (37 percent) while only 18 percent of the women over sixty had two or more unacceptable values (Table XIV).

Anemia

Anemia is one of the major problems encountered in the National Nutrition Survey. The hemoglobin level in the blood is a commonly used test to diagnose anemia. Low hemoglobin levels indicating anemia were found to be major nutritional problems in both Louisiana and Texas (Table XV).

Anemia was a problem at all income levels in both states. No differences in the prevalence of anemia was observed between ethnic or racial groups in Louisiana. In Texas, Spanish-speaking and Negro groups, both male and female, had a prevalence of unacceptable hemoglobin levels approximately twice that of the white groups.

All age groups in both states had high prevalence rates of unacceptable hemoglobin levels. A trend was observed for individuals in our sample who lived in households where the housewife had a higher level of education to have fewer unacceptable hemoglobin levels. This trend, however, was evident only in households whose income placed them in a Poverty Income Ratio of 1.50 and over. In this income group in Texas, unacceptable hemoglobin levels were found in about 29 percent of individuals where the housewife had less than a fourth grade education and 9 percent where the housewife had education beyond the 12th grade.

The dietary data indicate that iron intake was inadequate for a

very high proportion of families and individuals in the survey.

In Texas 30 percent and in Louisiana 42 percent of the households studied consumed less than 70 percent of the recommended intake of iron (Attachment V). In both Louisiana and Texas, except for the aged, iron intakes were not materially affected by poverty.

The sub-group whose diets appeared to be most inadequate were infants. Seventy-five percent in Texas and 78 percent in Louisiana consumed diets which contained less than 70 percent of the recommended intake.

The anemia problem is probably complicated by a high prevalence of pica in certain sub-groups. Pica has been implicated as a possible contributing factor to anemia.

Vitamin A Deficiency

Texas reported that 41 percent of the individuals surveyed had unacceptable levels of serum vitamin A while the Louisiana survey had 15 percent (Table XVI). The most striking findings were in children and adolescents. In Texas over 60 percent of these age groups had unacceptable levels. The prevalence of unacceptable levels was much lower for adults.

The prevalence of unacceptable levels of serum vitamin A decreased as income increased. For example, in Texas the prevalence of unacceptable levels in individuals living in households with a Poverty Income Ratio (PIR) less than 0.75 was 45 percent while for those with PIR of 1.50 and over it was 26 percent.

There is a trend for individuals who live in households where the housewife has a higher education level to have a lower prevalence of

unacceptable serum vitamin A levels.

Dietary intake of vitamin A was low for a large percent of households and for all subgroups in both states (Table VIII). For example, in Texas 52 percent of the adolescents and in Louisiana 53 percent of the same group consumed less than 70 percent of the standard. The prevalence of low vitamin A intake was greater in all of the groups below poverty.

Vitamin C

Twelve percent of the total population surveyed in Texas and 14 percent in Louisiana had unacceptable serum levels of vitamin C (Table XVII). In Texas no income influence was observed, while in Louisiana the prevalence of unacceptable values was higher in the above poverty groups. No age pattern was apparent except in Louisiana where males over 16 years of age had a rate approximately twice that of males under 16 of age. No education pattern was apparent. There seems to be a slightly lower prevalence of unacceptable vitamin C levels in the Spanish-speaking group.

Food intake information indicates that vitamin C is consumed in less than adequate amounts by a large percent of all groups (Table IX). This is most evident in children 36 months and younger where 53 percent in Louisiana and 56 percent in Texas consumed less than 70 percent of the standard.

Thiamine

The urinary excretion levels of thiamine were unacceptable in ten percent of the population in both Louisiana and Texas. The rates for

males and females were similar. There was no consistent relationship to income. The highest prevalence is clustered in the individuals 10 to 16 years of age (Table XVIII). Twenty-five percent of the households in Texas and 29 percent in Louisiana consumed diets with less than 70 percent of the standard (Table XI). A large percent of all individual groups on whom 24-hour intakes were recorded consumed diets providing less than the standard, with the aging in both states having the greatest percent of individuals consuming less than 70 percent of the standard.

Riboflavin

The urinary excretion levels for riboflavin were unacceptable in 21 percent of the population in Texas and 16 percent in Louisiana. No consistent pattern related to sex distribution was apparent in Texas but males had a slightly higher rate in Louisiana (Table XIX). The racial difference observed in Texas, where the Negro rate of unacceptable riboflavin levels was higher than whites, was reversed in Louisiana. In Texas there are slightly higher rates of unacceptable riboflavin levels in the population below poverty.

The highest percent of subjects consuming diets containing less than 70 percent of the standard were individuals 60 years of age and over with adolescents having the next highest prevalence rate. (Table X)

Serum Protein

The groups having the highest rates of unacceptable values for serum protein were males 50 years of age and over and females 60 years of age and over, although some unacceptable values were reported for all age groups (Table XX). The dietary patterns indicate that protein intake

was most limited in pregnant and lactating women with the next most limited groups being individuals sixty years of age and over. (Table XII)

In summary, data have not been analyzed to determine the significance of observed relationships between dietary intake and pertinent biochemical observations. However, consistent trends appear. Comparisons between the intakes of several nutrients with the percent of the appropriate biochemical values which fall in the unacceptable range are given in Tables XXI through XXVI by age groups and for households. These comparisons show that a substantial percentage of the people may consume diets which do not meet even 60 percent of the reference intake standards, although the mean intake for the total group may be considerably above the reference standard level. The occurence of low biochemical levels support the premise that many of the individuals in our sample fail to meet their nutrient needs day after day. More direct evidence for low nutrient intakes must await the appropriate combination of specific subgroups.

Tables XXVII and XXVIII present the dietary data relating to iron intakes and the percent of hemoglobin, hematocrit, and transferrin saturation values which fell in the unacceptable range for 0-3 year old children and 10-16 year olds, respectively. These data show excellent agreement and provide strong support for the need to increase iron intakes.

Clinical

Clinical lesions appear only after prolonged periods of poor food intake or after a shorter period of extremely limited food intake.

Therefore, as was expected, the prevalence of abnormal clinical findings in Texas and Louisiana was low.

Approximately forty different lesions were looked for in the medical examination. Most of the individual lesions were present in only one or two percent of the population. In Louisiana approximately one in three adults and one in ten children under the age of six had one or more clinical lesions. In Texas the Spanish-speaking and Negro populations had a slightly higher prevalence of individuals with one or more clinical lesions than did the white population.

A part of the pediatric examination was a series of body measurements and a hand-wrist x-ray to determine growth and development.

Heights of Texas and Louisiana children between 6 and 71 months of age were compared with heights of a similar age group of Iowa children. The average height of the children in our sample was less than that for the Iowa children of similar age. For example, in Texas 41 percent of the males and 40 percent of the females were shorter by more than one standard deviation below the Iowa mean. If growth of these children had been comparable to the Iowa children, one would have expected this percentage to be 16. There appears to be an ethnic and racial variation in growth with the Spanish-speaking and Negro accounting for the largest percent of those deviating from the mean.

The trend of growth retardation as reflected in the height data was also observed in the bone growth as determined from the hand-wrist x-ray.

DENTAL

No changes have been noted from the dental data reported in our last testimony. Poor dental hygiene, a high prevalence of dental caries, and peridontal disease continue to be major problems.

The preceding data confirm earlier impressions that have been reported to the committee. The Department is at the present reviewing to the recommendations of the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health in light of these and other findings. The Nutrition Program is utilizing these findings in developing demonstrations to improve the health status of persons with evidence of malnutrition. The National Health Survey is adapting the methodology to a nation-wide monitoring program so that we will have a continuing measure of the nutritional status of the country. But more important, action programs at state and local level are developing as a result to the surveys. I would like to recount what is happening in Louisiana and Texas.

In Louisiana, the Advisory Committee to the Louisiana Nutrition Survey recommended the organization of task forces geared toward meeting nutritional needs; strengthening the state's supplemental food program; reviewing critically the nutrition components in the curricula of schools and colleges; expanding school breakfast and lunch programs by increasing student participation; establishing a committee to review current legislation regarding food enrichment laws and practices; considering the critical need of the health department to increase research efforts in nutrition.

The Louisiana Health Department has begun to implement these recommendations. Statewide planning sessions have been held, an organizational meeting of the Louisiana Nutrition Council has taken place and the Board of Health has authorized the establishment of a Division of Dental Health in the Health Department. The Louisiana State Dental Association is playing a major role in recommending and participating in the development

of programs designed to upgrade the nutritional health of the people through the overall improvement of dental health care.

The Texas Health Department has completed planning for regionalizing its health program into ten sections, which includes the provision for a nutrition consultant as a member of its health team in each of the regions. Funding has been requested for implementing the first phase of the regionalization program in three regions in the Dallas, East Texas, and Valley areas. Selection of these areas has reflected tri-cultural, bilingual, and rural characteristics. Funding for nutritional activities has been approved by the Board of Health and the State Legislative Budget Committee at the level of approximately $500,000. Nutrition planning for the future has been placed in the comprehensive health section at the Governor's level. A private state nutrition foundation is in the planning stage. The number of counties without a food distribution program has been significantly reduced through the efforts of the state welfare and agricultural agencies.

Following the state survey, the State Department of Education completed a comprehensive school health curriculum study. Emphasis was on nutrition health education and services in grades kindergarten through twelve. A new Health Education Curriculum Guide for teachers is now being distributed throughout the state. Prior to the final development of this guide, a statewide school health conference, cosponsored by the Texas Education Agency, the Texas Medical Association, and the Nutrition Program, HSMHA, was held in San Antonio last July. Representatives from school and community health teams from the state's twenty regional education service centers participated in the conference. As a result of

this conference and of follow-up sessions held in each of the twenty regions, the Education Service Center in Austin has proposed a model nutrition program in a school setting from kindergarten through the twelfth grade.

In summary, as a result of findings by the National Nutrition Survey in Louisiana and Texas concrete steps have been taken by these states toward action to eliminate the facets of malnutrition found. There are indications that the survey in the other eight states will stimulate similar action programs.

Table I

Race and Ethnic Distribution
of Survey Population

	Texas	Louisiana
Total Number	7306	6067
	Percent	
White	12	23
Spanish Speaking	52	
Negro	36	77

TABLE II

Age and Sex Distribution
of Survey Population

	TEXAS		LOUISIANA	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Sex				
Male	3447	47	2810	46
Female	3859	53	3257	54
Age				
Less than 6 years	1148	16	856	14
6-9 years	915	12	729	12
10-16 years	1454	20	1436	20
17-49 years	2516	35	2071	34
50-59 years	481	7	507	8
60 years and over	792	10	668	12

TABLE III

Children Eating Lunch at School
by Poverty Level, Texas N = 420

Number of Times School Lunch is Eaten	Below Poverty		Above Poverty		Total Eating Lunch at School	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
	312*	100.0	108	100.0	420*	100.0
Daily (5 times a week)	204	65.4	72	66.7	276	65.7
4 times a week	12	3.9	8	7.4	20	4.8
3 times a week	36	11.5	9	8.3	45	10.7
less than 3 times a week	60	19.2	19	17.6	79	18.8

*Unknowns excluded

Table IV Mean Nutrient Intakes for Population Segments and Households As Determined In The National Nutrition Survey

Nutrient	0-3 Yrs.	10-16 Yrs.	Preg. & Lact. Women	60 Yrs. & Over	Households
			Amount/Person/Day		
			TEXAS		
Calories	1,068	2,183	2,333	1,613	1,990
Protein, gm.	49	87	98	72	84
Fat, gm.	52	99	123	74	96
Carbohydrate, gm.	103	238	207	162	197
Calcium, mg.	866	667	524	559	597
Phosphorus, mg.	941	1,203	1,184	1,015	1,145
Iron, mg.	6.2	14.2	16.5	11.4	14.0
Vitamin A, IU.	2,941	3,604	6,091	4,311	5,178
Thiamine, mg.	0.65	1.38	1.77	1.03	1.33
Riboflavin, mg.	1.56	1.85	1.90	1.98	1.77
Niacin, mg.	6.5	16.6	21.5	19.5	18.9
Vitamin C, mg.	40	69	88	72	59
	(110)1/	(822)	(35)	(211)	(497)
			LOUISIANA		
Calories	1,131	2,179	1,680	1,410	1,920
Protein, gm.	47	85	64	60	80
Fat, gm.	52	101	72	64	87
Carbohydrate, gm.	122	236	200	147	205
Calcium, mg.	846	792	764	604	738
Phosphorus, mg.	920	1,248	1,048	910	1,132
Iron, mg.	8.1	12.7	10.2	9.8	12.6
Vitamin A, IU.	3,623	3,940	5,490	5,675	4,948
Thiamine, mg.	0.72	1.24	1.25	0.83	1.45
Riboflavin, mg.	1.93	2.63	2.06	2.10	2.81
Niacin, mg.	7.2	16.6	12.9	16.4	18.0
Vitamin C, mg.	37	59	94	53	68
	(248)	(476)	(26)	(223)	(670)

1/ Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of 24-hour dietary recalls combined.

Table V Mean Calculated Adequacy of Nutrient Intake Data Obtained By 24-Hour Recall For Selected Age Groups, Pregnant/Lactating Women and By Households.

Nutrient	0-3 Yrs.	10-16 Yrs.	Preg. & Lact. Women	60 Yrs. & Over	Households
	% Adequacy (based on Reference Standards)				
			TEXAS		
Calories	120	89	108	78	88
Protein	263	178	135	107	150
Calcium	362	103	88	138	132
Iron	50	98	92	114	109
Vitamin A	343	125	173	123	171
Thiamine	184	142	193	120	146
Riboflavin	332	137	152	130	149
Niacin	106	103	144	141	137
Vitamin C	137	231	292	239	214
			LOUISIANA		
Calories	112	80	70	71	85
Protein	231	148	79	90	146
Calcium	416	121	115	151	158
Iron	73	71	57	97	97
Vitamin A	436	125	157	162	155
Thiamine	188	114	131	102	136
Riboflavin	363	178	156	176	210
Niacin	107	91	81	118	132
Vitamin C	129	188	316	177	202

Table VI Percent of Counties in Texas and Louisiana Having Mean Nutrient Intakes Falling Below Reference Standards.

Nutrient	Age Groups						Households	
	0-3		10-16		60 & Over			
	Texas	La.	Texas	La.	Texas	La.	Texas	La.
Iron	100	71	50	100	20	57	31	61
Vitamin A	30	0	29	21	20	41	16	11
Vitamin C	60	28	4	7	0	8	0	6
Niacin	60	35	50	63	10	24	4	6
Thiamine	10	7	21	21	20	57	23	10
Riboflavin	0	0	8	0	10	8	0	5
Calcium	10	0	58	14	0	8	4	10
Protein	0	0	4	7	30	73	8	5

TABLE VII FOOD INTAKES PROVIDING SPECIFIED PERCENTAGES OF IRON

	TEXAS			LOUISIANA		
	PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING			PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING		
	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard
INFANTS	75	14	11	78	5	17
ADOLESCENTS	46	19	35	66	17	17
AGED	32	20	48	46	19	35
PREG. LACTATING	49	17	34	81	15	4
HOUSEHOLDS	30	24	46	42	24	34

TABLE VIII FOOD INTAKES PROVIDING SPECIFIED PERCENTAGES OF VITAMIN A

	TEXAS			LOUISIANA		
	PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING			PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING		
	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard
INFANTS	33	9	58	26	17	57
ADOLESCENTS	52	15	35	53	15	32
AGED	47	10	43	54	11	35
PREG. LACTATING	63	6	32	54	15	31
HOUSEHOLDS	41	14	45	44	15	41

TABLE IX FOOD INTAKES FROM [illegible] OF VITAMIN C

TEXAS LOUISIANA

	PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING			PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING		
	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard
INFANTS	56	11	33	53	11	36
ADOLESCENTS	35	9	56	45	9	46
AGED	32	10	58	46	8	46
PREG. LACTATING	37	6	57	27	23	50
HOUSEHOLDS	27	10	63	29	9	62

TABLE X FOOD INTAKES PROVIDING SPECIFIED PERCENTAGES OF RIBOFLAVIN

	TEXAS			LOUISIANA		
	PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING			PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING		
	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard
INFANTS	16	5	79	8	4	88
ADOLESCENTS	27	17	56	16	17	67
AGED	32	19	49	24	19	57
PREG. LACTATING	20	17	63	12	19	69
HOUSEHOLDS	19	21	60	18	13	69

TABLE XI FOOD INTAKE [illegible] SPECIFIED [illegible] OF THIAMINE

	TEXAS			LOUISIANA		
	PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING			PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING		
	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard
INFANTS	18	12	70	17	12	71
ADOLESCENTS	28	19	53	37	22	41
AGED	37	19	44	44	26	30
PREG. LACTATING	34	17	49	19	27	54
HOUSEHOLDS	25	21	54	29	21	50

TABLE XII FOOD INTAKES PROVIDING SPECIFIED PERCENTAGES OF PROTEIN

	TEXAS			LOUISIANA		
	PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING			PERCENT OF SUBJECTS CONSUMING		
	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard	< 70% Standard	70-100% Standard	> 100% Standard
INFANTS	16	2	78	11	3	86
ADOLESCENTS	18	14	69	19	19	63
AGED	37	21	42	46	25	30
PREG. LACTATING	37	17	46	54	19	27
HOUSEHOLDS	18	16	66	23	18	59

Table XIII

Pattern of Biochemical Findings
in Texas Survey
(Ethnic and Poverty Status)

Poverty Income Ratio		Percent with 0-3 or more Unacceptable Biochemical Values(1)			
		0	1	2	3 or more
All Ethnic Group	Number				
.00- .49	319	20.1	35.4	28.4	16.3
.50- .99	564	22.7	42.9	23.9	10.4
1.00-1.99	376	25.5	42.1	22.6	9.8
2.00 & over	109	30.0	45.9	18.3	2.8
All incomes	1368	23.7	41.2	24.1	11.0

(1) Only persons with all six determinations completed are included - hemoglobin, serum albumin, plasma vitamin A, serum vitamin C, urinary riboflavin and urinary thiamine.

Table XIV

Pattern of Biochemical Findings
in Texas Survey Population (Age)

Age Group	Number	Percent with Two or More Unacceptable Biochemical Values		
		Both Sexes	Male	Female
1-9 years	206	49	51	46
10-12 years	185	40	43	36
13-16 years	314	54	54	55
17-59 years	562	25	25	24
60 years & over	201	27	37	18
Total (all ages)	1368	35	40	32

Table XV

Hemoglobin Levels
Percent Unacceptable

	Texas		Louisiana	
Total Number	3265		4346	
	Percent Unacceptable			
Total	20		41	
Male	22		46	
Female	18		37	
Poverty Status	Male	Female	Male	Female
Above Poverty	20	14	40	39
Below Poverty	22	20	46	42
Ethnic Group				
White	10	7	46	32
Spanish Speaking	23	19	--	--
Negro	19	19	46	39
Age				
Less than 6 yrs.	13	9	40	35
6-9 yrs.	12	9	50	48
10-16 yrs.	16	13	46	34
17-49 yrs.	29	25	42	42
50-59 yrs.	30	19	45	21
60 yrs. and over	44	19	59	34

Table XVI

Plasma Vitamin A Levels
Percent Unacceptable

	Texas		Louisiana	
Total Number	2960		3743	
	Percent Unacceptable			
Total	41		15	
Male	48		18	
Female	35		12	
Poverty Status	Male	Female	Male	Female
Above Poverty	37	26	15	12
Below Poverty	52	37	18	10
Ethnic Group				
White	32	20	19	10
Spanish Speaking	50	40	--	--
Negro	51	34	18	13
Age				
Less than 6 yrs.	79	80	40	45
6-9 yrs.	82	78	33	33
10-16 yrs.	68	66	19	16
17-49 yrs.	9	12	1	1
50-59 yrs.	1	8	0	1
60 yrs. and over	7	3	1	1

Table XVII

Serum Vitamin C Levels
Percent Unacceptable

	Texas		Louisiana	
Total Number	2577		3793	
	Percent Unacceptable			
Total	12		14	
Male	12		15	
Female	12		13	
Poverty Status	Male	Female	Male	Female
Above Poverty	12	10	16	16
Below Poverty	11	12	11	8
Ethnic Group				
White	19	17	15	18
Spanish Speaking	10	8	--	--
Negro	13	17	15	12
Age				
Less than 6 yrs.	9	11	10	12
6-9 yrs.	11	10	8	10
10-16 yrs.	13	13	12	10
17-49 yrs.	12	13	24	16
50-59 yrs.	11	11	24	12
60 yrs. and over	14	7	25	13

Table XVIII

Urinary Thiamine Excretion Levels
Percent Unacceptable

	Texas		Louisiana	
Total Number	2984		505	
	Percent Unacceptable			
Total	10		10	
Male	13		8	
Female	9		10	
Poverty Status	Male	Female	Male	Female
Above Poverty	11	8	8	10
Below Poverty	13	10	--	3
Ethnic Group				
White	12	7	18	8
Spanish Speaking	19	5	--	--
Negro	18	13	5	11
Age				
Less than 6 yrs.	6	3		
6-9 yrs.	9	11		
10-16 yrs.	22	15		
17-49 yrs.	8	6		
50-59 yrs.	9	7		
60 yrs. and over	11	8		

Table XIX

Urinary Riboflavin Excretion Levels
Percent Unacceptable

	Texas		Louisiana	
Total Number	3040		516	
	Percent Unacceptable			
Total	21		16	
Male	22		20	
Female	21		13	
Poverty Status	Male	Female	Male	Female
Above Poverty	17	18	25	17
Below Poverty	22	22	24	15
Ethnic Group				
White	12	13	24	15
Spanish Speaking	19	19	--	--
Negro	28	25	18	13
Age				
Less than 6 yrs.	28	31		
6-9 yrs.	24	30		
10-16 yrs.	29	32		
17-49 yrs.	12	14		
50-59 yrs.	12	9		
60 yrs. and over	9	11		

Table XX

Serum Protein Levels
Percent Unacceptable

	Texas	
Total Number	2591	
	Percent Acceptable	
Total	10	
Male	9	
Female	11	
Poverty Status	Male	Female
Above Poverty	12	14
Below Poverty	7	10
Ethnic Group		
White	18	20
Spanish Speaking	6	9
Negro	9	12
Age		
Less than 6 yrs.	9	3
6-9 yrs.	8	7
10-16 yrs.	4	5
17-49 yrs.	11	16
50-59 yrs.	20	10
60 yrs. and over	16	18

Table XXI Comparison of Dietary and Biochemical Comparisons in 0-3 Year Old Children (Texas)

Nutrient	Dietary			Biochemical 1/
	Ave. Intake	Mean % Adequacy	Providing <60% of Standard	Percent Unacceptable
Hemoglobin (Iron)	6.2 mg.	50	72	11
Vitamin A	2,941 I.U.	342	25	79
Vitamin C	40 mg	137	54	10
Serum Protein (Prot)	49 gm	262	15	6
Thiamine	0.65 mg	184	17	5
Riboflavin	1.56 mg	332	14	29
Niacin	6.5 mg	106	42	--
Calcium	866 mg	362	26	--

1/ Biochemistry based on samples from 0-6 year old children.

Table XXII Comparison of Dietary and Biochemical Observations in 0-3 Year Old Children (Louisiana)

Nutrient	Dietary			Biochemical[1/]
	Ave. Intake	Mean % Adequacy	% of Diets Providing 60% of Standard	Percent Unacceptable
Hemoglobin (Iron)	8.1 mg	73	72	37
Vitamin A	3,620 I.U.	436	20	68
Vitamin C	36 mg	129	50	10
Serum Protein (Prot)	47 gm	231	10	--
Thiamin	0.72 mg	188	14	--
Riboflavin	1.92 mg	363	7	--
Niacin	7.2 mg	107	33	--
Calcium	842 mg	416	18	--

1/ Biochemistry based on samples from 0-6 year old children.

Table XXIII Comparison of Dietary And Biochemical Observations in 10-16 Year Olds.

TEXAS

Nutrient	Dietary			Biochemical
	Av. Intake	Mean % Adequacy	% of Diets Providing <60% of Standard	Percent Unacceptable
Hemoglobin(Iron)	14.2 mg.	98	37	15
Vitamin A	3604 IU	125	45	67
Vitamin C	69 mg	231	31	13
Serum Protein(Prot)	87 gm	178	12	4
Thiamine	1.38 mg	142	21	19
Riboflavin	1.85 mg	137	21	30
Niacin	16.6 mg	103	36	-
Calcium	667 mg	103	32	-

Table XXIV Comparison of Dietary And Biochemical Observations in Persons Over 60 Years Old.

(TEXAS)

Nutrient	Dietary			Biochemical
	Av. Intake	Mean % Adequacy	% of Diets Providing <60% of Standard	Percent Unacceptable
Hemoglobin(Iron)	11.4 mg	114	23	30
Vitamin A	4311 IU	123	41	5
Vitamin C	72 mg	239	29	10
Serum Protein (Prot)	72 gm	108	30	17
Thiamine	1.03 mg	120	29	10
Riboflavin	1.98 mg	129	25	10
Niacin	19.5 mg	142	15	-
Calcium	559 mg	140	27	-

Table XXV Comparison of Dietary Data From Households And Biochemical Observations

TEXAS

Nutrient	Dietary			Biochemical
	Av. Intake	Mean % Adequacy	% of Diets Providing <60% of Standard	Percent Unacceptable
Hemoglobin(Iron)	14.0 mg	109	21	20
Vitamin A	5178 IU	171	35	41
Vitamin C	59 mg	214	24	12
Serum Protein (Prot)	84 gm	150	13	10
Thiamine	1.33 mg	146	18	10
Riboflavin	1.77 mg	149	15	21
Niacin	18.9 mg	137	16	-
Calcium	597 mg	132	20	-

Table XXVI Comparison of Dietary Data From Households And Biochemical Observations

LOUISIANA

Nutrient	Dietary			Biochemical
	Av. Intake	Mean % Adequacy	% of Diets Providing <60% of Standard	Percent Unacceptable
Hemoglobin(Iron)	12.6 mg	97	32	41
Vitamin A	4948 IU	155	37	15
Vitamin C	68 mg	202	25	14
Serum Protein(Prot)	80 gm	146	18	-
Thiamine	1.45 mg	136	22	10
Riboflavin	2.81 mg	210	13	16
Niacin	18.0 mg	132	21	-
Calcium	738 mg	158	20	-

Table XXVII Iron Consumption and Anemia in 0-3 Year Olds (National Nutrition Survey)

Dietary Iron Intake	Texas	Louisiana
Average mg/day	6.2	8.1
Ave. % adequacy	50	73
range (by counties)	(12-68)	(30-153)
% of diets supplying		
60% or more of standard	28	28
70% or more of standard	24	22
Biochemical, % unacceptable 1/		
Hemoglobin, male	13	40
female	9	35
Hematocrit, male	16	18
female	12	18
Transferrin, male	47	--
saturation female	44	--
Number of 24-hour recalls	110	248

1/ Biochemical samples from 0-6 year old children.

Table XXVIII Iron Consumption and Anemia in 10-16 Year Olds.
(National Nutrition Survey)

Dietary Iron Intake		Texas	La.
Average, mg. per day		14.2	12.7
Average percent adequacy		98	71
Range (by Counties)		(64-174)	(41-93)
Percent of diets supplying			
60% or more of standard		63	43
70% or more of standard		54	33
Biochemicals, Percent Unacceptable			
Hemoglobin	Males	16	46
	Females	13	34
Hematocrit	Males	20	29
	Females	11	17
Transferrin Saturation	Males	44	-
	Females	29	-

ATTACHMENT I

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Public Health Service
Health Services and Mental Health Administration
Nutrition Program

A summary of the development and progress of the:

THE NATIONAL NUTRITION SURVEY

- Authorization and Development of the Survey
- Current Progress Status - By States
- Specific Analyses Being Used

April, 1970

THE NATIONAL NUTRITION SURVEY
(Reference Summary)

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I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE SURVEY

1. WHAT IS THE AUTHORIZATION FOR A NATIONAL NUTRITION SURVEY, AND WHAT ARE THE SURVEY'S OBJECTIVES?

A mandate from the Congress under the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967, directed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, in consultation and cooperation with other officials of the Federal Government and of the States, to conduct a comprehensive survey of the incidence and location of serious hunger and malnutrition and health problems incident thereto in the United States.

2. HOW WAS THE SURVEY IMPLEMENTED?

The Nutrition Program of the Public Health Service, in turn, was designated by the Secretary to plan, develop, and carry out the mandate. An advisory committee composed of representatives from the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Economic Opportunity, Children's Bureau, Office of Education, Public Health Service, and the Office of the Secretary of HEW assisted the Nutrition Program in developing overall objectives, selecting participating states, and in establishing other general guidelines. The HEW Regional Office personnel initiated contact with the respective states and have assisted the Nutrition Program in implementing the surveys.

Specific methodologies were developed by the Nutrition Program staff in cooperation with a number of professional Ad Hoc committees. Dr. Arnold E. Schaefer, Chief of the Nutrition Program, and many of the Ad Hoc committee members have participated in 33 international nutrition surveys since 1956. These surveys were conducted under the auspices of the Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense, which is now the Nutrition Program.

3. HOW WERE STATES SELECTED FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE SURVEY?

Criteria used to select the states included geographical representation (with both urban and rural representation) and diversity of economic, ethnic, and socio-cultural composition of the states. Additional specific considerations were such factors as concentration of migrant labor, infant, and maternal mortality rates higher than the national averages, and variations in types of food distribution and welfare programs. The findings from the first phase of the survey can be extended to groups having similar characteristics.

Within each state sample, subsamples of groups more vulnerable to nutritional stress were selected for more detailed study. These subsamples include infants, pregnant and lactating females, adolescents, and the aging.

The 10 states selected were Texas, Louisiana, New York, Kentucky, Michigan, California, Washington, South Carolina, West Virginia, and Massachusetts. Concurrent with the National Nutrition Survey, a pilot study of the Navajo Indian population at Greasewood, Arizona was conducted to collect baseline data for initiating a food distribution program for that specific Indian population.

4. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE NATIONAL NUTRITION SURVEY, APPROXIMATELY HOW MANY HOUSEHOLDS AND INDIVIDUALS WILL HAVE BEEN CONTACTED IN THE TEN STATES AND NEW YORK CITY?

Approximate number of households: 24,000
Approximate number of individuals: 96,000

5. HOW WAS THE SURVEY FUNDED?

Re-programmed funds for conducting the nutrition surveys in Texas, Louisiana, New York, Kentucky, Michigan, and New York City, and for basic staff and supporting expenses, was made available by the U. S. Office of Education ($225,000), Social Rehabilitation Services ($225,000), U. S. Department of Agriculture ($100,000), Office of Economic Opportunity ($275,000), and the Public Health Service ($900,000).

To complete the state surveys in California, Washington, West Virginia, Massachusetts, and South Carolina funds were re-programmed in FY 1969 from the Public Health Service ($1.5 million), and the U. S. Office of Education and the Administration on Aging ($500,000).

6. HOW WERE THE SURVEYS COORDINATED AND CONDUCTED IN THE STATES?

The surveys within the states were conducted on a contract basis under the statewide coordination of their health departments. Coordinated leadership, supportive planning and development, professional assistance, and contractual funding emanates from the Nutrition Program Office.

Additional assistance has been available to the states from the Food and Drug Administration, U. S. Army Medical Research and Nutrition Laboratory and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In New York, Kentucky, Michigan, West Virginia, California, South Carolina, and Massachusetts the respective State Health Departments were the contracting agents in conducting the surveys. In Texas, Louisiana, and Washington the respective State Health Departments designated medical schools within their states as the contracting agents.

7. WHAT ARE THE METHODOLOGIES, PROCEDURES, AND STANDARDS USED IN CARRYING-OUT THE SURVEYS?

The methodologies, procedures, and standards published in the Manual for Nutrition Surveys were used as guidelines in developing and carrying out the survey, and in interpreting data collected. The Manual was published by the Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense in 1957, with a second edition being printed in 1963. This committee was composed of representatives from the (U.S.) Agency for International Development, the (U.S.) Departments of State, Health, Education and Welfare, Defense, Army, Navy, Air Force, Agriculture, Interior, and the Atomic Energy Commission.

The Manual was designed to (a) establish uniformity in methods, techniques, procedures, and guidelines for conducting surveys, (b) outline and define responsibilities and duties of survey team members, (c) provide a guide to

interpretation of dietary, biochemical, and clinical data collected, (d) serve as a working reference of major facts essential to proprer appraisal of nutritional status, and to aid in interpreting findings in order to draft practical, effective recommendations to alleviate nutritional problems discovered, and to (e) assist in training personnel in nutritional appraisal techniques and to stimulate continued nutritional efforts. Where indicated, procedures were modified to conform with domestic requirements.

8. WHAT METHOD WAS USED FOR SELECTING THE SAMPLES TO BE SURVEYED?

The sample design for the nutrition surveys in each state was developed by the Nutrition Program in cooperation with the National Center for Health Statistics, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, based upon tested procedures of the Bureau of the Census in its sample surveys. Priority efforts in the survey were directed at low income economic areas. The sample was randomly selected from the census enumeration districts reported in the 1960 Census to account for the lowest one-fourth income group. Within each enumeration district a segment with an average of about 60 housing units was randomly selected. Finally on the basis of a random start, an average of about 20 households in each enumeration district were chosen to be invited to participate in the survey.

9. WHAT ARE THE COMPONENTS OF A STATE NUTRITION SURVEY TEAM?

The state nutrition survey team is made up of the following four components:

(1) Administrative Unit - is responsible for all of the administrative details as assigned, such as payroll, personnel, shipping of samples, and maintaining official contact with the contract officer for the survey.

(2) Advance Team - establishes contact in the areas where a sample has been identified, assists in the enlistment and coordination of local support of the survey in the areas, carries out the mapping of the area as described in the Guidelines for the Nutrition Survey, and completes the home interviews as directed in the Guidelines. In addition, the director of the advance team, working under the survey team director and in cooperation with the clinical team director, identifies suitable sites for clinic activities, and coordinates initial scheduling procedures in transporting families to the clinic.

(3) Field Clinic Team - is responsible for transporting families to the clinic site when necessary, collecting the basic information on the health status of the sample population, and maintaining correctness of the coding. An average-sized clinic team is comprised of 25-30 members, including physicians, dentists, nutritionists, field laboratory personnel, anthropometrists, X-ray technicians, registrars, code clerks, and drivers.

(4) Biochemical Laboratory - is responsible for completing the necessary biochemical determinations of the samples. The laboratory director is also responsible for maintaining quality control both in the laboratory and in the field, and for shipping samples to other laboratories for special analysis and for coding of the laboratory forms.

SURVEY PROGRESS STATUS -BY STATES

NOTE: In states where the contracting agent listed is other than the state's health department, the contracting agent had been designated by the state health department for contracting purposes.

STATE	CONTRACTING AGENT	FIELD DIRECTOR	NO. E.D.	FIELD ACTIVITIES COMPLETED	STATUS OF DATA
TEXAS	Univ. of Texas Medical Branch Galveston	Dr. William J. McGanity	102	November, 1968	Primary analysis completed
LOUISIANA	Tulane Univ. School of Medicine, New Orleans	Dr. Walter G. Unglaub	97	January, 1969	Primary analysis completed.
NEW YORK STATE	Health Research Inst. State Dept. of Health	Dr. Donald M. Watkin	103	June, 1969	Data has been edited Analysis in process
KENTUCKY	State Dept. of Health	Dr. Dudley Nelson	62	June, 1969	Data has been edited Analysis in process
MICHIGAN	State Dept. of Public Health	Mrs. Alice Smith	99	June, 1969	Data has been edited Analysis in process
WEST VIRGINIA	State Dept. of Health	Dr. Harry Ridgely	48	September, 1969	All data received Analysis in process
WASHINGTON	Univ. of Washington School of Medicine	Dr. Nathan Smith	98	January, 1970	Data being compiled for analysis
CALIFORNIA	State Dept. of Public Health	Dr. Beatrice Nold	200	February, 1970	Data being compiled for analysis
SOUTH CAROLINA	State Board of Health	Dr. Harry Ridgely	98	March, 1970	Data being compiled for analysis
MASSACHUSETTS	Health Research Institute State Dept. of Public Health	Dr. Joseph C. Edozien	103	May, 1970	Data being compiled for analysis
NEW YORK CITY	State Dept. of Health N.Y. City Health Dept.	Dr. Robert Newman	96	March, 1970	Data being compiled for analysis

Navajo Indian Pilot Study - Greasewood, Arizona, grazing area (Approximately 100 square miles), Population - 1200. Study was completed in February, 1969. All data was delivered to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the funding agency.

II. SPECIFIC ANALYSES USED IN THE SURVEYTO ASSESS NUTRITIONAL STATUS

1. WHAT ARE THE COMPONENTS OF THE SURVEY IN THE EXAMINATION OF FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS?

CLINICAL - Participants undergo a specialized clinical examination. This includes a medical history, physical examination, anthropometric measurements, hand skeleton x-rays (for an objective assessment of physical growth and development) and a dental examination. The clinical examination places primary emphasis on the presence or absence of key lesions associated with nutrient deficiencies.

Additional tests are incorporated at the discretion of the states. To date these have included parasitology, hearing and sight testing, screening for diabetes, and tests for cardiovascular abnormalities.

BIOCHEMICAL - Biochemical analyses are carried out on blood and urine specimens obtained from survey participants to identify the levels of nutrients. This data will be compared to standards to determine the prevalence of the population at risk of health impairment due to specific nutrient deficiencies.

DIETARY - Dietary data was analyzed to assess the nutritional quality of the diets consumed. These data will assist in the interpretation of the clinical and biochemical results and be of value for planning follow-up programs.

Data has been collected on actual food consumed, frequencey of use of selected food groups, and general information on dietary patterns, food sources, food preparation facilities and related pertinent data.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC - Socio-economic factors related to health are recorded for each household. These factors include the size of the dwelling, family size, water, sanitary and cooking facilities, principal wage earners, income, ethnic group identification, educational level of the occupants and other related factors.

2. HOW ARE THE DATA BEING INTERPRETED?

Data collected are being compared with guidelines adapted from those published by the Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense, the World Health Organization, and the Food and Nutrition Board, National Research Council. In addition, expert advisory groups are represented by the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Nutrition, the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Academy of Science, and the Food and Nutrition Council of the American Medical Association to review and interpret the data collected.

ATTACHMENT II

Poverty Ratio Index
Computed from

Weighted Average of Poverty Criteria for Families of Different Composition, by Household Size, Sex of Head, and Farm or Nonfarm Residence, March 1967

Number of Family Members	Weighted Average of Incomes at Poverty Level			
	Nonfarm		Farm	
	Male Head	Female Head	Male Head	Female Head
1 Member	$1,710	$1,595	$1,180	$1,110
Head under age 65	1,760	1,625	1,230	1,140
Head age 65 +	1,580	1,560	1,105	1,090
2 Members	2,130	2,055	1,480	1,400
Head under age 65	2,200	2,105	1,540	1,465
Head age 65 +	1,975	1,955	1,380	1,370
3 Members	2,610	2,515	1,820	1,725
4 Members	3,335	3,320	2,345	2,320
5 Members	3,930	3,895	2,755	2,775
6 Members	4,410	4,395	3,090	3,075
7 or more Members	5,440	5,310	3,795	3,760

Source: Orshansky, M.: The Shape of Poverty in 1966. Social Security Bulletin, March 1968.

Example: Poverty Index Ratio (PIR): Family of four, non-farm
Yearly Income $3335, PIR = 1.0
Yearly Income $4998, PIR = 1.5

Pediat. Res. 4: 103–106 (1970)

National Nutrition Survey
blood data
urine data

Guidelines for Classification and Interpretation of Group Blood and Urine Data Collected as Part of the National Nutrition Survey

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During the past few months interest in the nutritional health status of United States populations has increased by several magnitudes. This interest has resulted in a number of studies designed to objectively ascertain the current status of nutritional health in this country. One portion of such objective evaluations usually consists of a number of biochemical determinations on blood and urine that are related to intake, excretion or storage, or both, of specific nutrients. To relate data obtained from such biochemical measurements to nutritional health status, they must be compared with biochemical values deemed to reflect various degrees of nutritional health status. Such a set of values has been developed to interpret the data currently being collected as part of the National Nutrition Survey (NNS). Since it is a national survey and the results obtained will be used by numerous groups concerned with nutritional health and for comparison with other nutritional health studies, the guidelines developed for classification and interpretation of group blood and urine data collected as part of the NNS should be made available to interested groups.

Prior to the beginning of the NNS, considerable amounts of information were available relating biochemical measurements to dietary and clinical nutrition status, but a current set of comprehensive guidelines suitable for interpretation of the biochemical data generated by the NNS was not available. The guidelines that had been suggested for interpretation

Table II. Methodology used to obtain National Nutrition Survey laboratory data

Determination	Method
Hemoglobin	Cyanmethemoglobin[1]
Hematocrit	Micromethod[2]
Serum iron	Giovanniello[3]
Serum iron-binding capacity	Caraway[4]
Blood folacin	*Lactobacillus casei*[5]
Total serum protein	Biuret[6]
Serum albumin	2-(4′-hydroxyazobenzene) benzoic acid (HABA)[6]
Serum vitamin C	Macro dinitrophenylhydrazine[1]
Plasma carotene and vitamin A	Macro Carr-Price (trifluoroacetic acid chromogen)[1]
Urinary creatinine	Picrate[6]
Urinary thiamine	Thiochrome[1]
Urinary riboflavin	Modified Slater-Morell[1]
Urinary iodine	Modified Zak[1]

[1] Manual for nutrition surveys, 2nd ed., Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense, 1963.

[2] M.M.Wintrobe: Clinical hematology, 6th ed. (Lea & Febiger, Philadelphia 1967).

[3] Modified procedure: Giovanniello, T.J.; DiBenedetto, G.; Palmer, D.W. and Peters, T., Jr.: Fully and semi-automated methods for the determination of serum iron and total iron-binding capacity. J. Lab. Clin. Med. *71:* 874 (1968).

[4] Modified procedure: Caraway, W.T.: Macro and micro methods for the determination of serum iron and iron-binding capacity. Clin. Chem. *9:* 188 (1963).

[5] Modified by U.S. Army Medical Research and Nutrition Laboratory, Fitzsimons General Hospital, Denver, Colo.

[6] Technicon auto analyzer methodology, Technicon Instruments Corporation, Chauncey, N.Y.

Table I. Guidelines for classification and interpretation of group blood and urine data collected as part of the National Nutrition Survey

Determination	Classification category		
	Less than acceptable		Acceptable[1]
	Deficient	Low	
Hemoglobin, g/100 ml			
6–23 months	< 9.0	9.0– 9.9	≥ 10.0
2– 5 yr	< 10	10.0–10.9	≥ 11.0
6–12 yr	< 10	10.0–11.4	≥ 11.5
13–16 yr, male	< 12	12.0–12.9	≥ 13.0
13–16 yr, female	< 10	10.0–11.4	≥ 11.5
> 16 yr, male	< 12	12.0–13.9	≥ 14.0
> 16 yr, female	< 10	10.0–11.9	≥ 12.0
Pregnant, 2nd trimester	< 9.5	9.5–10.9	≥ 11.0
Pregnant, 3rd trimester	< 9.0	9.0–10.4	≥ 10.5
Hematocrit, %			
6–23 months	< 28	28–30	≥ 31
2– 5 yr	< 30	30–33	≥ 34
6–12 yr	< 30	30–35	≥ 36
13–16 yr, male	< 37	37–39	≥ 40
13–16 yr, female	< 31	31–35	≥ 36
> 16 yr, male	< 37	37–43	≥ 44
> 16 yr, female	< 31	31–37	≥ 38
Pregnant, 2nd trimester	< 30	30–34	≥ 35
Pregnant, 3rd trimester	< 30	30–32	≥ 33
Hemoglobin conc, MCHC, g/100 ml RBC			
All ages	—	30	≥ 30
Serum iron, μg/100 ml			
0– 5 months	—		—
6–23 months	< 30		≥ 30
2– 5 yr	< 40		≥ 40
6–12 yr	< 50		≥ 50
> 12 yr, male	< 60		≥ 60
> 12 yr, female	< 40		≥ 40
Transferrin saturation, %			
0– 5 months	—		—
6–23 months	< 15		≥ 15
2–12 yr	< 20		≥ 20
> 12 yr, male	< 20		≥ 20
> 12 yr, female	< 15		≥ 15
Red cell folacin, ng/ml			
All ages	< 140	140–159	≥ 160–650
Serum folacin, ng/ml	3.0	3.0– 5.9	≥ 6.0
Serum protein, g/100 ml			
0–11 months		< 5.0	≥ 5.0
1– 5 yr		< 5.5	≥ 5.5
6–17 yr		< 6.0	≥ 6.0
Adult	< 6.0	6.0– 6.4	≥ 6.5
Pregnant, 2nd and 3rd trimester	< 5.5	5.5– 5.9	≥ 6.0

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Table I. (Continued)

Determination	Classification category		
	Less than acceptable		Acceptable[1]
	Deficient	Low	
Serum albumin, g/100 ml			
0–11 months		< 2.5	≥ 2.5
1– 5 yr		< 3.0	≥ 3.0
6–17 yr		< 3.5	≥ 3.5
Adult	< 2.8	2.8–3.4	≥ 3.5
Pregnant, 1st trimester	< 3.0	3.0–3.9	≥ 4.0
Pregnant, 2nd and 3rd trimester	< 3.0	3.0–3.4	≥ 3.5
Serum vitamin C, mg/100 ml			
0–11 months	—	—	—
≥ 1 yr	< 0.1	0.1–0.19	≥ 0.2
Plasma carotene, μg/100			
0– 5 months		< 10	≥ 10
6–11 months		< 30	≥ 30
1–17 yr		< 40	≥ 40
Adult	< 20[2]	20–39	≥ 40
Pregnant, 2nd trimester		30–79	≥ 80
Pregnant, 3rd trimester		40–79	≥ 80
Plasma vitamin A, μg/100 ml			
0–5 months	< 10	10–19	≥ 20
0.5–17 yr	< 20	20–29	≥ 30
Adult	< 10	10–19	≥ 20
Urinary thiamine, μg/g creatinine			
1– 3 yr	<120	120–175	≥ 176
4– 6 yr	< 85	85–120	≥ 121
7– 9 yr	< 70	70–180	≥ 181
10–12 yr	< 60	60–180	≥ 181
13–15 yr	< 50	50–150	≥ 151
Adult	< 27	27– 65	≥ 66
Pregnant, 2nd trimester	< 23	23– 54	≥ 55
Pregnant, 3rd trimester	< 21	21– 49	≥ 50
Urinary riboflavin, μg/g creatinine			
1– 3 yr	<150	150–499	≥ 500
4– 6 yr	<100	100–299	≥ 300
7– 9 yr	< 85	85–269	≥ 270
10–15 yr	< 70	70–199	≥ 200
Adult	< 27	27– 79	≥ 80
Pregnant, 2nd trimester	< 39	39–119	≥ 120
Pregnant, 3rd trimester	< 30	30– 89	≥ 90
Urinary iodine, μg/g creatinine	< 25	25– 49	≥ 50

[1] Excessively high levels may indicate abnormal clinical status or toxicity.
[2] May indicate unusual diet or malabsorption.

of biochemical data by the Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense (ICNND) [2] were selected as a starting point and revised and expanded to accommodate the scope of data collected from the NNS. The Committee on Nutrition of the American Academy of Pediatrics reviewed the ICNND guidelines for interpretation of blood data, and revised them when necessary, based on current information [1]. The Committee expanded them to accommodate the significant physiological differences in children due to sex and age through 16 years of age, as well as providing guidelines for additional determinations performed in the NNS.

The Nutrition Program Advisory Committee reviewed the ICNND guidelines for interpretation of blood and urine data for adults and revised them where current information required revision. This committee expanded these guidelines to include standards for interpretation of additional determinations performed in the NNS.

The comprehensive guidelines for classification and interpretation of group blood and urine data collected as part of the NNS are shown in table I and are for laboratory data obtained by the methods referenced in table II.

References and Notes

1. Diseases related to nutrition, rates and rank order; Systems Development Project Staff, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1968.
2. Manual for nutrition surveys, 2nd ed., Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense, 1963.
3. Accepted for publication October 13, 1969.

STANDARDS FOR EVALUATION OF NUTRIENT INTAKE

The standards for evaluation of nutrient intake were developed by an ad hoc committee utilizing standards from the World Health Organization ICNND Manual and the recommended allowances from the National Research Council. Where allowances are based on weight of a subject, the actual weight recorded at the time of the clinical examination will be used. If for some reason a weight measurement was not obtained, the weights indicated on the standards will be used.

CALORIES

Age	Weight (Average) pounds	Weight (Average) kilos	K Calories/ Kilogram/Day	K Calories /Day
0-1 mos.	9	4.1	120	1080
2-5 mos.	15	6.8	110	1650
6-11 mos.	20	9.0	100	2000
12-23 mos.	25.1	11.4	90	
24-47 mos.	32.1	14.6	86	
48-71 mos.	40.6	18.5	82	
YEARS				
6-7 years	51.1	23.2	82	
8-9 years	64.1	29.0	82	
10-12 years Male	78.7	35.8	68	
Female	82.5	37.5	64	
13-16 years Male	117.1	53.2	60	
Female	115.4	52.5	48	
17-19 years Male	142.3	64.7	44	
Female	126.0	57.3	35	

NOTE: Age, weight, calories for 0-12 mos. as in NRC
" " " " 13 mos-19 years: weight averaged from Faulkner's growth chart, 50th percentile; calorie requirements derived from WHO, ICNND, and NRC. Actual Weights will be used when available.

CALORIES (continued)

Adults

Age Years	Weight (#s) (Male)	Kilo	K Cal/ Kg/Day	Weight (#s) (Female)	Kilo	K Cal/ Kg/Day
20-29	164.7	74.9	40	137.2	62.4	35
30-39	171.6	78.0	38	145.1	65.9	33
40-49	172.8	78.5	37	152.4	69.3	31
55-59	172.6	78.5	36	157.6	71.6	30
60-69	168.6	76.6	34	158.5	72.0	29
≥ 70	166.3	75.6	34	153.6	69.8	29

NOTE:

(a) Average weight of adults adapted from PHS. Pub. #1000, Series 11, No. 14

(b) Calorie requirements derived from WHO, ICNND, and NRC.

(c) Actual weights will be used when available

Pregnant-2nd and 3rd trimester 200 K cal day above basic allowance

Lactating 1000 cal/day above basic allowance

PROTEIN

Age	Weight (Average, pounds)	Kilos	Gm. Protein/Kg/Day
0 - 1 mos.	9	4.1	(2.2)*
2-5 mos.	15	6.8	(2.2)
6-11 mos.	20	9.0	(2.2)
12-23 mos.	25.1	11.4	1.9
24-47 mos.	32.1	14.6	1.7
48-71 mos.	40.6	18.5	1.5
6-7 years	51.1	23.2	1.3
8-9 years	64.1	29.0	1.3
10-12 years Male	78.7	35.8	1.2
Female	82.5	37.5	1.2
13-16 years Male	117.1	53.2	1.2
Female	115.4	52.5	1.2
17-19 years Male	142.3	64.7	1.1
Female	126.0	57.3	1.1
Adult Male (20 yrs. & over)	169.4	77.0	1.0
Female	150.7	68.5	1.0

* If breast fed infants, allowance is part of mother's allowance

Pregnant-2nd and 3rd trimester-20 gm/day plus basic requirements

Lactating-25 gm/day plus basic allowance

Actual weights will be used when available.

CALCIUM

Age		Mg/Day
0-1 mos.		550
2-5 mos.		550
6-11 mos.		550
12-23 mos.		450
24-47 mos.		450
48-71 mos.		450
6-7 years		450
8-9 years		450
10-12 years	Male	650
	Female	650
13-16 years	Male	650
	Female	650
17-19 years	Male	550
	Female	550
Adults		400

Pregnant-3rd trimester 400/mg/day plus basic requirements

Lactating-500 mg/day plus basic requirements.

IRON

Age		Mg/Day
0-1 mos.		10
2-5 mos.		10
6-11 mos.		10
12-23 mos.		15
24-47 mos.		15
48-71 mos.		10
6-7 years		10
8-9 years		10
10-12 years	Male	10
	Female	18
13-16 years	Male	18
	Female	18
17-19 years	Male	18
	Female	18
Adults	Male (20 yrs. & over)	10
	Female (to 55)	18
	Female (55 on)	10

Pregnant and Lactating - No special

VITAMINS B

Age	Thiamine	Riboflavin	Niacin
For all age groups including Adults	0.4 mg/1000 calories	0.55 mg/1000 calories	(incl. equivalent from Tryptophane 6.6 mg/1000 calories)

Calories for each of above groups to be computed on average weights shown, except when actual weights are available.

ASCORBIC ACID

For All - 30 mg/day

VITAMIN A

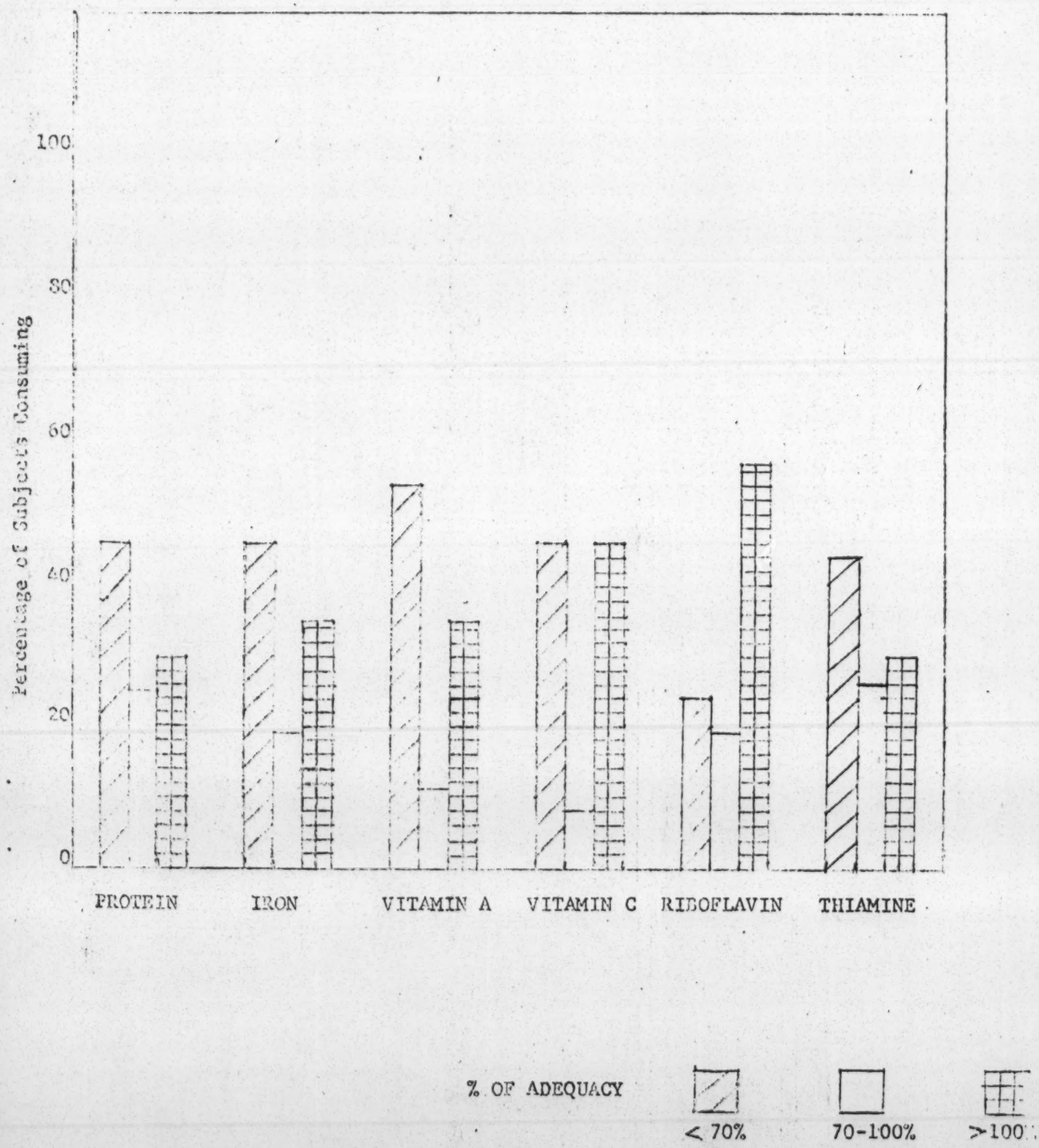
Age	International Units
0-1 mos.	1,500
2-5 mos.	1,500
6-11 mos.	1,500
12-23 mos.	2,000
24-47 mos.	2,000
48-71 mos.	2,000
6-7 years	2,500
8-9 years	2,500
10-12 years	2,500
> 12 years	3,500
Pregnant	-

Lactating- 1,000 I.U. plus basic requirements

Assumed 70% carotene, 30% retinol

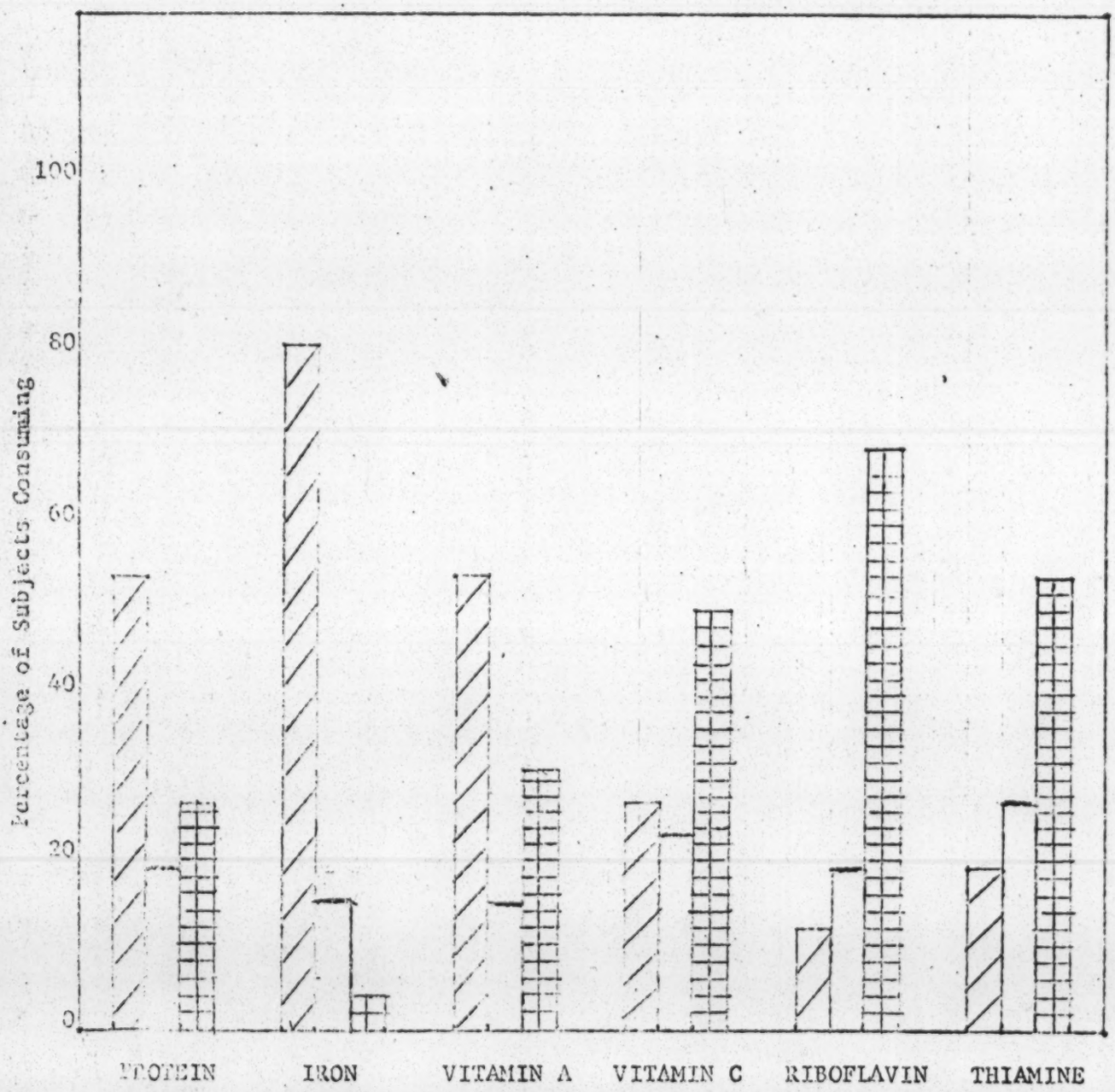
LOUISIANA - AGED

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



LOUISIANA - PREGNANT/LACTATING

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



% OF ADEQUACY

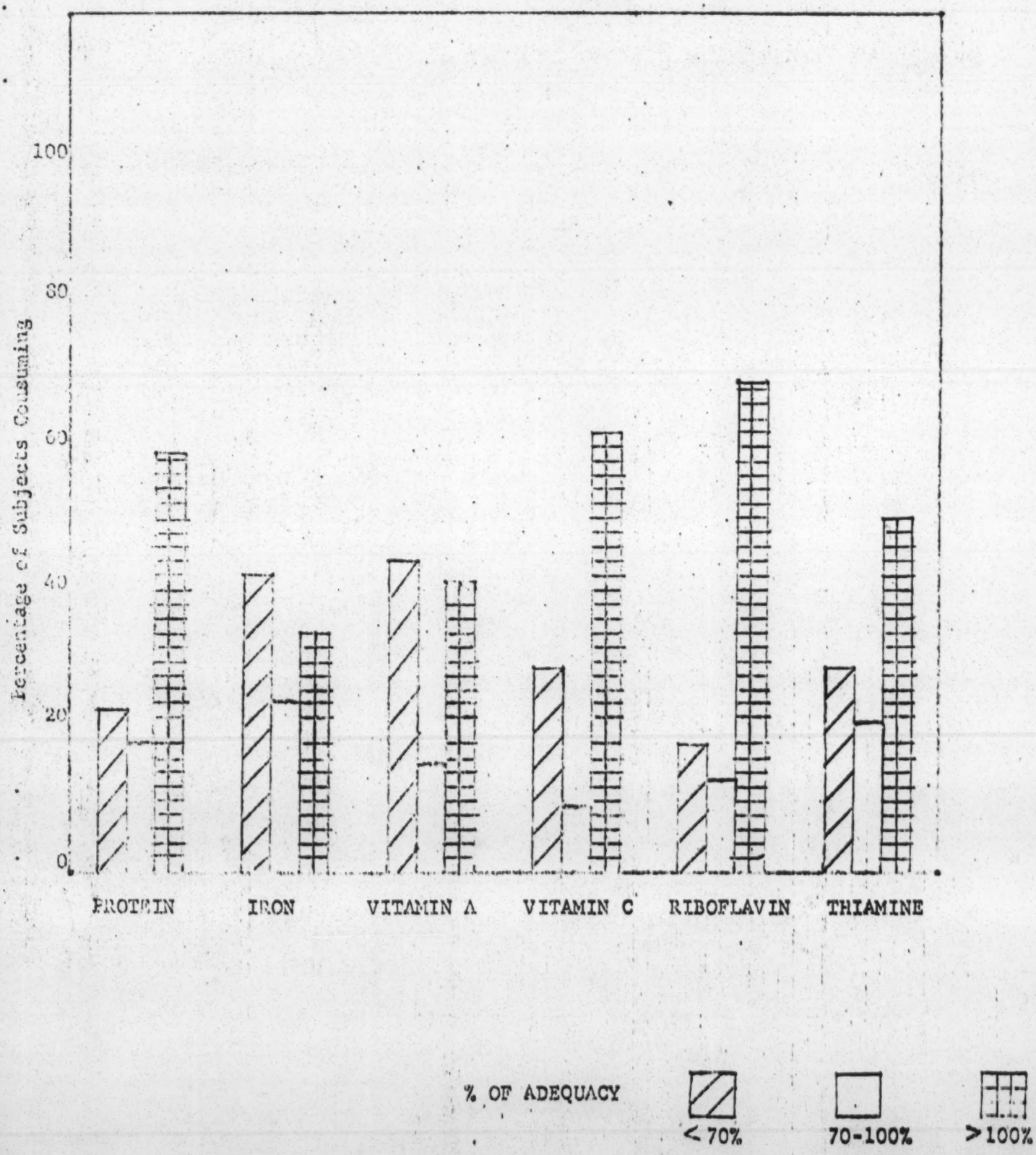
<70%

70-100%

>100%

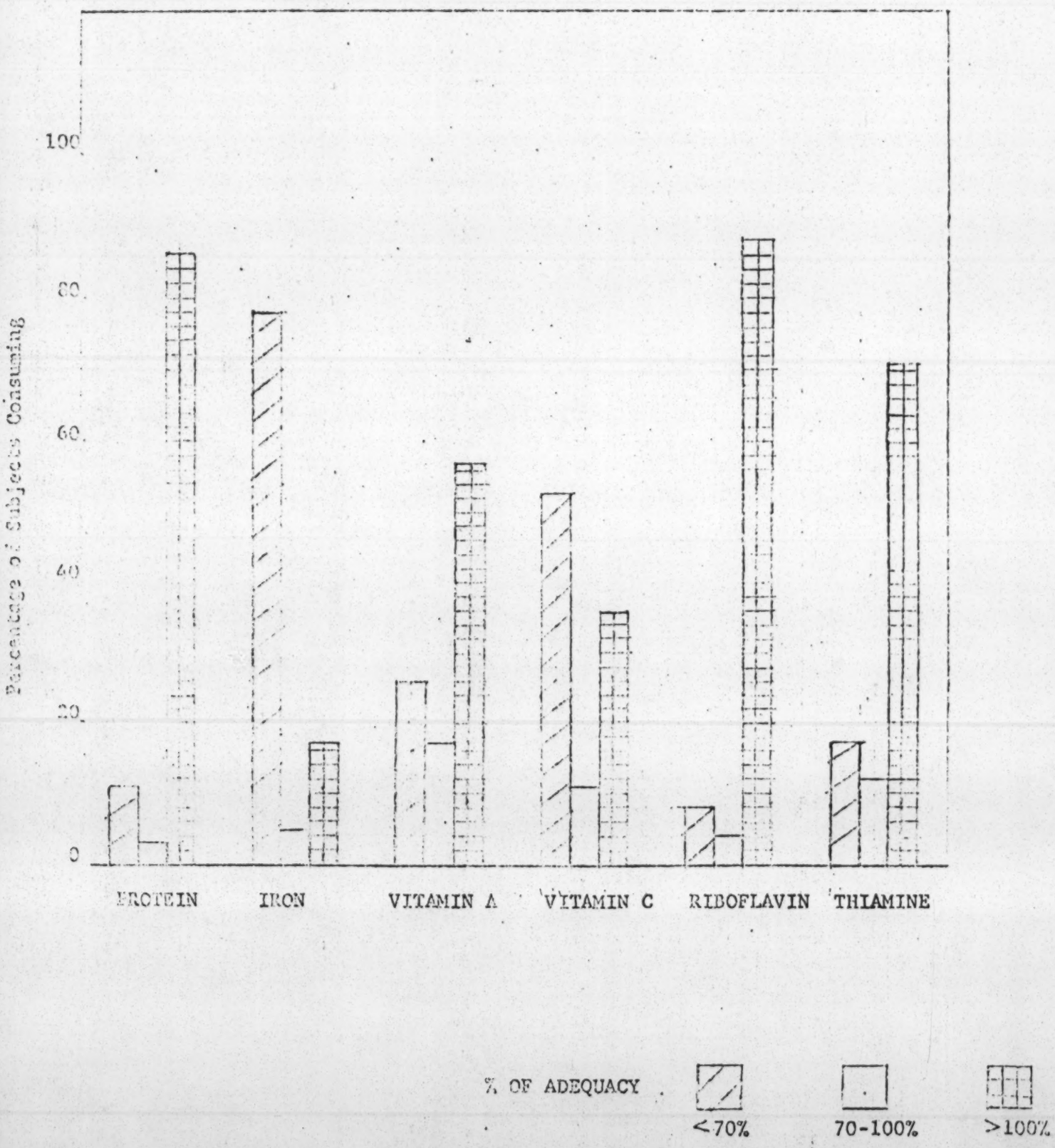
LOUISIANA - HOUSEHOLDS

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



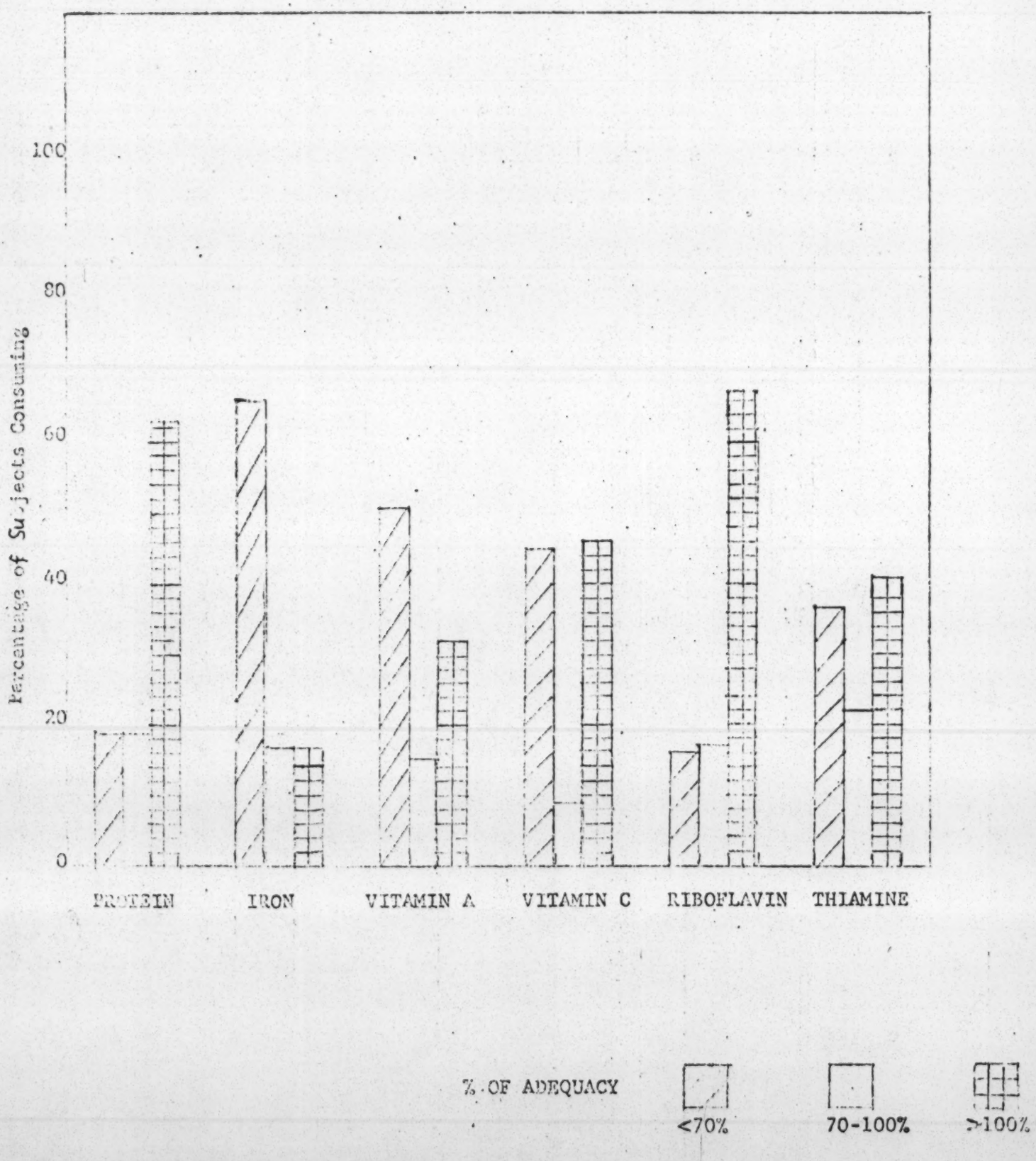
LOUISIANA - INFANTS

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



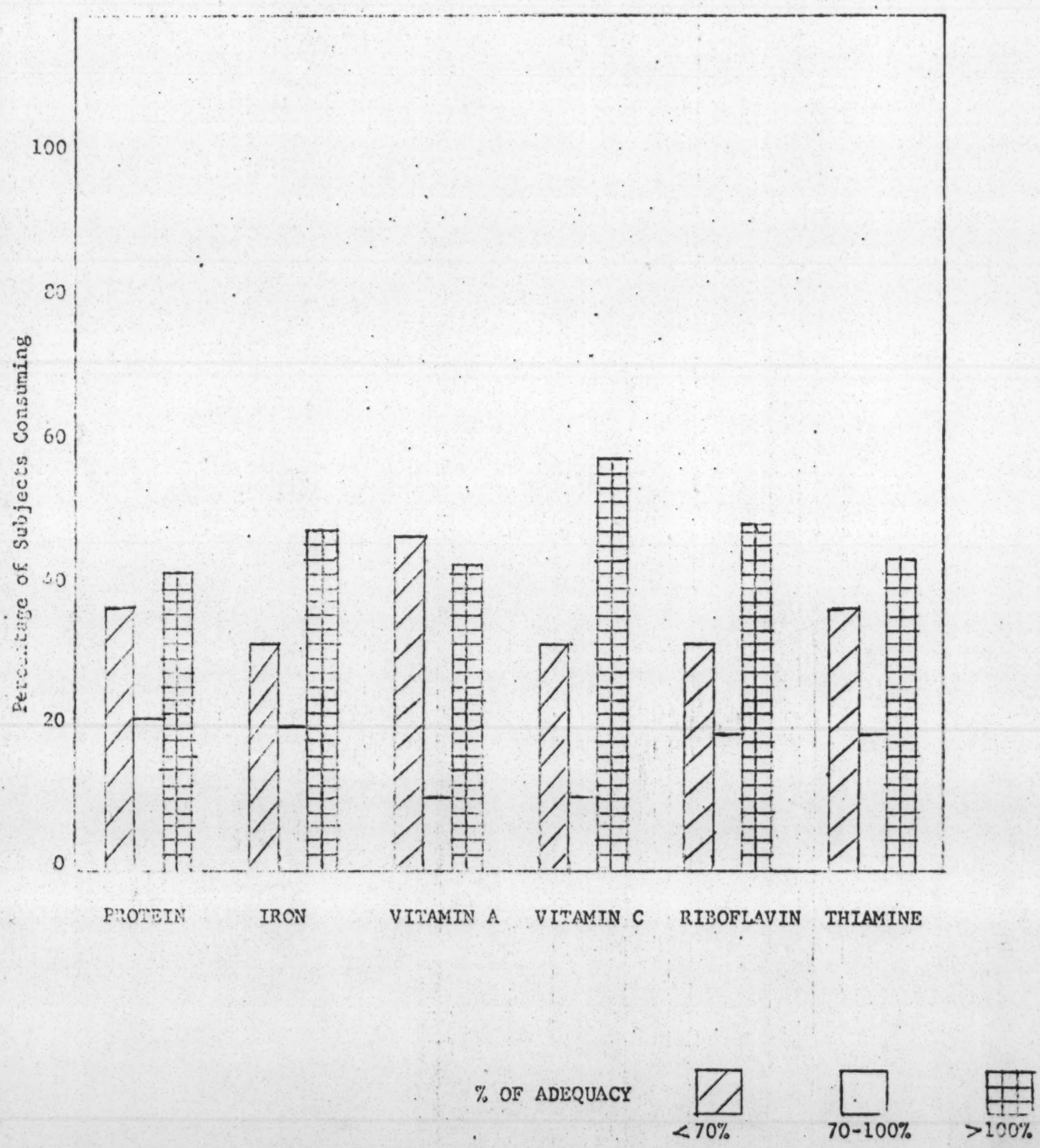
LOUISIANA - ADOLESCENTS

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



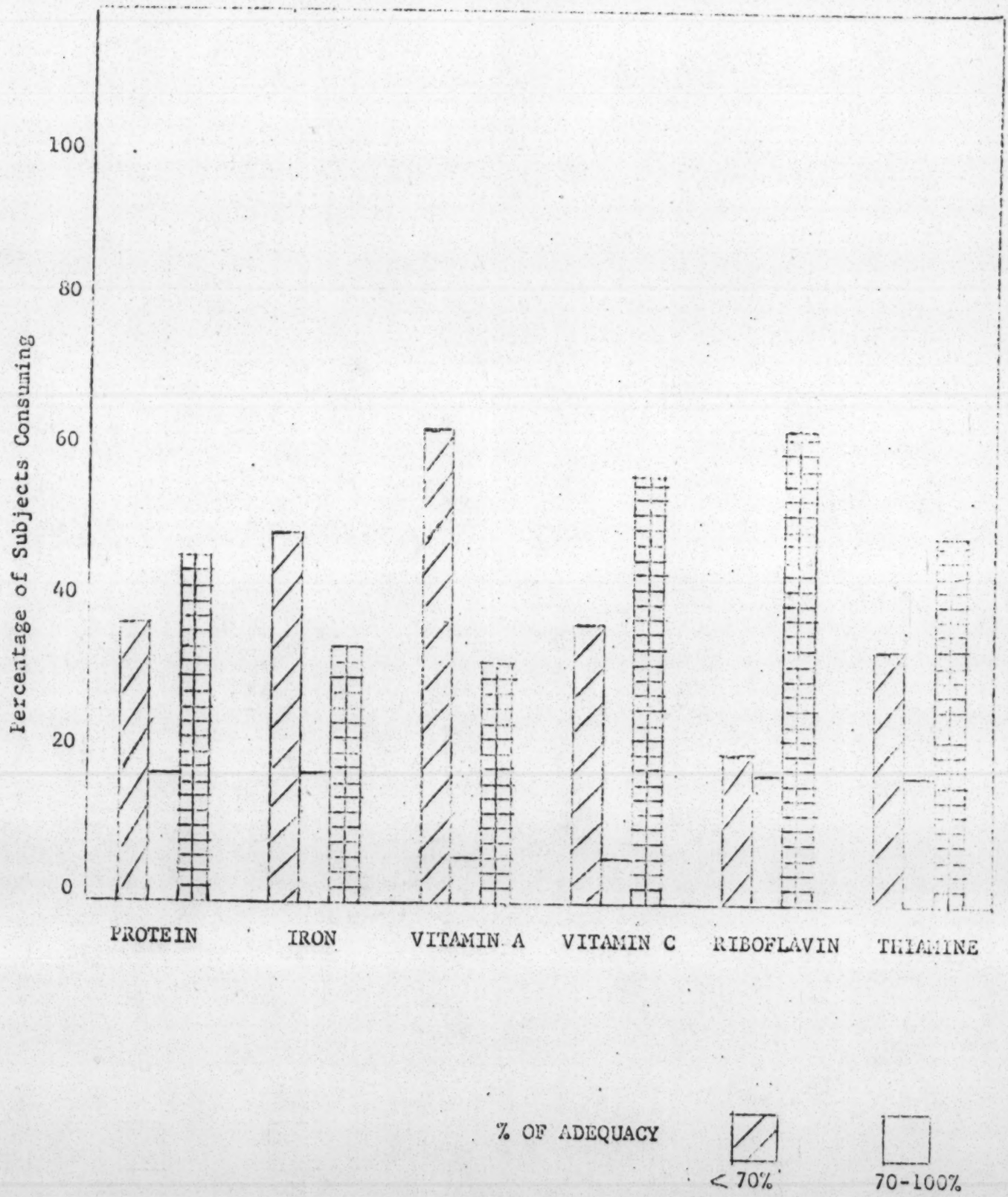
TEXAS - AGED

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



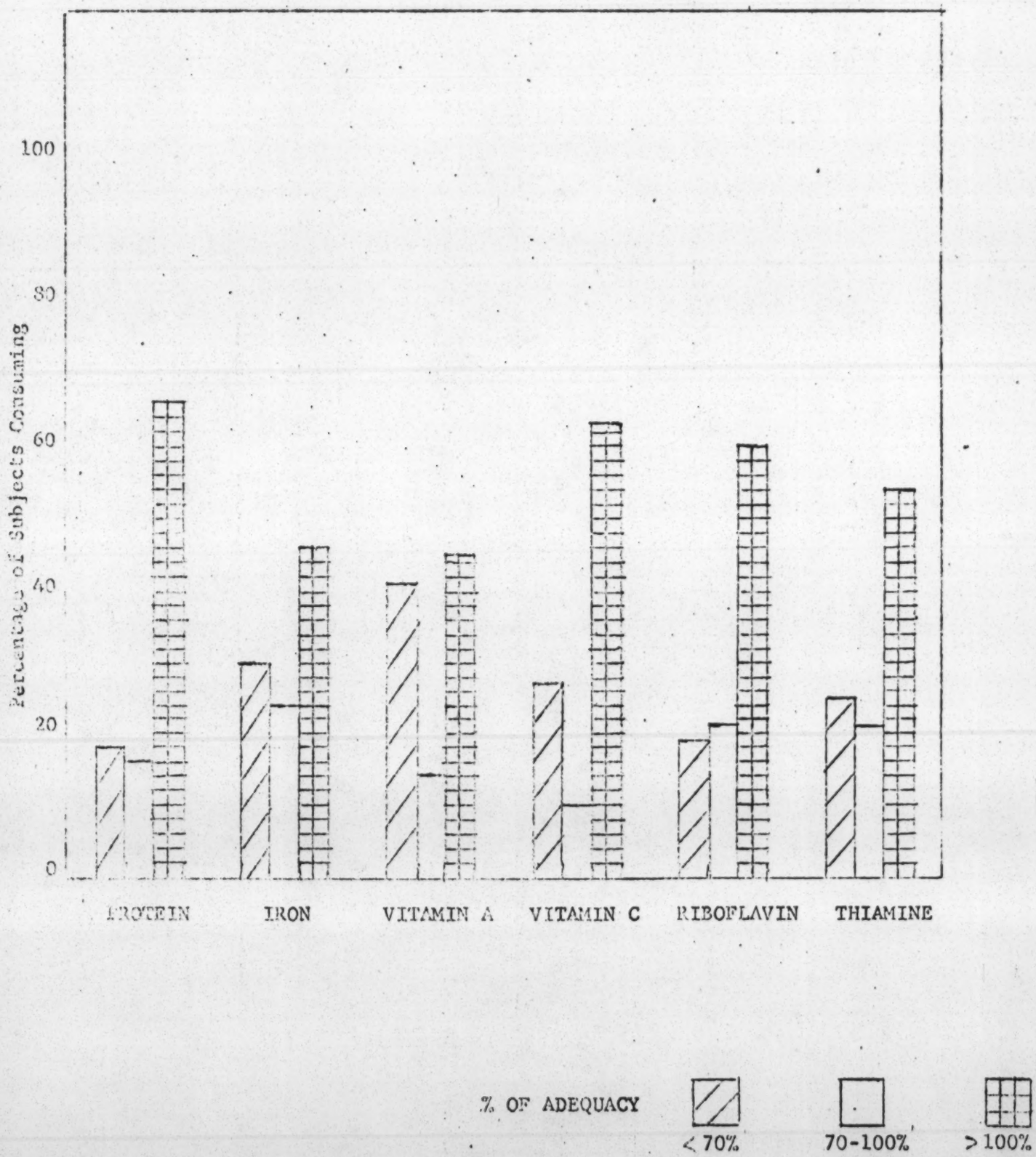
TEXAS - PREGNANT/LACTATING

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



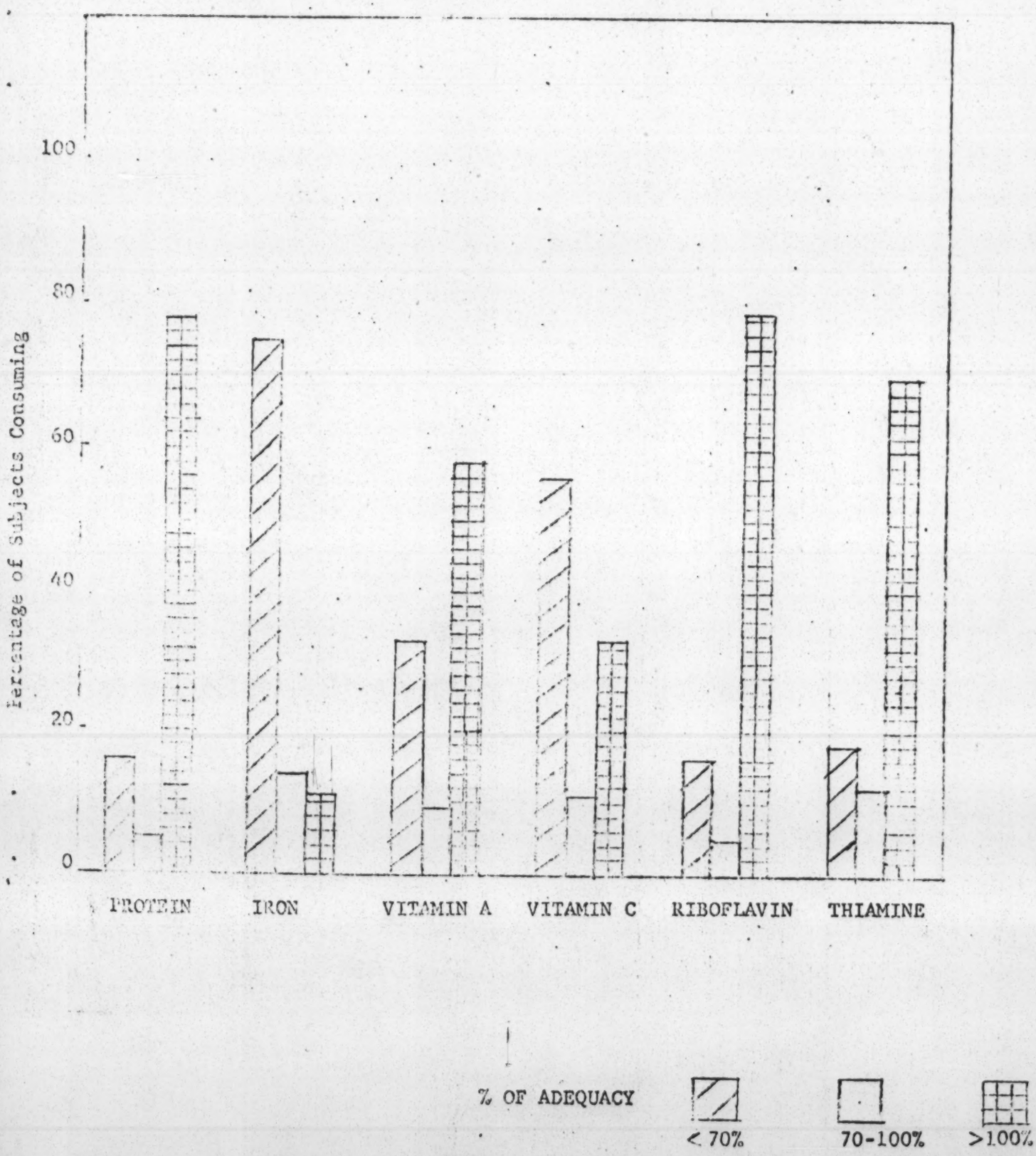
TEXAS - HOUSEHOLDS

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



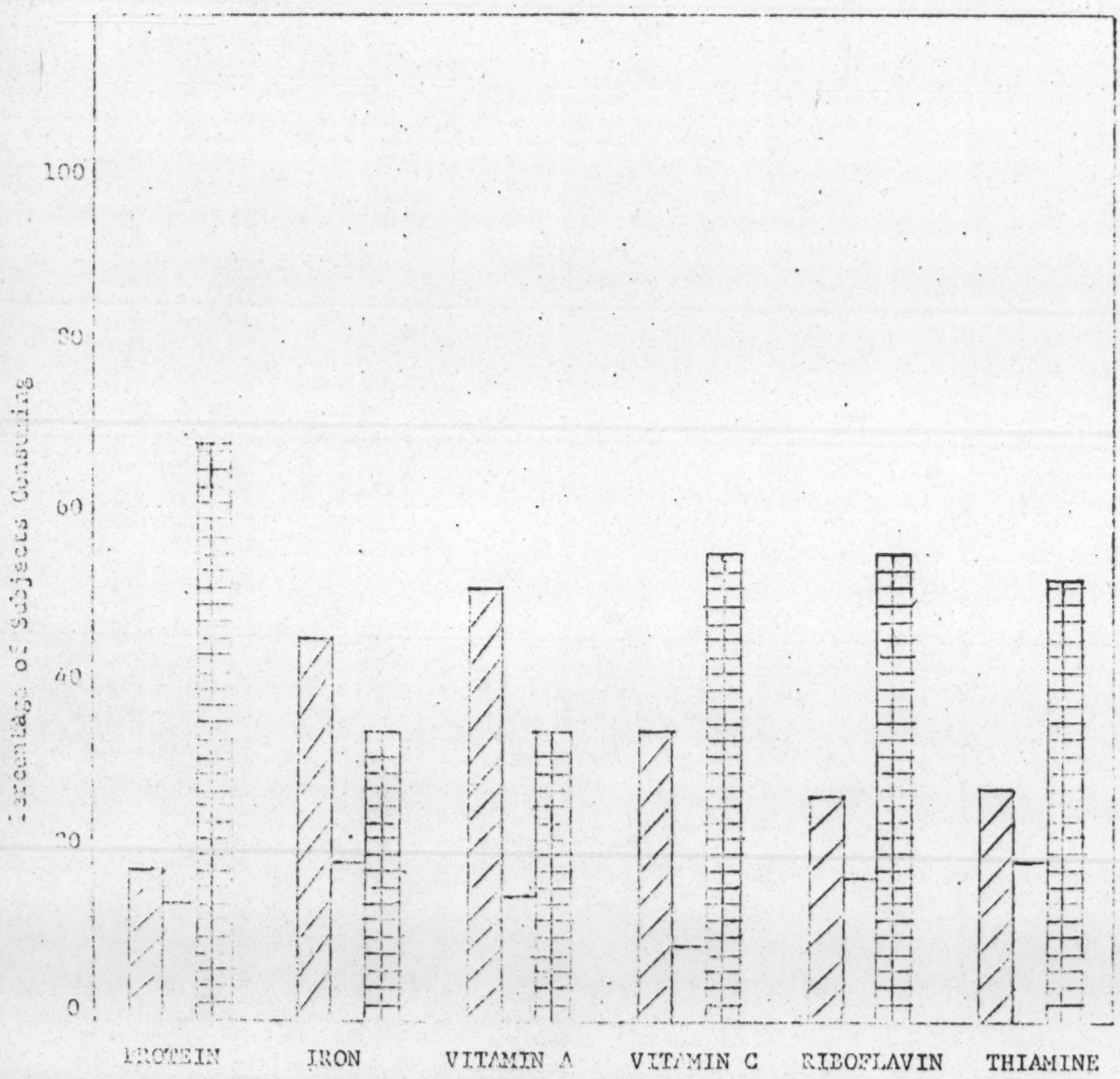
TEXAS - INFANTS

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



TEXAS - ADOLESCENTS

Percent of Subjects Consuming Specified Levels of Dietary Standards



% OF ADEQUACY

<70%

70-100%

>100%

Table 17.-20. Summary of Percent of Vulnerable Groups Attaining Specific Levels of Dietary Standards (Adequacy) by Selected Nutrients, NNS, Texas, 1968

Vulnerable Groups and Percent of Dietary Standard (Adequacy)	Selected Nutrients								
	Calories	Protein	Thiamine	Riboflavin	Niacin	Iron	Vitamin A	Calcium	Vitamin C
Households - No.	496	496	496	496	496	496	496	496	496
Under 50 Pct.	20.6	9.1	12.9	10.1	10.9	14.3	25.8	14.1	20.6
50 thru 69 Pct.	21.6	9.0	11.7	9.2	8.4	15.8	14.7	12.3	6.6
70 thru 99 Pct.	27.8	16.1	21.4	20.8	22.9	24.2	14.4	16.7	10.0
100 Pct. & Over	30.0	65.8	54.0	59.9	57.8	45.7	45.1	56.9	62.8
Infants (o-36 Mos.) No.	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110
Under 50 Pct.	21.8	12.7	15.5	13.6	33.6	69.3	22.7	23.6	49.1
50 thru 69 Pct.	7.2	3.6	2.7	2.7	13.7	6.3	10.0	4.5	7.2
70 thru 99 Pct.	20.1	5.4	11.8	4.5	18.2	13.6	9.1	4.5	10.9
100 Pct. & Over	50.9	78.3	70.0	79.2	34.5	10.8	58.2	67.4	32.8
Adolescents (10-16) No.	822	822	822	822	822	822	822	822	822
Under 50 Pct.	24.6	7.2	14.0	15.1.	27.7	25.9	36.8	25.9	29.6
50 thru 69 Pct.	17.9	10.4	13.8	12.3	14.7	19.9	14.9	13.1	5.1
70 thru 99 Pct.	25.2	14.0	18.8	16.6	19.9	19.1	14.6	19.8	9.1
100 Pct. & Over	32.3	68.4	53.4	56.0	37.7	35.1	33.7	41.2	56.2
Aging (60+) No.	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216
Under 50 Pct.	32.4	22.2	20.8	15.7	10.6	14.4	34.3	21.8	24.5
50 thru 69 Pct.	21.7	14.8	15.7	15.8	12.0	17.6	13.0	10.7	7.4
70 thru 99 Pct.	20.9	21.3	19.4	19.4	19.0	19.9	9.7	15.7	9.7
100 Pct. & Over	25.0	41.7	44.1	49.1	58.4	48.1	43.0	51.8	58.4
Preg. Lact. No.	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
Under 50 Pct.	31.4	22.9	17.1	11.4	20.0	34.3	51.4	42.9	25.7
50 thru 69 Pct.	17.2	14.3	17.2	8.6	8.6	14.3	11.4	14.3	11.5
70 thru 99 Pct.	20.0	17.1	17.1	17.2	20.0	17.1	5.8	14.4	5.7
100 Pct. & Over	31.4	45.7	48.6	62.8	51.4	34.3	31.4	28.4	57.1

ATTACHMENT VI

PILOT NUTRITION SURVEY ON NAVAJO RESERVATION

A pilot nutrition survey was carried out in one area of the Navajo Reservation at Lower Greasewood, Arizona. The entire population of the area, approximately 1200 persons, was included in the survey. The same procedures used in t a National Nutrition Survey were employed in the Navajo Survey.

Characteristics of the Population

45% of the population lived in a one room house

35% had no special sanitory conditions

All one room houses had no indoor plumbing

18% had full-time employment

Majority of adults had 4 or less years of schooling

Trading post sold no fresh vegetables or fruits and no whole milk

50% of families received food commodities

Per capita expenditure decreased as family size increased

3, 4, 5 member homes reported weekly food expenditure per capita at rate of $6.10, $5.50 and $4.90, respectively

7 or more member homes spent from $2.10 to $2.70 per person

Children often given soft drinks and coffee rather than milk

Gastroenteritis, diarrhea and dysentery accounted for 22% of infant deaths in the 0 to 11 month groups

Average family size was 5.5 members

Median age for males was 12 years and for females 14 years

Discussion of Survey Results

The only population groups with high rates of unacceptabl e serum

levels were adults, particularly those over forty years of age. Low hemoglobin levels were present in about twenty percent of the forty and older population. Unacceptable serum vitamin C levels were found in about 18 percent of the same age group. School age children (289) in this area had essentially no unacceptable levels for the blood and urine determinations which were employed in the survey. The good nutritional picture in this age group, as contrasted to findings from the state surveys, may be the result of the school feeding program at the boarding school in Lower Greasewood where many of the children lived and consumed all of their meals.

The only indication of poor nutritional status in the preschool children was a short stature and retarded bone ossification. The mean height was ver ymuch below the mean of the Iowa growth curve, with over sixty percent of the children having heights less than the twenty-fifth percentile of the Iowa growth standard. Head circumference was also smaller, particularly under two years of age where seventeen of twenty-five children had head circumference less than the tenth percentile of the Harvard Standard. Bone development was delayed about twenty percent in females and fourteen percent in males. This is probably related to problems of infectious disease as well as to food, since health records indicate that most young children enter the hospital several times in the first year of life with infections.

Children beyond 5 years of age do not "catch up," but some improvement is evident in bone growth and height with increasing age. The provision of a good diet and medical care are obviously responsible for the good nutritional status of children in the boarding school.

(1) What is most important now to to those of us who are concerned about the effects of hunger and malnutrition on our society is an understanding of the measurable effects of these conditions, not only in terms of human misery, but also in terms of how they affect the strength and vitality of our children and ultimately the strength and vitality of our society.

It is the infants and young children of the poor who suffer the most severe effects of malnutrition. On one level, these children are the victims of the cycle of poverty; the poor child is usually less well educated, therefore less employable, less able to earn an adequate income, and more likely to be poor as an adult.

The poor child is also more susceptible to the cycle of malnutrition and disease. A poorly nourished child will be more likely to become ill than throw off an infection. He will be sicker for a longer time, and his body will be so exhausted from one illness that he will be even less resistant to the next disease to which he is exposed. Many will die. In the 300 Counties where, according to Hunger, U.S.A.,[11] hunger is most critical, the infant mortality is more than twice the national average. The infant who is malnourished is denied the essentials for normal healthy development and therefore faces biological handicaps alien to well fed middle America. His poverty condemns him on one level while his malnourished ~~physical~~ condition prevents him from reaching his physical and mental potential on another level.

[11] Hunger, U.S.A. Washington, D.C. New Community Press, 1968.

(2) Attention was focused until recently mainly on the high mortality of infants and small children with little attention to the retarded growth and performance of those who ~~lived~~ survived. As early as the 1920's experiments with rats began to show that nutritional deficiencies not only retarded growth but affected the central nervous system as well. In recent years, early malnutrition sufficient to impair growth in experimental animals has repeatedly and conclusively demonstrated its effect on their subsequent learning, memory,
12 and adaptive behavior.[12] This has led to the stunning implication that infants and young children whose physical growth is stunted by malnutrition may also be prevented from obtaining their full mental capacity and social development.

The impact of the poverty - hunger cycle on its victims is explored in detail in a new book Disadvantaged Children: Health Nutrition and School Failure,
13 by Birch and Gussow (13). The authors contend, that, altho cultural and social disadvantages can produce both mental and emotional impairment in infants and children, too little emphasis has been placed on biological deprivations. Certain biological hazards are characteristic of poverty and the potential for physical and mental damage ~~begin~~ may begin as early as conception and continue through early childhood: "poor children are not merely born into poverty they are born of poverty and are thus at risk of defective development even before birth".

12 Scrimshaw, Nevin S., Sci. Review of Lit., Mar 16, 1968

13. Birch, Herbert and Gussow, Joan, Disadvantaged Children: Health, Nutrition, School Failure New York, Harcourt, Brace and World 1970

A number of factors increase the potential for biologic insult to the infant in the poverty population. Maternal mortality rates are excessively high in this group. Prematurity rates, which may turn out to be as significant ~~as mortality~~ a barometer of poverty-related malnutrition as mortality rates, are higher among the poor as previously documented. Scientist agree that prematurity can affect the development of a child's intellectual capacity, although the degree of impairment is still open to questions. Birch and Gussow note that "premature children are not only impaired intellectually — whether grossly or subtly; they have also been found by virtually all investigators to be more subject to personality disturbances than children of higher birthweight, a fact not without significance for performance."

They further note: "It is clear that the impact of premature birth on the future ~~of~~ prospects of infants is not limited to the risk of gross defect or to a small reduction in I.Q. scores, but is expressed rather in a constellation of small and large defects, the impact of which is difficult to assess except in terms of society's ultimate goals for these children. If these goals include acceptable levels of achievement at school age, then we must be concerned not only with the small proportion of premature children considered severely handicapped or brain-damaged but with all those children who, vulnerable as a result of circumstances attendant upon their births — come to suffer minor disorders of perception and cognition, an increase in impulsivity or distractability, a delay in the mastery of certain body functions, or any of the handicaps associated with physical impairment."

The authors document those reproductive characteristics which are common within poverty groups and which relate directly to premature births. They list "childbearing begun too early, ~~and~~ repeated ~~to~~ rapidly, and continued to a relatively advanced age". Also they include small size and poor nutritional status of the mother, increased exposure to infection, and little or no prenatal medical care as factors which compromise the infant's potential for normal development.

Yet despite the tremendous potential for biological harm during the formative ~~years~~ and reproductive processes, the infant born into poverty has only begun the battle for a normal healthy development. The environment into which he is thrust poses the greatest threat to his well being. Poor housing, poor sanitation, inferior educational opportunity -- all play a part in sabotaging his growth and achievement. But his most damaging foe is hunger. Again, quoting from Birch and Gussow, -- "...of the factors in a child's postnatal environment which affect his resistance to disease ~~and~~ as well as his growth and functioning the most important is probably nutrition."

What does a lack of proper food do to an infant's brain and mind? The fact that a great many children who fail in school have been exposed to poverty situations and to malnutrition has prompted recent research. An increasing body of evidence points to the relationship between nutrition and the formation of the central nervous system. We know that the human brain reaches almost its full growth before age four years. If the child's protein intake during that period is deficient, it is quite likely that the brain never develops properly. Several qualified

investigators believe that small brain size demonstrated in malnourished children, as well as an increased frequency of abnormal electroencephalograms and impaired visual perception, indicate organic brain damage.[14] Birch and Gussow note that "taken all together these data increase our suspicions that children who have been acutely or chronically malnourished, are retarded in their mental development compared with children who have not experienced malnutrition."

Unfortunately, very few long-term field studies in human learning and behavior have been completed and most have failed to separate adequately the effects of malnutrition from those of other environmental factors. We know that in both experimental animals and in humans, infants which are well fed and genetically normal, but deprived of affection and stimulation may show marked mental impairment. Many kinds of social and psychological deprivation common among malnourished children can exert a direct effect on intellectual performance. Unstimulating home environment, poor educational facilities, isolation resulting from illness, absence of recreational opportunities, and lack of incentive due to repeated discouragement - are examples.

~~A few critical studies have been~~

A few critical studies have been carried out which attempt to separate these various factors from ~~the one~~ that of malnutrition. Dr Joaquin Cravioto[15] and his associates working in Mexico and Guatemala have made the pioneering effort in this field and have been largely responsible for attracting attention to the relationship of nutritional retardation of growth and

14 Scrimshaw, W.S. and Gordon, J.E. (eds) Malnutrition, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1968 pp. 278-289.

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development with performance on tests of learning and behavior. Dr. Fernando Mönckeberg[16] of the University of Chile reported another similarly critical study. Retardation in physical growth and development in the children they studied was found to depend upon dietary intake and upon the occurrence of infectious disease. It was not related to other factors in the environmental situation which were much the same for all children studied. In their studies they established the fact that short stature and low body weight were directly related to malnutrition at an early age. Repeatedly, in several widely separate population groups, they demonstrated that retardation in height for age relative to the other children in the villages was accompanied by poorer performance on psychological tests which were based on development of interrelation of the separate senses.

16 Scrimshaw & Gordon above

A growing body of evidence indicates that primary learning and the development of adaptive capacity is based on the development of interrelation among the separate senses (intersensory integration). Each of the types of intersensory relationship improve with the age of the child. In Mexico and in Guatemala this was true for both children in the study villages and in middle and upper income families but children in the poor villages clearly lagged in the development of intersensory competence when compared with urban children. Even more significantly, the relationship between poor test performance and smaller size in the rural village did not apply to well nourished urban children. Clearly, where the child is more nearly able to realize his genetic potential for growth, differences in size lose their nutritional and social significance.

There are other circumstances in which the effects of early malnutrition on mental development are firmly established. Certain hereditary diseases induce nutritional

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deficiency through an inborn error of metabolism. The resulting impairment of brain development is so disasterous that it should dispel any doubt that nutritional deficiency, if early and severe, can have profound and permanently detrimental effects on learning and behavior in children.

We have considered in this discussion two ways in which malnutrition can impair learning and performance. The first is by a direct inhibition of the development and growth of the central nervous system during gestation and in the early months and years of life. The second is by the harm which can be done to the brain by the increased susceptibility to disease, especially infections. The two ways are intimately related.

Child's

There is a third way, perhaps less shocking to the sensibilities but equally relevant. Underfeeding produces hunger, physical discomfort, often lower energy levels, apathy, and irritability. Ability to concentrate may be impaired. Behavior problems as well as failure in school may result. Dr. Robert Coles, child psychiatrist, describes what happens to a child who does not get enough to eat in infancy: "A child learns to trust the mother who feeds him. If a child does not get fed when he is hungry, if he does not get alleviation of his pain when he suffers, he may develop a basic mistrust of adults which in later life is very difficult to correct."[17]

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The implications of that statement are profound: By not feeding children adequately, we may be negating our efforts to educate them and we may be creating problems for the future. Many of these children may grow up distrusting society and in

[17] Coles, Robert, Testimony Before U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, Washington D.C. 1967

Conflict with it. They may become psychological cripples. How we feed our youngsters, then, may have a direct bearing on their capacities for social adjustment, on the potential of our society for crime and social disorder, and on the perpetuation of the effects of malnutrition from one generation to the next.

Dr. Milton Senn of Yale University commented on the number of adults we saw in Texas who complained of backache, headache, general aches and pains, and lassitude. He noted that many talked about being chronically depressed and discouraged and interpreted these symptoms as psychosomatic illnesses, directly ascribable to the living ~~conditions~~ and working conditions of the patients. "I conclude" writes Dr. Senn, "that malnutrition and other conditions of health represent intergenerational problems. The degree to which a child is at risk in health and in psychological development must be considered not only in terms of contemporary circumstances ~~but~~ and the details of his own history but also in the context of his parents physical status and their developmental and psychological histories. The relationship is cyclical and intergenerational.

"There is a contagion of the spirit of anxiety and hopelessness from parent to child, as well as a contagion of infectious disease. Malnutrition is not a crisis phenomenon. It is a condition of life; stable, persistant, pervasive, ever endangering the health of scores of people. What we must develop are ~~means of~~ remedial and preventive measures which will affect all facets of health across the generations, in order to assure subsequent generations of being free of the serious ills now overpowering present day members of our society." [18]

[18] Senn, Milton J.E., Yale University, testimony before U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, July 20, 1970

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(9.)

19 Recently, Dr. Carlos Krumdiek,[19] from the University of Alabama Medical Center, has added, from a different perspective, substantiation to what Dr. Senn has concluded. He has assembled impressive data to support the hypothesis that malnutrition in rural areas plays a key, causative role in the world wide phenomenon of urban migration and slum formation. According to him, malnutrition is the only factor common to all situations of rural to urban migration and therefore must be considered a major contributor to all of the problems of the urban ghetto as well as of the rural slum. ////////////////

Summation

All of the data we have reviewed here consistently reinforce the refrain that ~~[illegible]~~ children born of and into poverty are malnourished, are more frequently ill from infectious disease, and often develop ~~[illegible]~~ irreparable damage to the central nervous system. ~~And~~, As a result, they are, as adults, slow learners who wind up living lives of poverty and producing children who grow up in a vicious cycle which condemns them to ~~a~~ lifetimes of marginal function. Their lives are characterized by high rates of failure in school[20] ~~followed by~~ accompanied by behavioral disturbances and physical disability, and followed by low levels of employability.

20 The case against poverty and malnutrition and their effects on learning and performance seems clearly established. Although further investigation and final documentation are desirable, the priority of remedial and preventive action can no longer be in dispute. The Bureau of the

19 Krumdiek, Carlos L., The Rural-to-Urban Malnutrition Gradient. J. Amer. Med. Assoc. 215: 1652-1654 Mar 8, 1971.

20 Zacharias, Panel on Educational Research and Development, 1964 quoted in Birch & Gussow

Budget has already estimated that for every dollar we save by failing to eliminate hunger and malnutrition, it costs our nation $3.30 in lost income and productivity by people who are sick or incapable of performing a job adequately (21) If compassion and the desire to restore blighted lives is not enough to move us, perhaps the prospect of a 330% return on our investment should make it easier for our government to decide it can afford to spend some of our tax dollars to end hunger and poverty in America.

There is much that can and should be done immediately. The one most important thing that we can do to lengthen and strengthen the lives of our people, to increase their productivity, to reduce the amount of sickness and death, to remove the hostility and despair which possess so many — is to feed adequately those who do not have enough to eat. None of the existing food programs has proved sufficient to deal with the problem of hunger. There are people who do not have sufficient food or the money to buy it. We need to develop a system to deliver it and I know of no proposal short of an adequate guaranteed income to every person in our country that will accomplish such an objective.

Secondly, we need an effective national health policy for the United States, created perhaps by a Congressional Joint Committee on Health Policy which might piece together the public and private functions now provided or not provided by the fragmented, overlapping, and inadequate "non-system"

21 Reported by U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

health care which exists today. We tend to forget that health is a broad social concept, encompassing not only illness but complex interrelationships of genetic, psychological, social, environmental, and pathological factors that affect the individual's ability to perform his life tasks effectively.

The existing medical complex, no matter how it is restructured or paid for, may be irrelevant to the central ~~issue of~~ health issue. The doctor is helpless before ailments that account for most of the sickness and death in America — heart, kidney, blood vessel disease, much cancer, alcohol and drug abuse, accidents, and the ravages of poverty and malnutrition.

In the modern world housing, nutrition, accident prevention, sanitation — clean water, food, streets, and homes — have ~~produced~~ improved health conditions more ~~health~~ than all the hospitals ~~or~~ and doctors combined. Health indices seem much more related to poverty levels within states than to numbers of doctors. A program of national health insurance seems desirable but it may serve to increase the demand and therefore the cost of medical care while doing little to improve either mortality or morbidity statistics — unless we are willing to put more effort into the areas of adequate nutrition, housing, and sanitation, especially among the poor.

Most ~~of~~ existing health programs today do not reach those whose need is greatest, just as the food programs do not feed those who are hungriest. There is one exception — the program of the neighborhood health centers funded by the Office of Health Affairs of the O.E.O. This is the one program designed to deal with health and environment as it must be dealt with. Ways must be

found to strengthen this program, extend it not only to the urban poor but to the rural areas where its kind of approach to health problems is so desperately needed.

Then we can begin immediately to improve the health of children, deliver comprehensive health services, improve the conditions ~~under~~ in which women have children, and offer assistance to women in the limiting of family size. This kind of program deserves the enthusiastic political and financial support of the entire country.

Perhaps we ought to stop studying and talking about the problems of hunger and health and poverty and turn the educational process around — direct it at ourselves, at our society. We need to find out why we do not have the capacity to respond quickly and adequately to hungry children. We need to find out, how, for instance, it was possible for the school board in Linden, Ala.* to make the decision, in August 1970 to announce that low income

* ? Ref.

continued on typed page 13

parents who wanted their children to have free lunches, dental care, medical screening and optical care and to participate in other free federal services must enroll their children at an-all black elementary school. We need to ask how the manager of the Neshoba County hospital in Philadelphia, Mississippi last year could institute a policy of charging black medicare patients a $250 deposit because, as he put it, " the majority of white Medicare patients are able to pay the part of their expenses which Medicare disallows."

I do not mean that we need to investigate the legality of such things. That, I hope, has been done. I mean that we need to look into our hearts. Americans don't really like poor people and have convinced themselves that if a man is poor, it is by his own doing and all that is needed is a little initiative on his part to take advantage of the opportunities and assistance available to him. It is past time to put aside such punitive, moralistic attitudes. Where we have failed to cure a man's ills or to provide him with a marketable skill, society has failed him. We have an obligation to provide him with an adequate subsistence that will permit his children a decent chance in our society. We must make certain that no child in this land will ever again know the pain, the denigration, the loss of opportunity that is the heritage of the poor and the hungry.

The French novelist Camus put it this way: "We cannot prevent this world from being a world in which children suffer, but we can reduce the number of suffering children."

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

ROUTE SLIP

(Fold here)

To:		ORGANIZATION	BUILDING	ROOM
1	Emory Via			
2				
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4				

- [ ] APPROVAL
- [x] COMMENT
- [x] YOUR INFORMATION
- [ ] NECESSARY ACTION
- [ ] SIGNATURE
- [ ] NOTE AND RETURN
- [ ] CONTACT ME
- [ ] AS REQUESTED
- [ ] PREPARE REPLY

From: Merlin Taylor 12/21/66

(NAME) (ORGANIZATION) (DATE)

(BUILDING) (ROOM) (PHONE)

REMARKS:

GPO : 1964—O-730-020

Apprel. Program

a slight embarrassment, at least in a group, and where I had to make rather calculated efforts to speak with the minister. I was told that there are 5,000 Protestants in Canton, and 105 "church workers" of various kinds, including staff secretaries of the YMCA and YWCA, 34 of them ordained ministers. There are a smaller number of Catholics gathered in five parishes.

As in Peking, it was not possible to obtain any literature published by the churches. "You must go to Shanghai to get that," I was told in both cities. But the YMCA in China has 26 city associations and over 100 staff secretaries – six of them in the Canton association, which has 130 members – and the YWCA is of similar strength. Like all other organizations, the churches and the "Y's" enjoy their niche in the society only on condition that they declare a basic, general loyalty to the Socialist revolution.

Although one quarter of the housing floor space in Canton has been built since 1949, there is still an acute shortage. In the alleyways which we inspected, eight and 10 people were living in single rooms above – sometimes precariously above – their little sidewalk enterprises. All of the enterprises, I was told, are either state-owned or run by cooperatives. I had checked on this a number of times, so when we passed a small boy portioning out tiny piles of peanuts for sale at next to nothing, my interpreter smilingly volunteered the opinion that this was the one capitalist shop we had seen in Canton: "How could we nationalize him? He is here today but he may be gone tomorrow."

These alleyways were veritable theaters of Chinese life, and different from alleyways I had ever seen before, even in Hong Kong and Singapore. They are crowded and they are poor, yet no one is in rags, no one is sitting or lying around in that state of hopeless-looking poverty so familiar in India and some other parts of Asia. The clothing is standardized to an extreme degree, but it is neat and adequate. Everyone seems to have a task – this is one of the most striking things – and consequently no one comes running after you in an ingratiating way to beg something, or even to *sell* something. You are a visitor and you are respected, but you are not besieged and you are not regarded as any special kind of mortal. As I saw it and felt it, the thing that was different was that in the midst of poverty there was nevertheless dignity.

This is the last of four reports.

Apprenticeship Back

The Meritocracy of Labor

by Murray Kempton

The most public life Ernest Green is ever likely to know is now not quite seven years back in his past. He is only 23 now. Ernest Green was the first Negro to be graduated from Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. He was for awhile a subject for all the news photos, a thin child with glasses walking through the crowds in the fall of 1957, and then still a thin child in a black robe with his classmates in the spring of 1958, a graduate, thanks to the protection of federal troops.

He was one of 601 seniors at Central High School. Just 14 of them wrote their good wishes in his class yearbook.

"I really admire you, Ernest," the secretary of Central High's student government wrote under her picture. "I doubt if I could have done half so much if our positions were reversed. May you achieve all your goals and they be the best."

The fifties focused on the special Negro, and his story was always inspiriting. Now the sixties are confronted with the ordinary Negro and he has almost no story at all.

Ernest Green departed the South to complete his education at Michigan State University; and few of the strangers who saw him in his singular high school year can have thought much about him since. The other day I went to Brooklyn, from some small curiosity about the ordinary Negro, and came upon Ernest Green.

He has found his goal in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, which is Brooklyn's Harlem. He spends his days trying to find jobs for young Negroes as plumbers, electricians and carpenters.

It would be too much to say that it is as hard for an ordinary young Negro in New York to be taken on as an apprentice in a skilled trade as it is for an extra-

ordinary young Negro to be admitted to a Southern university. But it would not be a great deal too much to say.

In 1958, the year of Ernest Green's high school graduation, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination made an ethnic survey of the apprentices in the state's construction industry. Apprentice training is the only means of entry into those building crafts which have always been the best general opportunity for comfort and pride available to the young whose education ends with high school. In 1958, the State Commission Against Discrimination estimated that perhaps two percent of New York's 15,000 construction apprentices-in-training were Negroes.

That estimate may have been generous. We have lived since through seven years of numberless protest demonstrations by Negroes and hardly more computable responses in plea and intervention by government. The State Commission Against Discrimination has become the State Commission for Human Rights. For all that has been said, no responsible agency will assert yet that more than two percent of the construction apprentices now in training are Negroes.

The skilled-job market has, of course, always been controlled by a company of trade unions which have been the only medieval institutions in the city, being hierarchic, feudal and frequently consanguine. Apprentices, more often than not, have been connected by blood or friendship with full members of these guilds. The tradition of the job as property to be bequeathed or given away has done as much to bar the Negro as any lively prejudice against his color. There were 3,000 union plumbers in Brooklyn a year ago last August; nine of them were Negroes, none of whom held the "A" membership card and earned the $4.10-an-hour wage which are the rewards for survivors of the apprenticeship stage.

Last spring the State Commission for Human Rights found Local Union 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union guilty of discriminating against Negro applicants. Local 28 had and has 3,300 members, none of whom was or is a Negro. Some 26 of the 30 applicants accepted for the local's apprenticeship program in July, 1963, were related to union members. A journeyman fitting the standards of this guild earns up to $6.15 an hour. Under pressure of court orders, Local 28 has agreed to give up selecting its apprentices by family bond and to subject all applicants to an aptitude test supervised by New York University next month.

A chance in the construction crafts is coming then to depend less on favor and more on objective standards. Last year, the Taconic Foundation made a grant to the Workers Defense League to seek out young Negroes to take these tests. The League set up its apprenticeship program headquarters in the most impressive building on its shabby block on Fulton Street. Ray Murphy, holder of the master's degree in clinical psychology, which is so much easier for a Negro than a plumbers union work permit, is its director and Ernest Green is his assistant.

What Poor Schooling Can Do

They have perhaps 150 young Negroes on their rolls as prospective applicants to any apprenticeship class a union opens up. None of them went to schools remotely as good as Central High in Little Rock. They had no chance against the barriers of custom; and now they do not have a greatly improved chance under the test of merit.

Their common problem can be embodied in the case of Arthur Harris, 19, a graduate of Thomas Edison Vocational High School in Queens, where he was selected above all his fellow seniors as laureate in the plumbing award of the ladies auxiliary of the Master Plumbers Association. In April, 1964, Arthur Harris tried to follow the bent indicated for the best plumber in his class by enrolling in the apprenticeship class sponsored by Brooklyn Plumbers Local Number One. Local One did not answer his letter; Ray Murphy intervened and in October the education committee of Local One agreed to let Arthur Harris take its aptitude examination.

The new merit system for neophyte plumbers administered by New York University is not one of rigid intellectual standards. An applicant, to be eligible for apprentice training, need only show himself above the level of the bottom quarter of the average American high school senior class. Arthur Harris could, then, have passed with a score of 100 out of a possible 400. He scored a 63; and, at that, may have done no worse than a majority of the other applicants, all of them white graduates of New York City schools. No more than 20 of the 60 testees seem to have achieved what in essence is a 25 percent passing grade.

Arthur Harris scored *five* out of a possible 100 in the category of "mental alertness"; *seven* out of a possible 100 in mechanical reasoning and *five* out of a possible 100 in numerical ability.

Ray Murphy guesses that a young man who had mastered the elements of the ninth grade would achieve the passing mark on this test. There can be no sensible quarrel with the honesty of the academicians who conducted it. We can only conclude then that the best prospective plumber in a New York City vocational school had been equipped by his teachers to rank less than a point above the *lowest five percent of American high school graduates* in alertness, mechanical capacity and skill with numbers.

Arthur Harris has dropped from sight since this

disaster; Ernest Green is afraid that he has given up. Most of the young Negroes who sit in Bedford Stuyvesant are like Arthur Harris and other graduates of vocational high schools, which means that they belong to a category of persons trained for no vocation at all.

We can assume, however, that if the Taconic Foundation and Ray Murphy and Ernest Green are patient enough, the building trades unions will have to yield their privileges and accept their apprentices on objective merit. But even that surrender is by no means imminent; most of Ray Murphy's day is spent in the continual interventions necessary to persuade or press union officials to give his charges a chance just to take their tests.

There is the case of Emmett Washington, a member of the maintenance division of Local Three of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. In June of 1964, Local Three sent out letters to its members asking if they had any sons who might like to be apprentices to its construction division. Emmett Washington wrote back that he had no son but that he himself was a member of the union still young enough to be an apprentice. He got no answer; Murphy inquired for him and was told that the local had decided not to hold a class this year.

Barricade

"I took one kid down to Local Two of the plumbers union to see a man named Kearns who is secretary of their joint apprenticeship committee," Murphy said. "When we got there Kearns came out and said that Kearns wasn't in. We had to go back again before he'd give him an application. I'm still not sure when he will take a test.

"I took two kids to Local 40 of the iron workers last October and they told us they weren't interviewing applicants unless they were accompanied by two sponsors who were union members. They had promised two years ago that they would no longer require sponsors. I got in touch with the secretary-treasurer and reminded him of some of these things and he called back to say that it had all been a mistake and we should apply again.

"We went back down and while we were waiting, one of the white applicants said we could go in first because his *sponsors* hadn't gotten there yet. Anyway, we were finally able to make an application 10 days ago."

Same as in the South

Still, the tests are coming; the problems that cannot be righted by any pressure at Murphy's command is the condition of the tested. When we think of the ordinary Negro, we recognize that the New York school system has settled into a mold as segregated in class as anything we have deplored in European education. The South, of course, traditionally drew the distinction of race; the academic public high school was for white children; the industrial or vocational school was for Negroes. New York has come unconsciously to a system which, in essentials, ends with the same result.

A child's pattern is set when he is 13 and ready to enter the complex of city high schools. He may, if he can pass its tests, enter an academic high school and hope to go on to a municipal college, where the tuition is still free and open to any high school graduate with an average of 85 in his academic subjects. Short of that, he can try for a technical high school, where the academic standards are also exclusive and where he can learn a trade. Failing all tests, there is no place for him except the vocational school where he learns almost nothing and serves no purpose beyond the requirements of the compulsory school education.

On the bulletin board in Ernest Green's office, there is a clipping from *The New York Times* telling the story of Michael Stewart, the first Negro apprentice to be accepted by Local 40 of the iron workers union. "'His father, Malcolm Stewart, writes technical manuals for Sperry Rand'," Ernest Green read from the *Times*. "Now there's a working class background."

Sheet Metal Workers Local 28 sent out word last week that on February 13, it would conduct its objective test for apprentice applicants as prescribed by court order. Murphy and Green think they might have as many as 60 candidates; Dr. Kenneth Clark has agreed to hold classes for them at the Northside Center for Child Development and do, in the little time remaining, whatever private tutoring can to repair the damage which has been done by public education.

"You know, five of our kids did pass the electricians' apprenticeship tests on Long Island," Ernest Green said. "Of course, three of them were college students. They were over-qualified. Maybe I'll take the sheet metal test myself."

He is the graduate of a Southern high school and a Midwestern university. It does not seem that attainments significantly less impressive will soon give a Negro a chance to work at a skilled trade in New York.

LBJ's School Program

A Revolution in American Education?

by Christopher Jencks

It is too early to be sure, but conversation on Capitol Hill suggests that the Administration's education bills are likely to be enacted with only minor amendments. If so, the result could be a revolution in American education. The proposals for elementary and secondary education are the most far-reaching and radical ever to come from the White House. Instead of simply asking Congress to give the educational establishment more money to continue doing the same things it has done for years, the proposed legislation would attempt to change the ways of that establishment by broadening its political, social and intellectual base. The old feudal pattern of local sovereignty and state regulation, which worked to the disadvantage of the Catholics, the poor and the intellectuals, is at long last to be assaulted. And the assault, instead of being led by political outsiders, will have the fiscal and administrative backing of the federal government.

Like all Johnson proposals, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is being promoted with a highly traditional rhetoric. The authors have even written a provision forbidding federal "direction, supervision or control" over any aspect of education. Nevertheless, anyone who looks carefully at the bill will see that it represents a major indictment of the educational system as managed by state and local boards of education and school superintendents, and that it proposes to remedy many of their failures by substituting the political judgments and academic priorities of the Congress and the US Commissioner of Education.

So far as the President is concerned, the most important failure of the state and local authorities seems to be the combination of incompetence and indifference which has excluded the poor from many of the benefits of public education. This failure is beginning to have serious political consequences. The Democratic Party has since 1929 had the overwhelming support of the blue collar classes. The party's ability to retain this support, and to contain the nascent extremism and violence in this group, has depended in good part on providing schooling which led to jobs and a chance for at least a few to move up in the world. Today the schools are not doing that job, and the explosive consequences are increasingly obvious – especially in the Negro ghettoes. Unemployment and violence threaten to undermine the coalition of ethnic minorities which has been one of the primary sources of Democratic voting strength.

The basic reasons for the school's failure to do what needs to be done for the poor are clear. Education has become largely a competitive sport, valued by the public because it can set their children apart from others and ensure them a larger share of wealth and power. There are only a limited number of places in the "top" colleges and professional schools, and only

Manpower - Apprenticeship - "Outreach"

Week of August 26, 1968

530 APPRENTICE AND JOURNEYMAN PAINTERS
TO BE TRAINED ON THE JOB

WASHINGTON -- Over 300 disadvantaged or jobless youth will train as painter-decorators and paperhangers under a $500,000 on-the-job training contract, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has announced.

A total of 530 persons will be trained -- 320 youths selected mainly from apprenticeship preparation projects, and 210 journeymen who need skills upgrading to forestall layoffs.

The contract was signed with a labor and management committee called the National Joint Painting and Decorating Apprenticeship and Training Committee representing programs in 22 States and the District of Columbia.

The 320 from Apprenticeship Outreach programs, funded by the U.S. Department of Labor in 36 cities, will be given six weeks of pre-job training before beginning 20 weeks of training on the job.

Outreach programs are the cooperative efforts of the Building and Construction Trades Councils, AFL-CIO, and minority civil rights organizations.

The contract will help combat critical skill shortages in the painting and decorating industry. It will provide unemployed and disadvantaged persons a chance to gain skills through apprenticeship. It will also develop and carry out journeyman training programs necessary to offset skill obsolescence in 80-hour courses.

The total Labor Department investment is $496,521. Of this amount, $164,175 is for the cost of on-the-job training, $232,422 is for supplementary classroom instruction, and $99,924 is for training allowances for the apprentices.

The contractor will plan, develop and promote subcontracts with local joint apprenticeship and training committees, local unions and district councils of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. It

(MORE)

will assist these subcontractors in developing training guides, plans and schedules to assure thorough training.

The subcontractor will receive a flat fee of $100 for each trainee who successfully completes the 20 weeks of on-the-job training. On finishing this on-the-job training, the trainee will continue his apprenticeship for an additional 2-1/2 years.

William Duval, director of education for the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of American, AFL-CIO, and Glen Craven, executive director of the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America, will supervise the administrative staff and serve as liaison between the contractor and the Department of Labor.

EMPLOYMENT SERIES

* RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

experience report 107

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
U. S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

INFORMATION CONCERNING A

Career in Carpentry

Sponsored By The

ATLANTA CARPENTERS JOINT APPRENTICESHIP and TRAINING COMMITTEE

1969

18

This is written for those students who will soon be high school graduates but are not planning to attend college and who are looking for an opportunity in the building trades.

I. Basic qualifications for entrance in the Atlanta Carpenters' Joint Apprenticeship and Training Program.

A. Age—17 through 27—if veteran, 32.

B. High school graduate or equivalent. High value is placed on mathematics, shop, the sciences, and the ability to read, spell, write, and speak intelligently. It must be understood that apprenticeship is actually a form of higher education.

C. Successful completion of aptitude test for carpentry.

D. Willingness to work, study, and attend classes.

E. The desire and the ability to maintain proper conduct.

F. Good health and physically fit for the trade.

G. Acceptance by the Joint Committee, composed of three members representing labor and three members representing management.

II. Basic understanding prior to interview.

When young men choose their life's work, it is very important that they make the proper selection. If more than $30,000 in wages during a four year period, is worth serious thought, then consider what actually takes place when an applicant for apprenticeship meets with a good apprenticeship committee.

The applicant is actually saying, "You can see that I am a capable and determined young man. I no longer want to be dependent upon others. I do not know how to earn a good, honest living for myself. I want to make a start where there is a possibility for advancement. I want to learn, and if I am not given guidance from men like you who have experience and understanding, I might never learn to earn a good living for my family.

This matter is serious for the young applicant, for the employers who must pay wages, and the journeymen who must teach him. This understanding is never treated lightly or brushed aside.

The next concern would be the applicant's possibility of acceptance into the apprenticeship program and what should be understood before he signs his apprenticeship agreement.

He may ask, "If I am accepted and secure employment, will journeymen teach me?"

His next question is more impressive since it pertains to money. It could be as follows:

"Will employers pay me $30,000 in wages while I am learning the trade?"

As provided in the apprenticeship agreement, the answer to both questions is "yes".

The applicant may want to know about assurances for gaining proficiency in the craft.

He is assured by the Joint Apprenticeship Committee of fair and just treatment at all times. The committee also emphasizes the fact that classroom attendance, under competent instructors, is required.

Every young man should know that this is a fine opportunity. He cannot become a "delinquent" or a "drop-out". The carpentry industry is in need of good men. The carpentry industry is making ambitious young men good offers and can demand and get the best. Contractors cannot build a sound business or be a part of a respectable community with anyone less than the best. The earlier these facts are made known, the sooner the carpentry industry will be blessed with better applicants for apprenticeship.

III. Everyone considers income

Average annual income for 50 (40 hour) weeks of employment for journeyman carpenters in U. S. Building Trades is $9,800. (1968 Report of Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor)

Because of weather conditions, some employment is lost; some time may be lost from the completion of a job to the starting of another job. Some lost time is made up in overtime work during rush seasons.

In the Atlanta area the average yearly income for the apprentice carpenter is approximately $6,000.00.

Apprentice wages for 6 Months Intervals

1st period	$2.93 per hour	Total	$2,930.00
2nd period	$3.21 per hour	Total	$3,210.00
3rd period	$3.41 per hour	Total	$3,410.00
4th period	$3.65 per hour	Total	$3,650.00
5th period	$3.89 per hour	Total	$3,890.00
6th period	$4.13 per hour	Total	$4,130.00
7th period	$4.37 per hour	Total	$4,370.00
8th period	$4.61 per hour	Total	$4,610.00
Full Time Total Income for four year period			$30,200.00

IV. A family consideration

There has never been a time in our history when greater emphasis was placed on college education. Too often, college education is emphasized to the point of belief that anything less is second rate. This attitude is wrong. No one is opposed to any student going to college, but not everyone can become a good doctor, lawyer, engineer, scientist, artist, teacher, preacher, or professional person. NOT EVERYBODY CAN BECOME A SUCCESSFUL BUILDING TRADESMAN, EITHER.

As shown in the actual wage rates in this paper, it is possible for the apprentice carpenter to earn in excess of $30,000 during his four years' term of apprenticeship. During this same period of time, without apprenticeship, a student may spend about $10,000 going to college. This combined earnings and savings add up to more than $40,000 in a four-year period.

Forty-thousand dollars for a period of four years for one member of the family is a sum of money that must be given serious consideration by the average family.

V. How far can an apprentice carpenter go?

A. He can continue working as a journeyman carpenter at an average annual income of $9,800.00, which is an honorable and respectable income.

B. With experience and study, he can become a foreman, estimator, supervisor, or superintendent.

C. He may become an employer, having his own business. Many employers started their careers as apprentices.

D. A man who knows tools, machines, materials, methods, and men can become a good salesman.

E. He may qualify for special work with city, county, state and federal governments.

F. He may specialize in labor-management relations.

G, He may advance to positions of responsibility in his union. There is a great need for excellent union leadership. Union leadership is earned through study, hard work, long hours, experience, service, and a sincere respect for others.

H. Apprenticeship, the carpentry trade, is not a "blind alley" occupation. The apprentice's ability and ambition are the only limiting factors.

VI. There is a proud heritage with apprenticeship.

Apprenticeship is one of the finest opportunities offered to young people. The Atlanta Carpenters' Joint Apprenticeship and Training Program offers you the best possible training.

After you have read and given this consideration, consult your High School counselor.

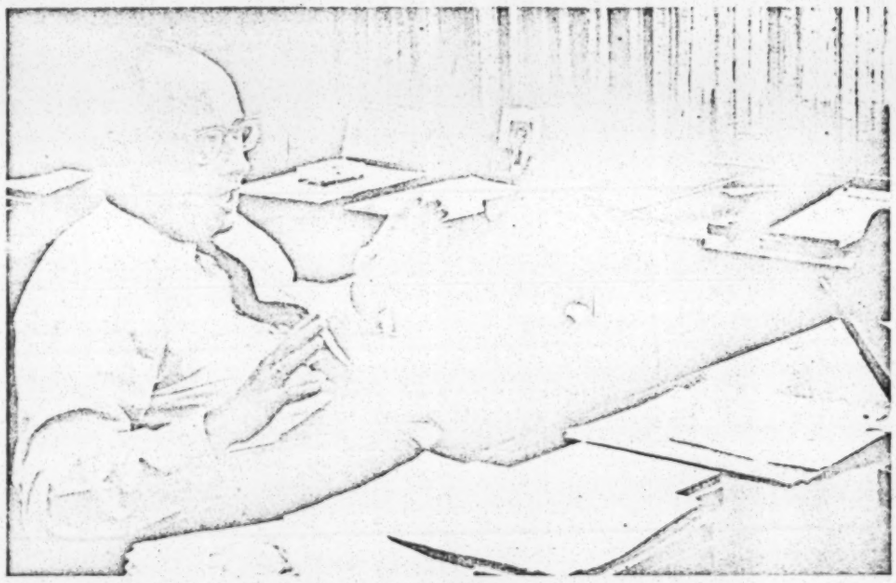
For information on applications write to:

John L. Miles, Educational Director
The Atlanta Carpenters' Joint Apprenticeship and Training Program
465 Boulevard, S. E.
Room 107
Atlanta, Georgia 30312
Telephone: 627-1043

Sep 19, 1970

An apprentice president makes the grade

William Weisz locks in on Motorola's No. 3 spot after 17 months of grooming



"I'm a great believer that in the first months of a job you keep your eyes and ears open and your mouth shut," says Weisz, an expert in communications equipment.

Seventeen months ago, Bill Weisz picked up the phone in his Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) hotel room and got the word that he was to become the next president of Motorola, Inc. The boyish but balding executive recalls with a grin that he "went out and celebrated with a chocolate ice cream soda." The Piper Heidsieck, he adds hastily, came later.

This week, Chicago-based Motorola was breaking out the ice buckets again. After an uncommon apprenticeship of nearly a year and a half, 43-year old William J. Weisz was confirmed as president by Motorola's board. On Oct. 5, he finally assumes the post, under Elmer H. Wavering, 63, the veteran chief operating officer, vice-chairman, and previous president, and Robert W. Galvin, 47, chairman, chief executive, and son of the founder.

Weisz's rung-climbing is not finished. According to the published schedule, he will become the chief operating officer in 1972, when Wavering retires. However, he has already gradually assumed a number of the duties that go with this post. During his on-the-job training as executive vice-president and assistant chief operating officer, he has chaired at least one of Motorola's companywide executive meetings, dealt with regulatory agencies, spoken to the press on the entire spectrum of corporate activities, and taken part in budgetary decisions.

An education. "I'm 100% immersed right now in operational responsibilities," says Weisz. "While my past 17 months was a training and learning period, it was not an 'I-just-wander-around-and-talk-to-everybody' thing."

Weisz did have to do a great deal of homework, because of his relatively narrow business experience. After he was graduated as an electrical engineer from Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1948, he spent the next 20 years within Motorola's communications group, three years as its general manager and vice-president. This division accounts for roughly a quarter of the company's sales ($873-million in all in 1969) and is the largest maker of two-way radios and allied equipment. The remaining 75% of Motorola's volume, about which Weisz admittedly knew little, comes from semiconductors, consumer electronics, government contracts, computer controls, and automotive products.

As Weisz explains in his clean-cut, brisk manner, "I'm a great believer that in the first months of a job you keep your eyes and ears open and your mouth shut. So I had 15 dinner sessions with all of our key managers to indicate that I didn't know a goddamn thing about their businesses."

He also sat in on decisions at divisional levels and devoured gobs of reports. Having speed-reading ability, and an engineer's thoroughness helped.

Commenting on Weisz's move, Chairman Galvin observes: "I don't consider that the issue was one of having him wait for the presidency. I'd rather say that what we wanted to do was give him an early opportunity to assume the third position in the company. The titles are comparatively incidental."

Still, his advance promotion was a very unusual move that stirred questions in the industry. "I've never seen an announcement that everything would be so cut and dried that far in advance," says an electronics analyst.

Some speculate that the prolonged notice and the salary hike (from $80,000 in 1968 to $137,000 in 1969) were meant to keep Weisz from being tempted by rival job offers. Company memories still rankle over the 1968 defection of executive vice-president and semiconductor chief C. Lester Hogan and a cadre of managers referred to scornfully as "Hogan's Heroes." They all jumped to Fairchild Camera & Instrument Co., Hogan for a pay package that made him a millionaire.

Weisz disputes the contention that he was being "protected" in the aftermath of the Hogan affair, although he concedes, "It probably made us look more closely at our entire management backup." One direct result, he says, was the creation of a president's office, consisting of Galvin, Wavering, Weisz, and Daniel E. Noble, former vice-chairman and chief technical officer, who now heads its science advisory board.

'A natural.' In any case, when they looked around for bright young men, Weisz was at the head of the line. His background was in keeping with the company's pronounced shift from a consumer-products orientation to widely diversified electronics. The old guard at the company, typified by the late founder, Paul V. Galvin, were essentially tinkerers who grew up with crystal sets and instinctively knew how to sell.

John Welty, vice-president and assistant general manager of the semiconductor division, says: "It seems to me that the new president had to come from either semiconductors or communications, because they are now the two largest and fastest-growing divisions. And Bill had more seniority than the current group of managers on the semiconductor side."

He had also proved he was a go-getter; as a divisional manager, Weisz tightened the armlock that Motorola has on the two-way radio business. He spends half his time traveling now, but

when he is at the Franklin Park (Ill.) offices, he is usually behind his desk by 8 a.m. And he mixes well, too—important in a company that is still run very much on a family basis. Wavering, for example, traditionally takes his executive team on fishing trips. Maintaining the same paternal interest in the mass of employees through ample benefits policies, Motorola has remained one of the largest nonunionized companies.

Weisz's interest in the issue of law and order is another quality that appeals to Galvin, an ardent supporter of Barry Goldwater who is active in such conservative groups as the American

Chairman Galvin likes Weisz's interest in law and order, as well as his technical prowess.

Security Council and Americans for Winning the Peace. Under Weisz, the communications group initiated Community Radio Watch, "a public service program to help protect life and property." The program encourages commercial users of two-way radios, such as cabbies, to report through their dispatchers to the police any criminal deeds, accidents, or public nuisances they witness. Among other benefits, Community Watch has further endeared Motorola to police departments and other users of radio equipment.

Philosophy. Communications is the watchword inside Motorola. Following the open-door policy set by the Galvins, Weisz invites all suggestions and comments. He issues "philosophy memos" to Motorolans, quoting such savants as Henry Ford, Machiavelli, and the late Vince Lombardi. Item: "Failure is not falling down; it is failing to get back up— quickly!"

A Motorola man through and through, Weisz would probably not have considered leaving even if he had not been made president in advance. Every day, he can be found in the company cafeteria, with the rest of the brass, sitting in shirtsleeves with a pocket pager strapped to his hip. "It's the only place to eat around here," he says as he starts for the lunchroom. "But I'd go there anyway." ■

CB-GB14

Big cat cracker for extra big production

Heart of Texaco's giant new 1,500 acre refinery at Convent, Louisiana is this fluid catalytic cracking unit, one of the largest ever built in the United States. It's the key unit of a refinery designed to help fuel half the nation. • The fabrication and construction of this complex mountain of steel was CB&I's responsibility, under contract from Bechtel Corporation, general contractor of the refinery. CB&I's contract also included 33 storage vessels ranging in size from 51-ft. dia. to 210-ft. dia. • All told, a large, diversified job in big steel structures. • Building big in steel has long been the order of the day at CB&I. When industry thinks big in steel, CB&I is tuned in — prepared to take full responsibility almost anywhere in the world. • Chicago Bridge & Iron Company, Oak Brook, Illinois 60521. Offices and subsidiaries throughout the world.

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Serving the fields of Natural Gas, Nuclear Power, Aerospace, Petroleum, Chemistry, Cryogenics, Hydroelectric Power, Water Storage, Municipal and Industrial Water and Wastes Treatment.

Wall Street Journal 3-24-70

* * * Mgt Bldg Trades

ELECTRICAL WORKERS UNION and the Labor Department move close to agreement on a contract to establish a new, fast training program for older minority-group workers with previous construction experience. The department also holds preliminary talks with the Iron Workers. The Plumbers Union agreed in January to set up such a program.

* * * Minimum Wage

FEDERAL PROTECTION for minimum-wage investigators would be provided under a proposed Labor Department bill. The measure would make it a Federal crime to attack or in any way interfere with agents enforcing the wage-floor law. The department reports that attacks by irate employers on its investigators are increasing.

* * *

CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The NLRB rules that a medical clinic run by a board of directors composed of United Mine Workers officials engaged in an unfair labor practice. Successful efforts by the clinic's administrators to get its employes to switch to the UMW as their bargaining agent involved a "conflict of interest," the NLRB holds.

* * *

UTILITIES LAG in their hiring of minorities, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission charges. Its checks of 65 gas and electric utilities show that the average increase in minority employment between 1966 and 1969 was only 0.6%. The EEOC warns that its "patience with the inaction . . . is running short."

* * *

UNCLE SAM CONSIDERS creating a special corps of top Federal executives.

To make inter-agency transfers of key officials easier, the Civil Service Commission proposes abolishing individual job classifications for 7,000 executives in the upper Civil Service grades. They'd be lumped together in what's tentatively dubbed the "executive manpower group." Final commission action on the proposal is expected within 30 days, officials say.

The designation of certain posts for career officials and others for political appointees would be eliminated. Instead, the plan would require only that a three-to-one ratio of career to noncareer officials be maintained within the new group. Officials in the group would work under five-year contracts, which would be renewable on a year-to-year basis by the agency involved.

Under the proposal, the executives could be paid any amount from $25,000 to $33,500 as long as their agency maintained a specified "average salary level."

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: Mrs. Nixon invites the wives of officials of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department to tea this afternoon. . . . U.S. Steel boasts that its rate of disabling injuries to workers during 1969 was less than one-tenth of the average for all industry and equivalent to one disabling injury for every 830 man-years worked. . . . The Fire Fighters Union raps what it terms the Administration's "shameful delay" in implementing key provisions of the Fire Research and Safety Act of 1968.

Wall Street Journal 3-24-70

MANPOWER CHIEF pushes state employment agencies to add Negro staffers.

Arnold Weber, Assistant Labor Secretary for manpower, unveils a new policy for Federally financed state employment services. It's designed to spur them to employ "such numbers" of minority group workers "as will assure" effective service to the black community. Specific guidelines for implementation will be issued in a few weeks.

The policy is part of a Federal drive to get the employment service to work harder at placing the hardcore unemployed. The staff of a state employment agency, Weber says, "must be a model of equal opportunity to the residents of the community it serves." About 14% of the 63,000 employment service staffers are from minority groups. But many offices, particularly in the South, have no blacks.

Recent court decisions could open the way to withholding Federal funds from a single office that discriminates—rather than having to stop funds for the entire state agency.

* * *

JUNIOR COLLEGE GRADS find fewer jobs available as the economy slows.

Like their counterparts at four-year schools, the junior college students aren't being pursued as hard by corporate recruiters these days. In St. Louis, Meramec Community College reports eight of 20 companies that signed up for interviews have canceled. At Boston's Bryant & Stratton College, only about 35 companies will be recruiting this year compared with 60 a year ago. El Camino College in Torrance, Calif., says its placement service has been able to locate only five full-time "career" jobs since January.

The slump touches a wide range of fields, including aerospace, electronics, drafting, technical illustrating and computers. Los Angeles City College finds offers from aerospace firms almost nonexistent and detects a "downward trend" in other areas, too. Yet demand continues strong for accountants and secretaries in many places.

Technical schools in New York turning out printers, auto mechanics and medical assistants report strong demand for grads.

* * *

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE for March will be announced at least three days later than scheduled. Originally set for April 7, it won't be out before the 10th. The postal strike has delayed the arrival of reports from local information-collecting points.

* * *

BEACHCOMBING: National Cash Register carries its campus recruiting slogan to Ft. Lauderdale and Hollywood, Fla., where hordes of college kids gather for annual spring rites. The company hires a plane to haul a sign over the beach and hotel area that proclaims: "NCR means computers—computers means exciting jobs."

* * *

MEANY'S PINCH HITTER, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland, gets a hard workout. With Meany having trouble shaking a heavy cold, Kirkland's delivered three major speeches in recent days—on international trade policy, the nomination of Carswell to the Supreme Court, and labor's drive for national health insurance.

* * *

JOB-BIAS FIGHTERS plan their first public hearings in the South. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will hold hearings in Houston in early June. They will focus on the employment problems of minority groups and women uncovered by EEOC surveys.

* * *

MINE SAFETY LAW may help ease the nagging shortage of coal miners.

Some top coal company executives figure the new regulations that go into effect tomorrow ought to relieve the scarcity of miners, which they blame on the industry's "poor image." "The new law should help improve that image," predicts John Corcoran, president of Consolidation Coal Co.

Meanwhile, many companies expand their recruiting efforts. North American Coal Corp. doubles the size of its personnel department and launches a company-sponsored school to train badly needed supervisors. Eastern Associated Coal Corp. concentrates on wooing high school graduates in mining areas. Because opening new mines would compel some companies to take skilled workers away from existing locations, mine expansion could suffer.

Federal efforts to hire the 1,000 inspectors needed to enforce the tougher new law further deplete the supervisory ranks at some companies.

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers bestows an honorary membership on country singer Johnny Cash, noting that many of his songs reflect "an obvious affection for railroads and the men who work on them." . . . An outside arbitrator awards professional and technical staffers at the AFL-CIO an 11% pay raise over the life of a new 15-month contract. . . . The Marine Engineers Union plans to expand its organizing efforts outside the maritime industry, with special emphasis on professionals, scientists, nonmarine engineers and banking employes.

Wall Street Journal 3-31-70

SUBJECT: MANPOWER PROGRAMS

IN

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Programs under the auspices
of the Economic Opportunity
Atlanta, Inc.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA (EOA)

PURPOSE: To provide employment and placement for low income individuals within the five target areas of Atlanta and surrounding cities.

SERVICE: A Georgia State Employment Service representative is placed in the EOA Neighborhood Service Centers to counsel and test individuals for employment. There is a manpower director in each service center to help with placement. Recruitment for other agencies is done through the service center such as ACEP, New Careers, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Training programs and others.

Funds: Georgia Department of Labor, United States Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

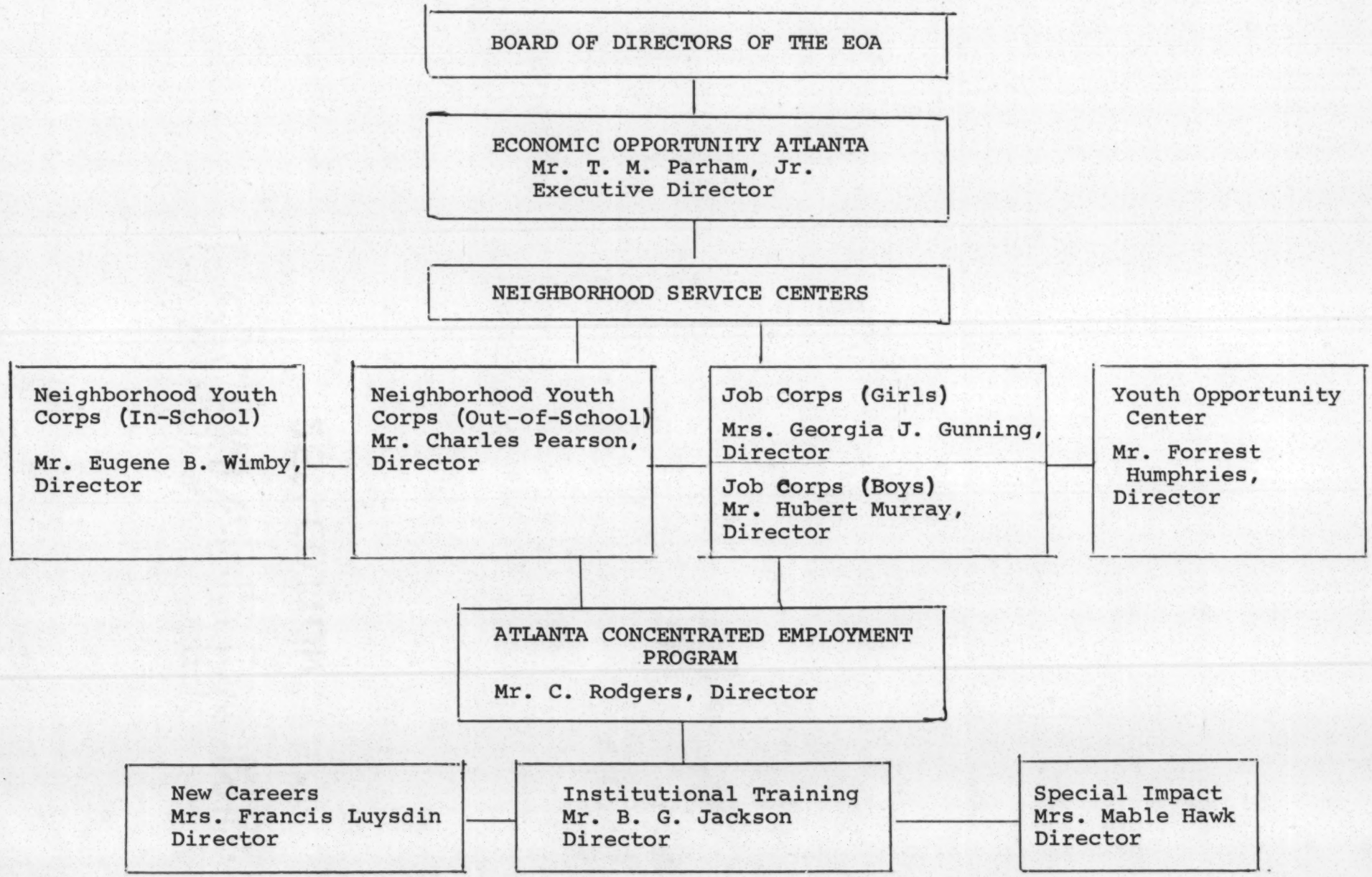
Mr. T. M. (Jim) Parham, Jr., Executive Director
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA (Neighborhood Service Centers)

Central City 840 Marietta Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 873-6759	Mrs. Lucy Guthrie, Director Mr. Bill Bidgood, Manpower
East Central 486 Decatur Street, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia 577-1735	Mr. Allen Williams, Jr., Dir. Mr. Louis Perry, Manpower
Eastside Community Extension Center 547 Hunt Street, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 872-2445	Mr. Allen Williams, Jr., Dir. Mr. Louis Perry, Manpower
Edgewood 1723 Boulevard Drive, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 378-3643	Mr. Joe Wilburn, Director Mrs. Rodgers, Manpower
Gwinnett County 225 Perry Street Lawrenceville, Georgia 963-1808	
Nash-Washington 247 Ashby Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 524-2084	Mr. T. M. Pennington, Director Mr. Freeman, Manpower
Eagan Homes Extension Area Center 97 Chestnut Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 523-3186	Mr. T. M. Pennington, Director Mr. Freeman, Manpower
Vine City Extension Area Center 141 Walnut Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 993-9322	Mr. T. M. Pennington, Director Mr. Freeman, Manpower

(Neighborhood Service Centers cont'd.)

North Fulton 27 Oak Street Roswell, Georgia 883-3795	Mr. Earl Torglin, Director Mrs. Mary Drake, Intake-Counselor
Northwest (Perry Homes) 1927 Hollywood Road, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 799-9322	Mr. George Dodd, Director Mr. William Gython, Manpower
Pittsburgh 993½ McDaniel Street, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 523-1577	Mr. Jack Brice, Director Mr. Sam Devours, Manpower
Price 1127 Capitol Avenue, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 522-5792	Mrs. Pauline Clarke, Director Mr. Richard Miller, Manpower
Rockdale-Conyers 929 Commercial Street Conyers, Georgia 483-9512	Mr. B. Gambell, Director Mr. E. Brockett, Manpower
South Fulton 2735 East Point Street East Point, Georgia 767-7541	Mr. Jim Callan, Director Mr. Perry Hannah, Manpower
West Central 2193 Verbena Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 799-0331	Mr. Robert Wayner, Director Mr. Rodger Reece, Manpower
West End 727 Lawton Street, S. W. Atlanta, Georgia	Mr. Amos C. Parker, Director Mr. Ken Crosby, Manpower


BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE EOA
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA
Mr. T. M. Parham, Jr.
Executive Director
NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTERS
Neighborhood Youth Corps (In-School)
Mr. Eugene B. Wimby, Director
Neighborhood Youth Corps (Out-of-School)
Mr. Charles Pearson, Director
Job Corps (Girls)
Mrs. Georgia J. Gunning, Director
Job Corps (Boys)
Mr. Hubert Murray, Director
Youth Opportunity Center
Mr. Forrest Humphries, Director
ATLANTA CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM
Mr. C. Rodgers, Director
New Careers
Mrs. Francis Luysdin
Director
Institutional Training
Mr. B. G. Jackson
Director
Special Impact
Mrs. Mable Hawk
Director

ATLANTA CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
~~523-1963~~
Mr. C. Rodgers, Acting Director

PURPOSE: To help up-grade job opportunities and skill for unemployable persons in the low-income category.

DESCRIPTION: The enrollees are recruited from the neighborhood service centers in the target areas: Pittsburgh, Price, Nash-Washington, Summerhill and West End. They are referred to the Atlanta Employment and Service Centers for intensive psychological, social and physical evaluations, for 2 - 3 weeks. After evaluation the enrollees receive 2 weeks of basic orientation and 6 weeks of pre-vocational training at the ACEP Institute Training Center. The enrollees may be placed in the following ACEP components:

1. Institutional Skills Training
2. New Careers Program
3. Special Impact
4. Neighborhood Youth Corps
5. Direct Job Placements
6. Other non-ACEP Programs

The enrollees also receive stipends for the number of dependents in the family during the training period.

ACTION: The ACEP Program as a quoter of 1,260 from September of 1968 til August of 1969. 60% of the enrollees are women and 40% are men, 70% are young men from 16-21.

FUNDS: United States Department of Labor and Georgia State Department. 3.5 Million dollars program.

NEW CAREERS
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
688-5140
Mrs. Francis Luysdin, Director

PURPOSE: To provide working-training experience for unemployed or low-income adults for entry level positions in non-professional occupational careers with advancement.

DESCRIPTION: New Careers is a component of ACEP and it recruits from the ACEP centers. The major objective of the program is to contribute to and facilitate the process of designing and creating new career jobs in public service. The program opens up career lines by setting up realistic entry level requirements and by making possible structured advancement to better paying and more responsible jobs.

Programs and Skills

1. Educational Program (work-training through an established accredited institution.)

2. Counseling and Guidance (vocational aspect of counseling and guidance.)

3. Nursery's Aid

4. Teacher's Aid

5. Health Education Aid

6. On-The-Job-Training

ACTION: 150 enrollees.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM
MANPOWER TRAINING CENTER
111 Ivey Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. B. G. Jackson, Director
523-6023

PURPOSE: To provide needed training, retraining, and basic educational courses for persons referred for training by the local offices of the Georgia State Employment Office or the ACEP Program or agencies representing the Department of Labor.

DESCRIPTION: The Manpower Development Act is designed to deal with the problems of workers facing job displacement and the special problems of the hard-to-employ. The Act is jointly administered by the Secretary of Labor and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. The responsibility of the Secretary of Labor is to identify the need for training, eligibility for the payment, training benefits and placing on jobs after training. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare provides Training Through State education or through other arrangements for the training of persons referred by the Secretary of Labor.

ACTION: Trainees receive stipends up to $50.00 a week depending upon family income and the number of dependents or heads of household. They receive medical services up to $1.00 per person.

Quota	600	
Students	180	
Drop-outs	11%	
Graduate	58	(4 weeks of training)
Placement	38	
Faculty members	33	
General Education Test	10	(10 passed out of 11)

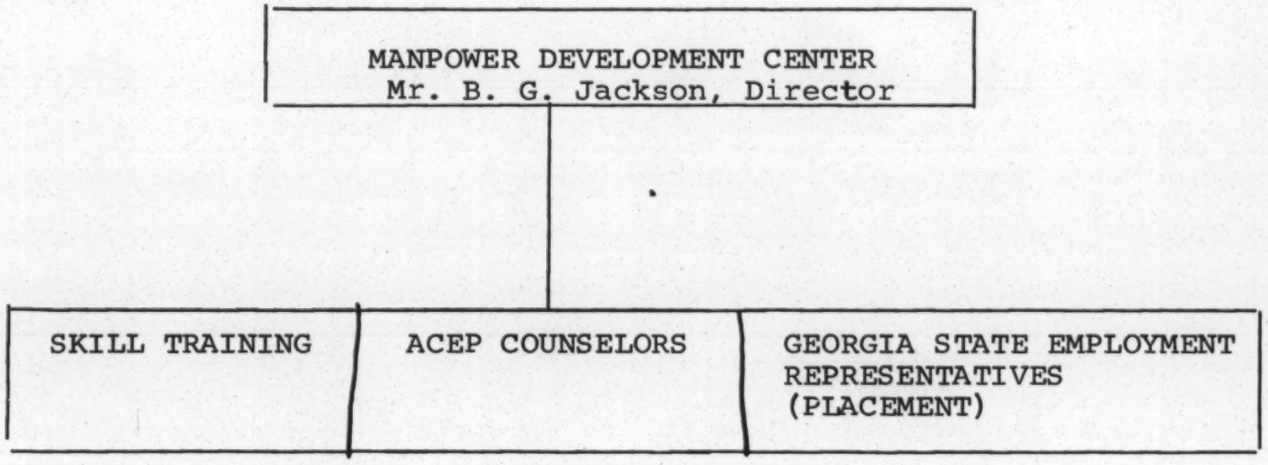
* 15 Students in each class; one white student
** Georgia State Department of Labor
*** Employees of the Atlanta School System (6 whites and 10 Blacks)
**** $6.00 fee is paid by the Department of Labor. (Personnel and counselor. 5 counselors - 2 whites, 3 Blacks.)

Skills

1. Automotive Mechanics - 48 weeks
2. Alteration and Repair
3. Building Maintenance Man - 10 weeks
4. Barbering - 23 weeks
5. Clerk, general office - 21 weeks
6. Cook, Hotel and Resturant - 18 weeks
7. Shipping and receiving Clerk - 18 weeks
8. Welding - 20 weeks

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor
Prime Contractor: EOA, Economic Opportunity Atlanta
Subcontractor: Atlanta Board of Education and
Georgia State Department of Education

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT CENTER



ATLANTA AREA TECHNICAL SCHOOL
1560 Stewart Avenue, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30310
758-9451
Robert A. Ferguson, Director

PURPOSE: The purpose of the Atlanta Area Technical School is to prepare students for useful and gainful employment in occupations that do not normally require a four-year college degree. These occupational areas include the engineering technician, skilled business, office and health occupations. The total curriculum offered at the school was established on the basis of training needs of business and industry in the metropolitan Atlanta area, plus indicated student interest in the area of instruction.

Objectives:

1. To increase the individuals potential through planned instructional activities by using all the modern techniques of teaching that produce the best motivation for learning.

2. To equip every individual with the productive capacity to attain his economic, social and intellectual goals in our society.

In - Plant Training:

1. Atlanta Area Tech's Department of Industrial and Business Service enhances the pre-employment training of the school by assisting local industry and business with their continual problems of upgrading the skills and knowledge of their personnel.

2. The school Industrial Training Coordinators consult with the company in an effort to help them identify their training needs and develops appropriate courses. The coordinators also secure qualified instructors and administer the class to assure quality results.

3. Any organization private or public that has as many as fifteen employees who need training in a particular area can get assistance from our coordinators.

4. There is no cost to companies for the service of the coordinators or the instructors. A modest registration fee is charged for the student's instructional supplies and incidentals.

Learning, Earning and Educational Program:
(L E E P)

1. This program is designed to provide those students who want to prepare for a job but don't qualify for any of the school's regular programs because:

    a. They do not meet the basic education requirements, for their vocational choice.

    b. They are uncertain as to what vocational endeavor would be best for them.

    c. They cannot or do not want to spend over one quarter in preparing for a job.

FUNDS:

Vocational Division of the State Department of Education.

GEORGIA STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AND EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

AGENCY --- GEORGIA DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

AND

GOODWILL INDUSTRIES OF ATLANTA

DEFENSE MANPOWER FORCE PROGRAM
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
688-9491
Mr. Rubin G. Geeslin, Director

PURPOSE: To help provide jobs for hard-core persons with companies under government contract.

DESCRIPTION: This program is centered around companies that have government contracts or negotiating for government contracts, agree to hire 50% of their labor force from the hard core area.

ACTION: Only one company is participating in this program.

funds: U.S. Department of Labor

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER
Georgia Department of Labor Employment Security Agency
522 West Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308
875-0971
Mr. Forrest Humphries, Director

PURPOSE: To increase employability of young people, ages 16-21.

DESCRIPTION: Testing, counseling, job referrals, job development, job training in relation to current labor needs. A remedial educational program is designed to help young persons who did not complete high school. The training program lasts from 12 weeks to one year. Recruitment is handled through the neighborhood service centers. Referrals are made to other manpower programs depending on individual interest.

ACTION: The monthly quota is 300.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor.

JOB CORPS FOR MEN
101 Marietta Street
Room 313
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
577-2855
MR. HUBERT MURRAY, DIRECTOR.

PURPOSE: To provide disadvantaged young men with an opportunity to acquire skills and attitudes needed to become useful and productive members of the community.

DESCRIPTION: Job training for out-of-school boys aged 16-21, who come from low-income families whose earnings does not exceed $3,500. Each applicant is screened and tested before leaving for a Job Corps Center. An applicant has to wait for a period of two weeks before leaving for a center. The centers are located throughout the country on government land or on college campuses. The boys receive stipends of $30.00 a month for living allowances and $50.00 a month goes into a savings fund which the boy receives at the end of the training program. Recruitment is handled by neighborhood service centers and field recruiters. The recruiters are given a quota of five boys per week.

ACTION: 2,012 boys have been sent to Job Corps centers in last two years throughout the country. 301 have been processed and waiting for assignment. 297 boys have graduated from different centers.

Skills

Welding
Bricklaying
Retail Sales
Appliance Repair
Landscaping
Electronics
IBM
Data Processing

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

JOB CORPS FOR GIRLS
Women in Community Service (WIcs)
41 Exchange Place
Suite 503
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
526-3297
Mrs. George J. Gunning, Director

PURPOSE: To provide eligible young women with the opportunity for training in 18 Job Corps Centers and to learn basic educational and job skills.

DESCRIPTION: This program is for girls age 16-21 who did not complete high school. The girl receives $30.00 a month for living expense and $50.00 a month is placed in a savings fund for each girl and she receives the total amount after completing her training. The Job Corps also offers experience for girls to travel and to change environment.

ACTION: There are 150 girls in Job Corps Centers throughout the States.

Skills

Hairdressing
Clerical
Child Care
Nursery
Receptionist
Bookkeeper
IBM
Key Puncher
Librarian Assistant
Teachers Aid

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

GATE HOUSE
522 West Peachtree
Atlanta, Georgia
876-4331
Mr. Ernest Phibbs, Director

PURPOSE: To help Job Corps returnees with job placement in the area they were trained.

DESCRIPTION: Gate House is a program that acts as a go-between for Job Corps returnees and the business community. They may refer the individual to different agencies under the direction of EOA or the employment office. This program is related to the YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER.

ACTION: They have placed roughly 200 persons on jobs.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS (IN SCHOOL)
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Room 213
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
524-7886
Mr. Eugene B. Wimby, Director

PURPOSE: To provide work experience and to help develop good work habits to enable young person to find suitable jobs after high school graduation.

DESCRIPTION: The youth are screened, interviewed, counseled within the high school by the principal or counselor. During the school year they will earn $1.25 per hour for 10 hours a week, summer $1.40 per hour for 25 hours a week.

ACTION: 665 for the school year 1968-69 and 1,292 for the summer of 1968.

JOBS

Office assistant
Clerical
Typist
Poverty Program Workers
Librarian Assistant
Teachers Aides
Janitorial Work
Job Corps Recruiters
Many others

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS (OUT OF SCHOOL)
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
688-6232
Mr. Charles Pearson

PURPOSE: To help out-of-school unemployed youth to develop good work habits, ages 16-21.

DESCRIPTION: This program provides on the job training in non-profit organizations. The training usually lasts for two years. The youth earns $1.40 an hour for 32 hours per week. The neighborhood service center does the counseling and placement. Recruitment is handled through the neighborhood service centers in-take counselors.

ACTION: 440 positions are opened, 4,033 have participated in this program over the last three years.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN
415 Candler Building
125 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Mr. Henry Reed, Executive Secretary
Mr. Bradley Currey, Metro Director

PURPOSE: The task of the National Alliance of Businessmen is to encourage private companies to put 100,000 men and women to work by June 1969, and 500,000 by June of 1971. The alliance will also work this summer to provide 200,000 jobs for youth in order to give them some working experience.

DESCRIPTION: NAB is an organization whose purpose is to mediate between the unemployed and industries. The company agrees to hire a certain number of persons from the hard-core area in a given year. Recruitment and placement is done mainly by the ACEP, and other agencies. NAB also has a sensitivity training session for supervisors or personnel manager who may have certain bias attitudes. The training sessions consist of role playing and role taking.

ACTION: 200 companies have 2,753 jobs for the year 1968-69. The total placement has been 4,397 over a year period. 1,637 have terminated and 2,767 are presently on the job.

FUNDS: This is a non-profit organization and work is done on a volunteer basis.

(NAB cont'd.)

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT TRAINING PROGRAM
215 Candler Building
125 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Mr. Garner, Director (Georgia State Employment Security)

PURPOSE: To provide training skills for hard-core persons entering into a company.

DESCRIPTION: This program is designed to help companies with training programs for hard-core persons at the expense of the government. The company is reimbursed for training cost for a certain number of individuals.

ACTION: Presently there are 14 companies participating in this program and 63% of the people on jobs are in training.

<u>Skills</u>

Welding	Machine Fixers
Clerical	Cloth Printers
Machine Operator	Cord Grinders
File Clerk	Weaver and Spinner
Auto Mechanics	Cutting and creasing pressman
Electronics	Industrial Truck Operators
Frame Cutters	Stock Clerks
Truck Drivers	Automotive Repair Work
Loom Fixers	
Furnace Operator	

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor and Georgia State Department of Labor.

GEORGIA STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
EMPLOYMENT SECURITY AGENCY
GEORGIA DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
254 Washington Street, S. W. State Labor Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Travis Stewart - Georgia State Employment Service
Walter O. Brooks - Employment Security Agency
Sam Caldwell - Commissioner of Labor

Refer to listings below for addresses and phone numbers of specific services.

PURPOSE: To bring together the qualified applicant and the employer; to administer the Job Insurance function.

SERVICES: Interviewing; aptitude testing; counseling; selection; referral to job training or other agencies; administering the Job Insurance program. A counselor is assigned to each Neighborhood Service Center of Economic Opportunity Atlanta

AREA SERVED: State of Georgia

Located strategically throughout the five county Atlanta Metropolitan Area are five Georgia State Employment Service Offices which serve the Atlanta Area. Although the offices differ little in their basic function, several are unique in the type of applicant served:

PROFESSIONAL-CLERICAL-SALES OFFICE - 161 Peachtree Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303, Phone Number: 688-9050. Specializes in services to employer and workers in the professional, clerical and sales field.

METROPOLITAN MANPOWER CENTER - 1 Peachtree Street. Specializes in services to employers and unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers in the services and industrial fields. In-depth counseling and special placement assistance is provided to adults who need this type service. The Center also houses the Atlanta Area Staff and the Employer Relations Representative Unit.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE/VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PILOT PROJECT: A joint project housed in the Metropolitan Manpower Center to furnish extensive service to applicants with explicit handicaps.

EAST POINT OFFICE - 1737 West Washington Avenue, East Point, Georgia, 30044, Phone number - 766-1471. A full functioning office serving all applicants in Clayton and Fayette Counties and the southern portion of Fulton County.

MARIETTA OFFICE - 61 Fairground Street, N. E., Marietta, Georgia 30060, Phone number - 482-0492. A full functioning office serving all applicants in its tri-county area: Cobb, Cherokee and Douglas.

BONDING DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM - A Georgia Department of Labor Program to furnish bonding for qualified workers who cannot secure employment in their field of work due to arrest, imprisonment, bad credit, or other records which made them ineligible for commercial bond coverage.

LABOR MOBILITY DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM - A Georgia Department of Labor program to financially assist workers on relocation of other jobs. This includes persons in the following categories: handicapped workers, those involved in mass layoffs, returning servicemen, Job Corps trainees, long-term unemployed, and workers displaced by technological changes in both agricultural and non-agricultural occupations, individuals who have completed MDTA training and have been unsuccessful in obtaining employment locally and individuals who have work experience under Title V and for whom there are no local job opportunities.

STATE PRISON RELEASE PROGRAM - This program initiated by the Georgia Department of Labor is a joint endeavor undertaken by the Department of Labor, State Board of Corrections and State Board of Pardon and Parole designed to provide special assistance to releases and parolees in entering or re-entering the labor market. This program is directed toward developing a segment of the State's manpower which has formerly been neglected through counseling, testing and individual interviewing initiated by a task force at the prison release site prior to the inmates release. The prisoner is then, upon release, referred to the Releasee Program Representative in the local office nearest his home residence.

SELECTIVE SERVICE REJECTEE PROGRAM - A service provided by the Georgia State Employment Service at Georgia's only Army Induction Center to aid Selective Service Inductees who have failed to pass the Army Classification Battery or are physically disqualified by explaining the available services of the Employment Service and referring the individuals to the appropriate Employment Service Office.

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT - A program to provide occupational training through the various State Employment agencies for "those unemployed and underemployed persons who cannot reasonably be expected to obtain appropriate full-time employment without training.

Training under this Act is designed to provide workers with new skills where needed, to upgrade their present skills, and to meet the job needs of workers displaced by automation and technological change.

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM - This program is a cooperative program with the joint apprenticeship committees of several skilled trades. The Employment Service provides the screening and general aptitude testing required under an agreement established between the Employment Service and these committees.

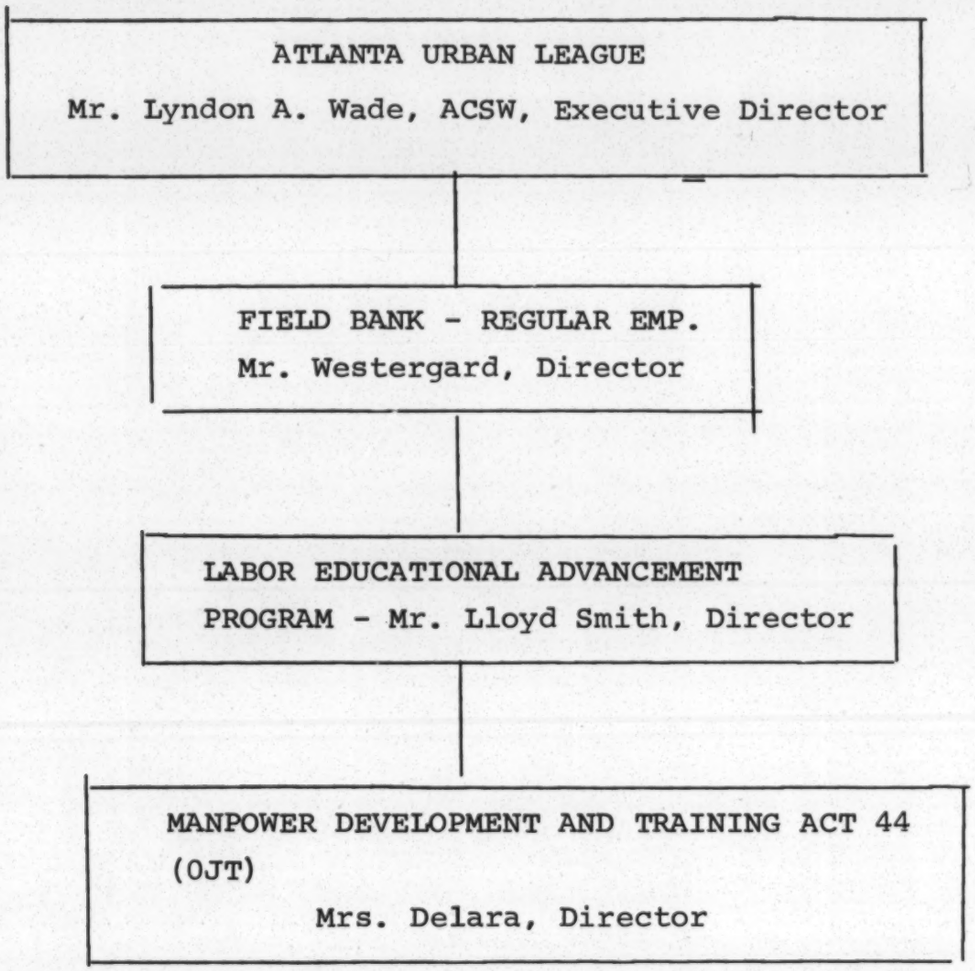
ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM (LEAP)
243 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 400
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8839
Mr. Lloyd Smith, Director

PURPOSE: LEAP is an apprenticeship program to help young men age 16 and up to learn trades in areas that are not traditionally held by Blacks.

DESCRIPTION: The enrollees in this program are recruited from ACEP, neighborhood service centers, and other agencies. In some cases, it has become necessary for enrollees to be tutored in reading in order to take an examination. The trades range from electronic to printing.

ACTION: 65 boys are in the program. 63 boys are being tutored for training and taking tests. 62 are working and being trained in the apprenticeship program.

FUNDS: U. S. Department of Labor


ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
Mr. Lyndon A. Wade, ACSW, Executive Director
FIELD BANK - REGULAR EMP.
Mr. Westergard, Director
LABOR EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT
PROGRAM - Mr. Lloyd Smith, Director
MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT 44
(OJT)
Mrs. Delara, Director

GOODWILL INDUSTRIES OF ATLANTA, INC.
15-17 Courtland Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303 688-1220

Stephen G. Youngblood, Director

PURPOSE: To provide work adjustment, work training and employment for the handicapped; to work with the public schools in helping slow learners; to try new methods of serving the handicapped and those who have poor educational and intellectual development, poor social adjustment(includes juvenile deliquency), inadequate income, and problems in discrimination and problems of community relations.

DESCRIPTION: Work evaluation by standardized tests; psychological testing where needed; job placement; sheltered employment; counseling services, both group and individual, by ministers, psychologists and vocational counselors; follow-up on placement; some recreational activities provided, as well as vocational guidance; recreational activities and chapel optional.

Training of 4 weeks to 6 months depending on individual.

Capacity of about 500 yearly.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE WHILE IN TRAINING: Vocational Rehabilitation pays $100 for full-time trainee and $50 for part-time trainee eligible for VR services. Both receive separate allotment for lunch, transportation. Trainee receives portion of fees, depending on individual productivity. Training and assistance not limited to those ineligible for VR, for whom no fee is charged.

ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS: Ages 14 and over. There must be an identifiable handicap---physical, mental or social; medical or psychological examination may be required. Should meet state Vocational Rehabilitation requirements; 60 days residence is required under normal circumstances, can be waivered.

AREA SERVED: Metropolitan Atlanta area; also individual cases from other parts of the State.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE: Contact Rehabilitation Director or Personnel Director at 15-17 Courtland Street, Monday through Friday, 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. or through Department of Labor or any other referring agency.

Referring agencies should send all medical data available.

GOODWILL INDUSTRIES OF ATLANTA, INC. (Cont'd.)

RECRUITMENT PROGRAM: Referrals from office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Labor or other agency; also walk-in applicants.

SOURCE OF FUNDS: Fees from Vocational Rehabilitation; sale of reprocessed items, United Appeal; Government grants.

AUSPICES: Voluntary

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS
URBAN AFFAIRS DIVISION
1412 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309 892-0530

Mr. Sam M. Booth, Director

PURPOSE: To establish programs to upgrade the hard core unemployed segment in our society in the fields of basic education, employment, housing, transportation and economic development.

DESCRIPTION: Counsel with our membership and other interested persons in community affairs as related to the hard core unemployed; supply these parties with action reports of successful programs in the above fields that have been conducted throughout the United States; assist in finding methods whereby these needs might be met in each community and industry as they see the need existing.

This is normally done by working with corporations and organizations in setting up a program to work with an individual to bring him up to job entry level so that he will become a productive employee, earning a good living for himself, and in most cases removing him from the hard core unemployed relief roles. Through a period of time, this enables him to accept his proper role as a citizen.

ACTION: Southern Division - 12 Southern states.

Interested corporations, organizations and individuals contact Sam M. Booth, 1421 Peachtree Street, N. E.

Through letter contact with our member companies and through public press releases.

SOURCE OF FUNDS: All programs are financed in their entirety by the individual, industry, company or community implementing the program on a free enterprise basis.

Private Labor Programs

Atlanta Urban League

Manpower Bibliography

Henderson State College
Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923

Center for Economic Education

Phone: 246-5511, Area Code 501

January 27, 1969

Southern Regional Council
130 Sixth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

Sir:

We would like to receive one copy of each of the following two of your publications to use in our Manpower and Economic Education research and program development and for placement in our Center library;

Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis

Study about the South published by Reese Cleghorn, Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal, under the auspices jointly of the American Jewish Committee and the Southern Regional Council

Enclosed are two publications which I thought would be of interest to you about the Manpower and Economic Education program. We are developing this program here in the state of Arkansas and we believe that it has potential for use throughout the South as well as the rest of the nation. If you are interested in further information or other assistance about this program, please contact me.

Could we be placed on your mailing list to receive copies of your forthcoming publications?

Thank you for the prompt response we have received to our previous requests for materials from the Council.

Sincerely,

Phillip E. Powell

Phillip E. Powell
Director

Enclosures: 2

PEP:sl

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Bibliography

November, 1971

RECENT ILIR RESEARCH VOLUMES

(Available only from the publisher as indicated.)

BOOKS

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Perspectives on Poverty and Income Distribution, by James G. Scoville. (D. C. Heath and Co., 2700 N. Richardt Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46219.) Paper $3.50. 1971

Attitudes and Attitude Change, by Harry C. Triandis. (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 605 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016.) Cloth $6.95; paper $3.50. 1961

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The Shortage of Scientists and Engineers, by Hugh Folk. (Heath Lexington Books, D. C. Heath and Co., 2700 N. Richardt Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46219.) Cloth $16.00. 1970

The shortage of Skilled and Technical Workers, by Walter H. Franke and Irvin Sobel. (Heath Lexington Books, D. C. Heath and Co., 2700 N. Richardt Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46219.) Cloth $15.00. 1970

Collective Bargaining and Productivity: The Longshore Mechanization Agreement, by Paul T. Hartman. (University of California Press, Berkely, Calif. 94720.) Cloth $8.50. 1969

The Measurement of Satisfaction in Work and Retirement: A strategy for the Study of Attitudes, by Patricia Cain Smith, Lorne McKendall, and Charles L. Hulin. (Rand McNally and Co., P. O. Box 7600, Chicago, Ill. 60680.) Cloth $7.50. 1969

Research in Labor Problems in the United States, by Milton Derber. (Random House, Inc., 501 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10022.) Paper $2.95. 1967

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NONPROFIT ORG.

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Emory F. Via, Director 13
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Bibliography

M E M O

TO: WATTERS, ANDERSON, BOWIE, ESSER, W. CLARK, WALLS
G. DAVIS, CROSLAND AND FREEMAN

FROM: DORIS REED DATE: November 6, 1973

RE: REQUEST FROM CBS NES

Last week, Joan Burke of CBS news called and wanted to locate some 2500 taped interviews. The interviews were with civil rights leaders during the height of the civil rights movement is the '60s. CBS is going to do a special on the civil rights movement of the 60s or something like that. And I think they are trying to compile a resources list.

After making about 2,500 phone calls, I traced the tapes and material to an organization called the Civil Rights Documentary Project. The director of the project is Dr. Vincent Browne. Dr. Browne informed me that they are in the process of getting a bibliography out on the tapes. They do plan to do something with the material, but since it is so much they don't really know where to start. The bibliography on the tapes will go to the printers next week and SRC will get a copy as soon as it is ready.

Dr. Brown said they would welcome calls from anyone who wanted information from them concerning the tapes. His phone number is (202) 636-6974.

Lucy said maybe there's a story here for historians and researchers, at least a note in South Today.

Asked CBS for their list of resources when it was completed.

NEWS
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20210

Manpower — Building Trades —

Southeastern Regional Office
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Atlanta, Georgia
526-5418

FOR RELEASE: P.M. Editions, Friday, March 7, 1969,
or thereafter

SOUTHEASTERN BUILDING TRADES WAGE SCALES CONTINUE UPWARD TREND

Union hourly wage scales for building trades workers in the Southeast averaged $4.26 an hour on January 2, 1969, according to Brunswick A. Bagdon, Southeastern Regional Director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nationally, all trades averaged $5.27 an hour.

The all-trades average in the Southeast rose 0.8 percent over the quarter and 5.4 percent over the year. Building laborers received the largest percentage increases - 2.4 percent for the quarter and 12.4 percent for the year.

For all trades, quarterly cents-per-hour increases averaged 3.4 cents and varied from 1.1 cents an hour for painters to 6.7 cents for plasterers. On an average, the quarterly increase for bricklayers was 1.8 cents an hour; carpenters 3.8 cents; plumbers 4.4 cents; and building laborers 6.4 cents.

Among the six journeymen crafts, plumbers had the highest average scale as of January 2, 1969 - $5.16 an hour. Their basic scale varied from $4.45 an hour in Columbia, South Carolina to $6.50 in Mobile, Alabama. For the other journeymen trades, regional average hourly scales were: painters, $4.22; plasters and carpenters, $4.48; bricklayers, $4.96; and electricians, $5.05. Building laborers' scales averaged $2.68 an hour.

Among the fifteen Southeastern cities included in the quarterly survey, rates for all trades were highest in Mobile.

- MORE -

Changes in union scales over the quarter and the year and the rate levels on January 2, 1969 are shown below. In computing the changes in rates, the increases in each trade were averaged among all workers in the trade, whether or not they received raises. Data for the separate crafts, by city, are shown on the accompanying table.

Trade	Change in Average to January 2, 1969 From				Average Rate	
	October 1, 1968		January 2, 1968		January 2, 1969	
	Percent	Cents	Percent	Cents	Average	Range
Bricklayers 1/ ..	0.4	1.8	3.9	18.7	$ 4.96	$4.25 - 5.91
Carpenters	0.9	3.8	5.6	23.7	4.48	3.70 - 5.44
Electricians	-	-	6.4	30.4	5.05	4.15 - 6.40
Painters 1/	0.3	1.1	5.6	22.4	4.22	3.25 - 5.34
Plasterers	1.5	6.7	3.3	14.4	4.48	2.75 - 5.76
Plumbers	0.9	4.4	6.7	32.6	5.16	4.45 - 6.50
Building Laborers	2.4	6.4	12.4	29.6	2.68	1.95 - 3.52
All Trades	0.8	3.4	5.4	21.9	4.26	- -

1/ Data for previous quarter have been corrected.

Union scales are the minimum wage rates (excluding holiday and vacation payments made directly to the worker each pay period) agreed upon through collective bargaining and reported to the Bureau by local respondents. The scales do not reflect rates for apprentices or for premium work. Overtime beyond established maximum daily and weekly hours is excluded.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Suite 540 - 1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Union Hourly Wage Scales 1/ for Selected Building Trades
in 15 Southeastern Cities, January 2, 1969

City	Bricklayers	Carpenters	Electricians	Painters	Plasterers	Plumbers	Building Laborers
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
Atlanta, Ga.....	5.150*	4.800	5.500	5.300	4.920*	5.450	3.050*
Birmingham, Ala.....	5.000#	4.500	5.050	4.550	4.570	5.450	3.000
Charleston, S.C.....	4.300*	3.700*	4.550*	2/	4.000*	4.650	1.950#
Chattanooga, Tenn.....	5.150	4.493	5.050	4.250	4.500	4.900	3.000
Columbia, S.C.....	4.250	3.800	4.400	3.250	2.750	4.450*	2/
Jackson, Miss.....	4.600	4.350*	5.000	3.750#	4.250*	5.350*	2.350*
Jacksonville, Fla.....	4.550	4.350*	4.950	4.200	4.250	5.250	2.250
Knoxville, Tenn.....	5.350	4.550	4.900	4.350*	4.700*	4.700	3.000
Memphis, Tenn.....	5.500	4.450	5.280	4.225	4.600	5.180	2.450
Miami, Fla.....	5.120	4.950	5.500	4.650	5.120	5.075*	3.500
Mobile, Ala.....	5.910*	5.440*	6.400*	5.335*	5.760*	6.500*	3.520*
Montgomery, Ala.....	4.500	4.000	4.150*	4.000	3.800	5.000	2.050
Nashville, Tenn.....	5.050	4.700	5.120*	4.300	4.500	4.550	2.850*
Savannah, Ga.....	4.800*	4.400*	4.950*	3.750#	4.000*	4.950*	2.400*
Tampa, Fla.....	4.500	4.200	4.800	3.750	4.475	4.900	2.700*

1/ These scales represent the minimum wage rates (excluding holiday and vacation payments regularly made or credited to the worker each pay period) agreed upon through collective bargaining between employers and trade unions.

2/ No union scale in effect on survey date.

* Represents an increase between October 1, 1968 and January 2, 1969.

\# Data for previous quarter have been corrected.

Labor Statistics - Atlanta

Labor

The union war on postal reform

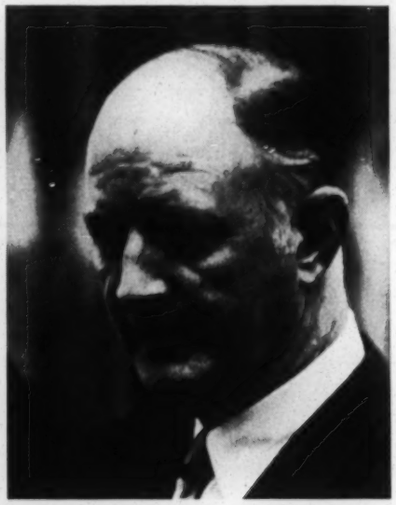
Opposed to Nixon's corporate concept for the Post Office, postal unions attack it through friends on Capitol Hill

The postal unions don't like President Nixon's formula for converting the Post Office from a deficit-ridden federal agency to a money-making, government-owned corporation. And when the postal unions don't like something, they take their case to Congress. There—in the words of former Senator and Republican National Chairman Thruston B. Morton—"they are right effective politically."

The postal unions are waging an all-out fight against the Administration's postal reform bill in the corridors of Congress. The unions do not oppose the reform goal. They do oppose the corporate concept, and particularly the bill's blueprint for collective bargaining. They would prefer a substitute bill proposed by Representative Thaddeus J. Dulski (D-N. Y.), which would reform Post Office procedures while retaining government ownership and Congressional control of Post Office wages.

Representative Dulski proposed the reform bill preferred by unions.

Unionist David Silvergleid calls Nixon bill "short end of the stick for postal workers."



Winton Blount pushes reforms on corporate lines Nixon seeks.

"We're all in favor of reform," says Patrick Nilan, legislative director of the United Federation of Postal Clerks. "I think we are in dire need of reform, but I also think we ought to crawl before we walk."

"We're all for postal reform—it's long overdue," says David Silvergleid, president of the National Postal Union. "We were in favor of postal reform long before Larry O'Brien ever became Postmaster General," says James H. Rademacher, president of the National Assn. of Letter Carriers.

A lot of votes. Among them, the three unions represent more than 400,000 of the Post Office Dept.'s 750,000 employees. That means a lot of votes and potentially a lot of precinct workers, as postal union lobbyists are skilled at pointing out.

President Johnson's Postmaster General, Lawrence F. O'Brien, first proposed a corporate structure for the Post Office two years ago. Johnson appointed a commission to explore the idea. The commission, headed by Frederick R. Kappel, former chairman of American Telephone & Telegraph, championed the concept, and Johnson formally proposed it.

President Nixon carried the ball from there. He directed his Postmaster General, Winton M. Blount, to develop a reform program based on the corporate structure. The result is receiving strong support from the Administration, and from Morton and O'Brien, both former chairmen of their political parties and masters of Congressional maneuver.

The test. Apparently their mastery will be put to the test on the Administration Post Office bill. The postal unions have made clear that they will accept no reform bill without revisions of the Administration's proposed procedures for settling labor-management disputes.

The Administration bill currently provides for private sector-style collective bargaining, with a "postal disputes panel" of nine members responsible for settling any dispute that arises. The panel would have a "broad array of settlement techniques" at its command to deal with bargaining table impasses. Like other federal employees, postal workers do not have the right to strike—and would not under the Administration bill.

The unions want no part of this arrangement. They say they want the right to strike over money issues and to arbitrate all other areas of disagreement.

Actually, the postal unions know perfectly well that the federal government is not going to make an exception for them under the blanket ban against strikes by all federal workers. The Nixon Administration, for its part, is equally disingenuous in arguing that the bill already provides for compulsory arbitration.

Arbitration is only one of the settlement techniques available to the postal disputes panel. And of all the settlement techniques, only arbitration is binding. Presumably, the postal corporation management could reject a panel recommendation reached by other means with no risk of legal penalty or of provoking a legal strike.

"Blount wants to bring us under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws without giving us the right to strike that goes with them, and without providing compulsory, binding arbitration instead," Silvergleid says. "If we have to bargain collectively, we have to have the right to strike on money."

Compromise. Recently, officials close to the situation have begun to suggest that "there are indications the Administration fully intends to grant compulsory arbitration, but wants to use it as a fallback position for compromise." Nilan of the Postal Clerks insists that arbitration by itself is not enough. But many Capitol Hill observers believe that the unions will settle for it if it appears likely that some

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corporate reform bill will pass Congress.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the postal unions have never practiced—or sought—collective bargaining. Their methods and history are entirely different from those of such government employee unions as the American Federation of Government Employees (for federal workers), the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, or the American Federation of Teachers. These limped along for years, lobbying as best they could and pushing for bargaining rights, until President Kennedy's Executive Order 10988 directed federal agencies to bargain over working conditions with unions that represented a majority of the agencies' employees.

Union strength. The postal unions were strong long before President Kennedy's 1962 executive order. Their weapon was lobbying, and most congressmen rate them as experts at it. The reputations of most postal union leaders rest on their familiarity with congressmen and their effectiveness in translating this familiarity into benefits for members. For many years, the postal unions set the pattern for wage gains for other government employees. Now, the proposal for a postal corporation threatens to upset the applecart.

Silvergleid summarized the union position in a recent statement entitled, "The Postal Corporation: A Trojan Horse."

"Postal workers have recourse to Congress, where we have bargaining leverage because of our contacts with the voters we serve," he said. "Our wages attest to the fact that we hold no big club over the Congress. We are satisfied, nonetheless, that we can make progress, and we will not give up our recourse to Congressional petition for wage increases unless we are armed with the right to strike. The Administration bill would deny us the right to strike while taking away the right of Congress to establish our wage rates." In brief, the bill "represents the short end of the stick for postal workers."

Union confidence. Silvergleid and other postal union spokesmen feel their members would get a better deal under the bill proposed by Representative Dulski, chairman of the House Post Office & Civil Service Committee. Dulski's reforms involve no change to a corporation.

The unions seem moderately confident that Congress, which is traditionally reluctant to give up the power to set Post Office wages, will ultimately pass a bill closer to the Dulski model than to the Administration bill. "The way things are going, I think you're going to get a bill that Blount says he can't live with, a compromise based on the Dulski bill," Rademacher predicts. Other Capitol Hill observers are not so sure.

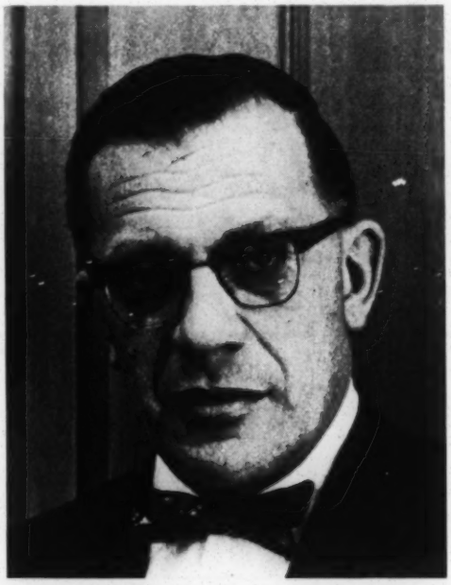
All three unions agree there is little chance of any bill getting through Congress this year, but they think there will be Post Office legislation before the 91st Congress calls it quits next year.

Patching up construction woes

President Nixon has decided to create a tripartite commission to deal with construction industry labor problems that hamper the fight against inflation and the building of more and cheaper housing.

The commission will be patterned roughly on the Missile Sites Labor Commission named by President Kennedy in 1961, but few expect it to be as effective as its highly successful predecessor. Most government officials will be grateful if it provides even moderate help in a situation marked by spiraling wages, numerous labor disputes, and charges of restrictive employment practices followed by unions and contractors.

The panel is the brainchild of Harvard economist John T. Dunlop, who is serving as consultant to Labor Secretary George P. Shultz. Dunlop has been working on the plan since May, when representatives of the government, the construction industry, and the AFL-CIO building trades unions agreed on the need for such a body. President Nixon is expected to issue an executive order establishing the commission sometime this month. Its objectives, says Dunlop, are:



John T. Dunlop drew up Nixon-backed plan for construction labor commission.

- Creating a forum to study and develop private and public policies to upgrade skills, expand the labor force, reduce instability in labor demand, eliminate seasonality, and assimilate new technology.
- Establishing effective machinery for resolving labor disputes.
- Strengthening the role of national unions and national contractors' associations in settling disputes to "restore some of the responsibility of these parties for the results of collective bargaining in an industry characterized by local negotiations under conditions of full employment."

Powers. Like the Missile Sites Commission, on which Dunlop also has served, the construction unit will be empowered to impose a 30-day cooling-off period on disputes of significant local or national interest. It will also have the right to conduct investigations, hold public hearings, and recommend settlements.

In this respect, the commission apparently marks a turnabout from the President's original rejection of "jawbone" wage and price policy. A short time after taking office, Nixon told a news conference it was unnatural to ask the parties to practice voluntary restraint; it was up to the government to employ fiscal and monetary policies that would enforce restraint. But publicizing settlement recommendations that have no legal weight is obviously a technique for embarrassing labor and management into practicing voluntary restraint.

Shadows. Pessimistic predictions regarding the commission's prospects stem in part from the difference between national defense and such lower-voltage issues as housing and inflation. Construction unions that defied the Missile Sites Commission could expect to feel the full force of public indignation. It will be far harder to generate that kind of public pressure regarding strictly civilian concerns.

A second shadow over the commission's chances of success is local control of construction bargaining. Unions at missile base sites also bargained locally. But the sites were concentrated in a comparatively few areas, where local government strove to protect a major source of local income, federal contracts. Building trades unions frequently have close links with local politicians, who encouraged compliance with commission recommendations.

No such counterforce to the frailty of international union influence exists on a national scale. Links with political parties vary by state and union. Politicians may see little advantage in twisting the arms of on-the-spot allies on behalf of a faraway federal government.

Dunlop, who has been associated with the construction industry for many years as an arbitrator and mediator, noted that there were substantial precedents for union-industry cooperation under emergency conditions. "Labor and management in the construction industry have on a number of occasions in the past responded by participating in specialized procedures to resolve collective bargaining disputes when the national interest required, both in and out of wartime," he said.

He cited the Board of Review and the Wage Adjustment Board of World War II,

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the Construction Industry Stabilization Commission of the Korean War period, the Atomic Energy Labor Relations Panel, and the Missile Sites Labor Commission. He noted that all but the Atomic Energy Panel were tripartite and all were created by executive order rather than legislation, with the exception of the Korean War commission.

Dunlop also warned that further delay in dealing with the industry's vital problems "is likely to result in demands for more severe government intervention at a later date."

Members. Whatever its handicaps, the projected construction industry labor commission will start out with a blue-ribbon membership. Government members include Secretary Shultz as chairman; Dunlop; George Romney, Housing & Urban Development Secretary; and J. Curtis Counts, Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service director. Labor members include C. J. Haggerty, president of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Dept.; Maurice Hutcheson, president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters; Peter Schoemann, president of the Plumbers Union; and Hunter Wharton, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers. Industry members include Carl Halvorson of the Associated General Contractors of America; Edward Torrence of the Painting & Decorating Contractors of America; Edward Higgins of the National Electrical Contractors Assn.; and John Stastny of the National Assn. of Homebuilders.

USW threatens to boycott bonds

Most unions traditionally have urged their members to invest in U. S. savings bonds. This week, a major union president warned Congress that his union would reverse its stand and urge members to stop buying the bonds unless Congress raises their interest rate.

I. W. Abel, president of the million-member United Steelworkers, charged that a 4.14% interest rate on savings bonds "discriminates against workers who rely upon their purchase of such bonds as a chief means of saving." He noted that upper-income investors can invest in stocks, tax-exempt notes, and Treasury bills at interest rates well above 4.14%.

"Just because workers do not have the money to invest in such issues is no reason to penalize them for the money they do invest," Abel said.

The AFL-CIO executive council called for a boost in the U. S. savings bond interest rate last February. The Treasury Dept. recommended an increase to Congress in July. But Congress "still has given no indication it will act," Abel said. **End**

Wall Street Journal BV M-Bldg Trades

L, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1969

Unions and Blacks

The Building Trades Still Get Low Grades

By RICHARD J. LEVINE

ATLANTIC CITY—The 55th convention of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department proceeded with statesmanlike calm this week.

Committee reports were made, motions seconded, resolutions adopted—all in strict accordance with Robert's Rules of Order. The serenity of the 300 delegates contrasted sharply with the unruly street demonstrations recently in Chicago and Pittsburgh, where militant blacks shut down job sites to back up demands that building trades unions make more room for Negroes in highly skilled construction work. (Another discussion of discrimination in the building trades appears on page one.)

To a large extent the calm in the Traymore Hotel ballroom was a tribute to the foresight and tactical skill of Department President C. J. Haggerty, who arranged to unveil at the outset what was billed as a "major policy statement" on the black problem. The statement, combined with Mr. Haggerty's keynote address, even-handedly expressed the 3.5-million-member unions' resolve both to resist "unreasonable demands" of the militants and yet to speed and expand current efforts to recruit Negro members.

The timing and content of the policy statement neatly foreclosed any swarming of delegates to floor microphones to denounce the Negro militants, Government officials and civil rights leaders who they believe have unfairly made the building trades whipping boys for the nation's racial ills.

Yet while the policy pronouncements helped avert a scene that might have proved embarrassing to organized labor, they are hardly likely to cool the passions of the street demonstrators.

For the building trades chieftains had little new to say to the Negro community at a time when many Government labor experts worry about a nationwide spread of confrontations like those in Pittsburgh and Chicago, where militant blacks essentially seek a sweeping expansion of apprenticeships plus a supervisory role in the training programs. One Pittsburgh building tradesman now negotiating with the Black Construction Coalition there conceded that the convention's 15-page policy statement does little more than "reaffirm" his present position at the bargaining table.

In a key phrase, the policy statement asserted: "We do not favor acceptance of unreasonable demands. The mere assertion of a proposal by a minority group does not necessarily mean that it is in the best interest of the black worker, other workers, or the industry."

What Is 'Unreasonable'?

And in case anyone wondered what "demands" the mostly white unions considered "unreasonable," Mr. Haggerty—to some of the loudest applause of the three-day convention—declared:

"The teaching of skills must be done by persons in the industry and can never be turned over to unqualified outsiders. . . . I believe we should make it clear again that the conduct, curriculum and control of our apprentice training programs are going to remain in the hands of our crafts and our contractors. They are not going to be tuned over to any coalition."

The building tradesmen also made it clear again that they look with acute disfavor on proposals to shorten apprentice programs, which normally run from three to five years. "A stroke of the pen will not transform the learning process so as to graduate a qualified skilled craftsman in eight months," the policy statement said.

Similarly, as the biennial convention ended, the delegates unanimously voted to condemn what they term a "quota-system principle" embodied in the Nixon Administration's controversial plan for employing more Negroes on Federally-aided construction projects. Critics say this "Philadelphia Plan," requiring contractors there to meet specific "goals" for hiring minority-group members, in fact establishes "quotas" for such hiring, and quotas are illegal under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The convention resolution said it appears, "upon preliminary examination," that the Philadelphia Plan "continues the quota system under new legal verbiage."

At the heart of the militants' grievances is the relative scarcity of Negroes in the skilled building trades. Though the laborers may be as much as 40% black, among such craftsmen as plumbers and electricians the percentages are known to be small. What the unions did offer here to critics of their admission policies were:

—a pledge to expand and accelerate efforts to attract minority-group apprentices through Outreach programs, which provide the unions Federal funds to recruit, test and counsel minority youth.

—an unqualified recommendation that union locals, for "a stated period of time," invite membership applications from nonwhites who are already qualified journeymen.

Unlikely to Assuage Blacks

Still, such efforts are hardly likely to assuage the blacks who in recent months have carried their long-festering grievance into the streets. One of the building tradesmen's staunchest allies in Government tried mightily to get this point across in an emotional convention speech.

"We're dealing with a different world today," said Hugh Murphy, director of the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. Referring to the street demonstrators, he declared, "There's got to be a realization that you can't say to these people—'out the window.' . . . Please look at your situation: You've got no friends."

The delegates, however, seemed not to understand. Early in the session Mr. Haggerty said the building trades have "circled the wagons" on the defensive "far too long." But a good deal of convention time thereafter was spent defensively extolling the unions' recent record in attracting minority applicants: Over 27,000 non-white youths recruited for apprentice programs beginning in 1967, and over 3,800 formally indentured as apprentices. "I think (the) record speaks well of our sincere efforts," Mr. Haggerty insisted.

Likewise, AFL-CIO President George Meany told the overwhelmingly white convention that he likes "the way the building trades are facing up to this challenge. I think you are on the right track."

Yet that record of which the building trades are so proud is viewed less enthusiastically by others.

For example, Secretary of Labor Shultz, the onetime economics professor, was asked recently what grade he would give the building trade unions for adding non-whites to their ranks. Mr. Shultz responded, "I haven't been thinking in terms of grades lately . . . but I guess I would give them about a C-plus to a B-minus."

And, for today's militant minority group workers that just isn't good enough.

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Wall Street Journal 9/26
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Bucking Big Labor

Negro Drive for Jobs In Construction Unions Is Gaining Momentum

Black Coalitions Organizing In More Big Cities; Union Control of Hiring Assailed

AFL-CIO Defends Record

By THOMAS J. BRAY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

"It's just like the early 1960s."

That comment, offered up by a veteran of the civil rights movement, tells much about the goals, tactics and mood of Negro protest groups that have embarked on a potentially explosive confrontation. They are charging organized labor with racial discrimination in the nation's huge construction industry.

The clash has heated up considerably in the last few days. Negotiations between black coalition groups and representatives of unions and contractors in Pittsburgh and Chicago, where demonstrations have focused national attention on the issue, have stalled amid angry recriminations. Negro leaders elsewhere are threatening to shut down work on building projects unless their goals are met, and a Nixon Administration plan to place more minority workers on Federally funded projects has met with hostility from all sides.

"The issue is no longer whether a few blacks ought to be given jobs," declares Herbert Hill, labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "The time has come to take a completely new approach and bypass the entire obsolete structure of union control over hiring and training in the construction industry."

The Opening Rounds

The preliminary skirmishing in the drive late last month in Pittsburgh and Chicago was reminiscent of the South earlier in the decade. There were singing marchers, emotional rhetoric, mass arrests and counter-demonstrations by outraged whites. Since then, "Black Monday" demonstrations have been held by Negro groups in both cities, and it's known that black coalitions are being organized to protest job practices in the building trades in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit and Milwaukee.

Observers warn that the current job protests could easily turn violent. There have been eruptions already. Nearly 50 blacks and 12 policemen were injured during one clash in Pittsburgh, and in Seattle earlier this week a white workman was set upon and beaten and thousands of dollars worth of construction equipment was destroyed when blacks and a few whites moved to shut down work on a building site at the University of Washington.

Indeed, most of the black coalitions are a volatile, uneasy mixture. Though led by such "traditionalist" and basically nonviolent organizations as the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, they also include a wide assortment of self-styled militants.

Continued From Page One

building trades unions have Negro membership exceeding 2%, and only one has Negro membership exceeding 10%—the general construction laborers local. However, blacks account for 23% of Pittsburgh's population, and the nonwhite unemployment rate is three times higher than the rate for whites.

The building trades unions thus are branded by civil rights leaders as the most socially backward in the labor movement, with the possible exception of a few Southern textile unions. William H. Brown, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, recently warned the construction unions that their "flagrant failure . . . to recognize the equality of opportunity for minority groups" might lead to serious confrontations over the issue.

It's no accident that civil rights groups have chosen this particular time to press their attack on the building trades. They clearly are betting that contractors—beset by spiraling wage costs—and the public in general will be sympathetic to demands for expansion of union hiring and training efforts in hopes it might slow inflation in construction by increasing the supply of workers. And they note that an increasing number of projects are financed with public funds. This, they believe, strengthens their demands for equity.

More Workers, Lower Costs

Building trades unions have traditionally limited their numbers through control of apprenticeship training and hiring hall procedures in order to insure work in bad times as well as good. This practice also has worked to make their pay scales the fattest in the labor movement. Electricians and painters commonly earn more than $6 an hour, while plumbers and pipefitters get up to $8 an hour. A plumbers union in Philadelphia recently negotiated an agreement that calls for an annual minimum wage of $19,400.

Richard C. Van Dusen, undersecretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, this week called on the building trades to help curb inflation by opening up their membership to more whites as well as to blacks and by streamlining training techniques. An estimated 140,000 skilled workers must be added to the construction manpower pool each year until 1975, Mr. Van Dusen said. At present fewer than 40,000 apprentices complete training each year in all trades, according to Labor Department estimates.

The construction industry has become an increasingly visible target for civil rights groups in recent years as more and more money has been poured into the cities—including the ghettos—under such programs as public housing, urban renewal and Model Cities. "It's impossible to imagine that blacks will continue to stand on the sidelines while lily-white unions come into these areas and take home all the pay," NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins said recently.

Though current demonstrations in Pittsburgh, Chicago and elsewhere have focused on private building projects, the primary emphasis in the past has been on government-financed construction. The reason: Laws and statutes govering hiring procedures under contracts involving Federal, state and local money are much clearer than on privately financed projects.

Under Federal contract compliance laws, for example, the Government is empowered to cut off funds on any contract where officials consider equal employment opportunity laws to have been breached. And in a landmark decision in May 1967, a Federal district court in Columbus, Ohio, directed state officials to insure that equal opportunities for minority workers are provided before entering into public works contracts.

Other laws go even further. Under Model Cities legislation, for example, authorities not only are required to observe existing anti-discrimination statutes but also are directed to provide "maximum opportunities for employing residents of the area (designated for Model Cities funds) in all phases of the program."

An Uncertain Factor

It's uncertain, of course, what effect the Nixon Administration's proposed cutback of 75% in new Federal construction contracts—announced earlier this month—might have on the Negro drive. Though most observers doubt that the cutbacks will greatly affect spending in the nation's blighted urban areas, some argue that the overall effect may be to dilute present protest efforts; whites as well as blacks would find it difficult to find work.

There are strategy differences in the Negro ranks. Some moderate blacks fear that tackling the unions head-on may lead to a battle that can't be won. For one thing, the very shortage of skilled workers would help protect these men from much of the civil rights pressure; if work is shut down in one area, most craftsmen can find it elsewhere with a minmum of difficulty. It's already common practice for unions to call in craftsmen from as far away as 200 miles to work on building projects.

Moderates also fear that a powerful backlash could develop if the jobs issue is pushed too fast and too hard. The unions, after all, aren't exactly newcomers to the arts of organizing and demonstrating, as was graphically shown during the recent counter-demonstra-

the construction industry."

The Opening Rounds

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Indeed, most of the black coalitions are a volatile, uneasy mixture. Though led by such "traditionalist" and basically nonviolent organizations as the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, they also include a wide assortment of self-styled militants, black craftsmen, urban poor and hangers-on in the poverty program. One prominent participant in the Chicago talks has been the Black P. Stone Nation Inc., a youth gang formerly known as the Blackstone Rangers.

Nate Grates

The contrast with the conservatively garbed and carefully groomed union leaders and contractors could scarcely be greater. "Man, you can tell it just grates on those cats to be in the same room with us," says Nate Smith, a 39-year-old ex-prizefighter and leading member of the Pittsburgh coalition. The outspoken Mr. Smith commonly turns up at negotiations clad in a colorful African dashiki and sandals.

Charges of job discrimination in the construction industry are nothing new, of course. Civil rights groups picketed building sites in Northern cities in the mid-1960s, and court suits attacking union job practices stretch back more than 25 years. In the 1940s, civil rights protests resulted in extensive hearings on the subject by the Fair Employment Practices Committee, a precursor of today's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Building tradesmen say substantial progress has been made in opening up job opportunities for minorities in the last few years. Earlier this week, at the annual convention of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department in Atlantic City, union officials asserted that 3,862 nonwhite youths had been taken into building craft apprenticeship programs since 1962 under a Labor Department program called Apprenticeship Outreach.

The officials said this helped boost the proportion of newly enrolled nonwhite apprentices to 9.4% of the total during the first half of 1968 from an estimated 2.5% in 1960. Their prepared statement also dealt with another sensitive matter—the acceptance of nonwhites already competent in a craft. It said: "We make the flat and unqualified recommendation to local unions throughout the U.S. that for a period of time they should invite the application of qualified minority journeymen for membership in their respective local unions. . . ."

A Few Statements

Black leaders dismissed the statement and its accompanying claims as self-serving at best. "It's nothing new," says one decidedly un-militant official of the Urban League. "The national union officers don't have any real control over the locals, so they're free to issue these statements from time to time without upsetting the membership."

Critics also question some of the union statistics. For one thing, they say, more than half the minority youths taken into the building trades under the Apprenticeship Outreach program were found, tutored and placed—" 'wedged in' would be a better term," says one Chicago coalition member—by civil rights groups themselves.

Also, less than 4% of all black apprentices in the building trades unions are in skilled craft training programs. The remainder are in the so-called trowel trades—general laborers, cement masons and the like—that have traditionally been heavily Negro. Wages in these jobs average at least 30% less than the pay scales of skilled workers such as electricians, plumbers and elevator constructors.

In some areas the proportion of Negro construction workers demonstrably lags behind the union's claims. Only four of Pittsburgh's 25

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Cities funds) in all phases of the program."

An Uncertain Factor

It's uncertain, of course, what effect the Nixon Administration's proposed cutback of 75% in new Federal construction contracts—announced earlier this month—might have on the Negro drive. Though most observers doubt that the cutbacks will greatly affect spending in the nation's blighted urban areas, some argue that the overall effect may be to dilute present protest efforts; whites as well as blacks would find it difficult to find work.

There are strategy differences in the Negro ranks. Some moderate blacks fear that tackling the unions head-on may lead to a battle that can't be won. For one thing, the very shortage of skilled workers would help protect these men from much of the civil rights pressure; if work is shut down in one area, most craftsmen can find it elsewhere with a minmum of difficulty. It's already common practice for unions to call in craftsmen from as far away as 200 miles to work on building projects.

Moderates also fear that a powerful backlash could develop if the jobs issue is pushed too fast and too hard. The unions, after all, aren't exactly newcomers to the arts of organizing and demonstrating, as was graphically shown during the recent counter-demonstrations in Pittsburgh. "Wallace in '72" signs abounded, testifying to the depth of passions aroused among white unionists by the issue.

But the civil rights leaders involved show little sign of slackening their efforts. If anything, their stance is becoming more militant. In Chicago last week, the black coalition rejected an offer by unions and contractors to provide up to 4,000 construction jobs within a year if the economy remains strong. The coalition has been asking for 10,000 jobs. Other demands: That Negroes with four years experience be made foremen on construction in black communities and that the union hirng hall system of assigning jobs be abolished.

Civil rights leaders also have become increasingly critical of the so-called Philadelphia Plan, a complicated arrangement worked out by Federal officials, unions and contractors that sets "goals" for hiring minority workers. Union leaders also have attacked the Philadelphia plan, on the ground that it establishes illegal hiring "quotas."

The Nixon Administration is pushing ahead with the plan despite a ruling in August by Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans that the "specific goals" of the program violate the Civil Rights Act of 1964. At a news conference Tuesday, Attorney General Mitchell issued a contrary opinion stating that the plan indeed is legal.

Roots of the Problem

"It's a step in the right direction," concedes the NAACP's Mr. Hill, who is generally acknowledged to be one of the main driving forces behind the attacks on the building trades, "but it doesn't get at the roots of the problem. First of all, the plan would require constant Government enforcement and scrutiny. Secondly, if a contractor merely signs a statement that he has made a sincere effort to find Negroes, he's home free. It's a prime example of paper compliance."

Thus, in addition to demanding more jobs, it has become increasingly clear that the real goal of Negro protest groups is to gain some measure of control over union hiring and training practices. Under the present system, contractors nominally share responsibilities for hiring workers and apprenticing them. But in practice contractors exercise little real power in hiring.

When a contractor needs a work force, he calls the unions for referrals. First call goes to union members who have been certified as competent by the unions themselves. Ideed, a union "book," or journeyman's card, gives a craftsman almost unlimited mobility to work anywhere in the U.S. Without the card, he may still be able to find a substantial amount of work, but usually only for a fraction of union wages and seldom on prime projects.

This system affects all would-be building tradesmen, of course. Whites as well as blacks can find it difficult to obtain a union card. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Pittsburgh, for example, has 1,000 members—the same number it had 25 years ago.

But when unions do decide to take in new members, there is little question that whites stand a better chance than blacks. For one thing, most building craft unions are extremely clannish. Memberships often are handed down from generation to generation, or at least reserved for members of common ancestry.

In addition, Civil rights leaders argue that apprenticeship standards are unduly tough. Apprentices must be between 18 and 26 years of age, have a high school education, work at half salary and be willing to undergo three to five years of training. "It's a little unreal," says Pittsburgh's Mr. Smith. "You can get a Ph.D. from Harvard in less time than you can get a painter's book."

M— Construction Trades

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1969

Two Unions Open Ranks To Negroes

Carpenters and operating engineers agreed today to throw their unions open to blacks under a new training program that will involve all residential and commercial construction in St. Louis and St. Louis County.

Under the program, to be known as the "St. Louis Plan," blacks would have an opportunity to become journeymen union members within two years if they have had any construction experience. Blacks with no experience would become journeymen in two and one-half years.

The new agreement, which takes the form of an amendment to existing pacts between the unions and the Associated General Contractors of St. Louis, calls for adding one trainee for each three journeymen working on rehabilitation, residential and commercial construction involving projects of less than five stories.

Training Preference

On all other projects, one trainee would be added for each five journeymen on the job. Trainees with some construction experience will be given preference in hiring practices.

Protests Cited

The new agreement, which could have profound impact on the construction industry in this area, comes at a time when blacks in other cities have been conducting demonstrations to force the building trades to open their doors.

The St. Louis Plan is an extension of a similar pact that had been achieved between building contractors and 12 trade unions for rehabilitation work in the Yeatman District on the north side.

Leon R. Strauss, chairman of the AGC's equal employment opportunity committee, said that preliminary talks concerning the new program had been held with four other unions.

"It is hoped that the entire St. Louis construction industry will participate in this agreement," Strauss said.

Less than a month ago, the United States Court of Appeals here ruled that the Electrical Workers and the Sheet Metal Workers were continuing to discriminate against blacks in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The court ordered the two unions to modify their hiring hall systems and "undertake an effective public information program designed to make it clear that Negroes now have equal opportunities for union membership and related benefits."

One of the provisions of the St. Louis Plan specifies that trainees who complete their training in a period of not more than two years will be eligible for full union membership and benefits.

For trainees with some construction experience, the pact oulines four categories of pay that range from 60 to 90 per cent of journeyman wages plus fringe benefits. Automatic incremental increases of 10 per cent every six months are called for.

Trainees with no experience will be hired by the contractors and will work across jurisdictional lines for six months. They will receive $3 an hour. Purpose of the unspecified work rules is to give the trainee an opportunity to choose a trade and determine whether he wants to pursue a career in the construction field.

Contractor Signatures

The new plan has been approved by the Carpenters' District Council and Operating Engineers, Local 513. The AGC board of directors also ratified the plan. It will become effective when individual contractors sign. An AGC spokesman said the contractors are expected to sign soon.

O. W. Langhorst, executive secretary-treasurer of the carpenters council, said the plan "is another in a series of steps taken by the carpenters to provide an opportunity for minorities to become skilled members of the carpentry trade."

John H. Murphy, president and business manager of the operating engineers, said the new pact goes "hand in hand with a current program for training minority groups through the engineers' international union."

W. W. Zenfell, area co-ordinator of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, was named to head a nine-member committee to administer terms of the plan.

Other committee members will include a representative from the carpenters' council and one other labor representative; an AGC member and one other person from management; two representatives from the Model City Agency, one from the St. Louis Council on Human Relations and one from the St. Louis County Commission on Human Relations.

M— Construction Trades

2 Copies Sent with Card to 2 men in Research Dept of Econ, U.W., Madison

10/29 Km

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The study cited here was sponsored by the Manpower Administration under Contract No. MDTA 14-63.

3

10/29 Km

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR OCT 21 1969

Worker changes traced: blue to white collar

By the Associated Press

Washington

A government report shows one out of every five blue-collar workers is likely to cross the job color line into a white-collar position—many of them taking at least a short-term pay cut.

But most workers who make the shift from production jobs to management, professional, technical, clerical, or sales positions figure the switch is worth it in the long run, the report says.

"Most respondents were convinced that their socioeconomic status had risen above that of their parents and above the current status of most of their boyhood friends," said the survey of 452 workers.

The report was published in the Labor Department's Monthly Labor Review. It said job switching is largely haphazard, and urged government employment agencies, employers, and unions to make it easier for workers to climb up the job ladder.

The study by University of Wisconsin economic professors David B. Johnson and James L. Stern said 39 percent of blue-collar workers making the switch moved into managerial jobs and increased their base pay by nearly 15 percent.

But it added, "Men shifting into professional-technical jobs suffered an average loss of weekly gross income of 5.7 percent. In terms of base pay without overtime, however, the loss was only 2.7 percent."

Blue-collar workers shifting to clerical jobs lost 9.8 percent in gross pay, 6.3 percent when lost overtime was excluded.

The workers interviewed gave many reasons for wanting to make the job switch.

"Very prominent among them were reasons related to an improved financial situation resulting from steadier work in the white-collar job, higher fringe benefits, and prospects for better long-run earning opportunities," the report said.

—Sat., Oct. 11, 1969 Los Angeles Times

Job Agency Role Under New Welfare Law Told

About 350 members of private employment agencies from throughout the nation Friday heard a state official describe a new California law permitting welfare departments to use agencies such as theirs in finding jobs for welfare recipients.

Sig Hansen, deputy director of the new Department of Human Resources Development's tax collection and insurance payments division, noted that the law will become effective in November.

He told the National Employment Assn. annual conference at the Century Plaza that county welfare departments will be able to go outside government employment services to contract with private, fee-charging agencies.

The law, written by Assemblyman John V. Briggs (R-Fullerton) and passed during the last legislative session, will enable welfare departments to draw upon many of the 1,600 such agencies in California, Hansen observed.

Hansen, former chief of the California Bureau of Employment Agencies, suggested that other states could substantially reduce unemployment and save tax dollars by following the California plan.

Joseph Wroble of Wilkes-Barre, Penn., newly elected president of the National Employment Assn., said he hopes 8,000 private employment agencies throughout the country will be able to participate in such programs.

The California Department of Social Welfare will hold public hearings in Sacramento Nov. 13-14 to help formulate regulations under the new law.

Cover

M — Unemployment

THE TIMES-PICAYUNE, NEW ORLEANS, LA., SUNDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 19, 1969

Comprehensive Manpower Survey Is Scheduled

10 Southwest Mississippi Counties to Be Covered

Polling Booths to Collect Information Planned

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

JACKSON, Miss. — A comprehensive manpower survey will be conducted in 10 southwest Mississippi counties Saturday to determine the number and qualifications of workers who might be interested in employment at a new or expanding plant in the area.

The survey will be conducted in Adams, Amite, Franklin, Jefferson, Jeff Davis, Lawrence, Marion, Pike, Walthal and Wilkinson counties. Franklin County polling booths will be open Friday and Saturday.

Representatives of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission working with county boards of supervisors and interested civic organizations and officials will set up polling booths to collect information.

Once collected the information will be turned over to the Mississippi Research and Development Center for storage and tabulation on a computer.

LABOR SITUATION

The data will be used to show industrial prospects exactly what the labor situation is in a particular area.

Survey Chairman Oliver Emmerich of McComb said every person who would be interested in working at a new or expanding plant should register, whether now employed or not.

Emmerich said it was vital to the area's future industrial growth to get an accurate and complete labor count. This is the second in a series of area surveys for the state. By the end of 1970 all of the state wil have been surveyed.

Emmerich said if the results are good and the area has a high number of prospective workers, new industries would be attracted, thus raising the opportunity and income level of the entire area.

"In order for the southwest Mississippi area to have an effective development program," Emmerich said, "we must first have accurate information regarding our manpower situation."

ONE-DAY TEST

The registration Saturday, he said, would be a one-day test. "A god count with a high number of qualified workers would be an economic asset to the various communities and the area," Emmerich said. "In order for this to be successful, however, all citizens must lend their support."

Emmerich called on community leaders who are not already involved to contact their board of supervisors for information o nhow they could best assist.

"Every citizen can play an important role in this effort," Emmerich said. "If you know some one who is unemployed or employed in a job that is not utilizing his full talents, you would be doing both yourself and the individual a favor by telling him orher of the registration and encouraging that person to go to one of the polling booths."

Information will be collected on county and beat of residence, race and sex, age, education, work skills, employment status and time which the worker would spend traveling to and from work daily.

The first area survey was conducted earlier this year in 14 central Mississippi counties. Over 21,000 persons were registered.

SUNDAY HERALD TRAVELER, OCTOBER 19, 1969

Summer Job Program Helps 5500 Youths

Over 5,500 Boston area disadvantaged youths were placed in jobs this past summer through the efforts of private business, community groups, and state, local and federal agencies. Wages for the 16 to 21 year - old students ranged from $1.60 to $3.40 per hour with the average wage as $1.98 per hour.

Joe Breiteneicher, Boston Metro Director of the National Alliance of Businessmen and Chairman of the Mayor's Summer Job Program, said this year's accurate measure of public and private employer efforts to help Boston youth, but more was accomplished than just job placements. The youths got their message across to employers that they are responsible, willing to and have limitless potential."

He observed that many social agencies had teamed together effectively and that, "The agencies were the strength of our placement system. Without agency input, we would not have had a summer job system;; and without agency cooperation, we would have had no program to coordinate." The agencies performed without the benefits of additional staff or funds.

PRINCIPAL cooperating agencies were: ABCD and its Neighborhood Employment Centers, SOUL, Kennedy Family Center, SNAP, SEMCO-APCROOSS, Youth Alliance, and the Massachusetts Division of Employment Security and its Youth Opportunity Centers.

Edward J. Ferrarone, Jr., youth coordinator, on loan from the Mayor's office, set up offices in Boston's City Hall Annex and began lining up job opportunities last January. The Mayor's office, the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce and Associated Industries of Massachusetts provided publicity and loaned personnel. Job developers were loaned by private industry, ABCD, the Division of Employment Security, and the Department of Labor.

In all, 3,113 jobs in private business and industry were filled and 2,479 jobs filled in various branches of government. The Federal Executive Board and the Mayor's office reserved more jobs for students from poverty areas than in any previous summer.

Ferrarone said he hoped that the number of jobs offered by private industry would be increased next summer. "Many firms performed well and shared our sense of urgency in finding work for young people. Regrettably, almost one-third of the original job commitments offered by business failed to materialize. Some jobs were withdrawn because of apprehension surrounding statements of the S. D. S., others were filled on a first-come basis before disadvantaged students had finished their school year and were available for work."

IN PLANNING for next year, Breiteneicher said that efforts should be made to increase coordination with the State House, to provide more jobs for girls and Spanish-speaking youth, and to correct inadequate transportation facilities. Jobs were lost because the Federal Government did not commit a $10,000 transportation grant until mid-July when it was too late to implement any type of transportation assistance.

An attempt should also be made to provide businessmen unable to take on summer help an opportunity to make financial grants to the public and community agencies where manpower is needed but funds are not available. Employers should also try to provide exposure to all aspects of business rather than just a job, he said.

Breiteneicher added, "The summer work experience can do much to motivate youth, or it can dull any enthusiasm for what we call socially acceptable endeavors."

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11/1/69 AFL-CIO News Public Employee Unions

For Federal Employes:

Nixon Sets Policy In Labor Relations

Significant changes in labor-management relations policy within the federal government have been incorporated in a new executive order signed by Pres. Nixon Oct. 29.

The new order, replacing the now-famous No. 10988 issued by Pres. Kennedy in 1962 and hailed at the time as a major breakthrough in federal labor policy, was released after a meeting at the White House between the President and the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Of major importance in the new order is the creation of a Federal Labor Relations Council to administer the program, decide major policy issues and issue rules and regulations. Previously administration had been in the hands of various departments and agencies.

The labor relations council will have authority to issue binding arbitration decisions on grievance disputes and questions of interpretation of contracts.

The new order calls also for establishment of a Federal Service Impasse Panel to help resolve disputes in negotiations and "take any action it considers necessary to settle an impasse." Panel members will be appointed by the President.

The various form of recognition extended to groups of government workers was revised and clarified. The virtually meaningless category of "informal" recognition is abolished and the "formal" category will be abolished in a year.

This would reduce the recognition category to "exclusive," based on winning a majority in an election, and national consultation rights, which covers a wide area short of actual right to negotiate.

There were no changes in the checkoff rules in the old order and the new order prohibits union security arrangements.

Exclusive recognition will be granted only through a secret ballot representation election, eliminating the present option of card checks. However the new order abolishes a requirement of the

(Continued on Page 8)

(Continued from Page 1)

1962 order that at least 60 percent of the eligible employes must vote in order for the election to be valid.

The order does clarify the status of supervisors, who can belong to general membership unions but cannot be bargained for.

The new regulations also include procedures and rules governing internal union affairs comparable to provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act.

The new Federal Labor Relations Council will be made up of the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the Secretary of Labor and an official in the President's Executive Office. The President may appoint other officials in the Executive Branch to the council.

Elections and other matters to be decided under the order will be handled by the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor-Management Relations.

The new order—No. 11491—will become effective Jan. 1, 1970.

The report and recommendations to the President on which the order was based was made by Labor Sec. George P. Shultz, Defense Sec. Melvin R. Laird, Civil Service Commission Chairman Robert E. Hampton and Robert P. Mayo, director, Bureau of the Budget.

They noted that the Kennedy order in 1962 "produced some excellent results, beneficial to both agencies and employes."

They noted also the growth of union representation in the seven years, which exclusive union recognition growing to 2,305 units in 35 agencies covering 1,416,073 employes—52 percent of the total federal work force subject to the order.

The AFL-CIO and its federal employe unions all have called for updating and improvement of the Kennedy order in important respect and testified before a special presidential commission last year on needed changes.

11-1-69

...economic policies.

M—EEO—Bldg Trades

Trades Score Racial Quotas In Hiring Plan

The Administration's racial quota system for hiring minority group members in the Philadelphia building industry is illegal, unworkable, and in conflict with the intent of Congress and the language of a presidential executive order, the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. has charged.

The department "supports the objectives of non-discrimination and affirmative action in the Equal Employment Opportunity program" in deeds as well as words, BCTD Pres. C. J. Haggerty said in a statement presented to the Senate Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers by Louis Sherman, the department's legal counsel.

The statement paralleled a policy declaration of delegates to the department's 55th convention, held in September. That convention agreed unanimously that "we are unalterably opposed to the quota system."

The AFL-CIO convention which followed said the Philadelphia plan "sets up unsound procedures used in no other industry, segment of the labor market or in government itself."

The Philadelphia Revised Plan was issued last June 27 by the Labor Dept. in an order to the heads of all federal procurement agencies. It set quotas or rate ranges which employers bidding on federal contracts must try to achieve in hiring.

AFL-CIO News
11-1-69

NOV 26 1969

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Black demands

M- Bldg Trades

Construction workers' plaints could produce Negro unions and more building contractors

By James B. Alexander
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

Rising black demands for equal opportunity in construction work could have two far-reaching effects, according to various black community leaders here.

First, there could develop an appreciable increase in the number of black-owned construction firms.

Second, black demands could lead to black labor unions.

A chain of events, the most recent of which was a nonviolent protest at Tufts University in Medford, Mass., has focused increasing attention on the role of blacks in construction.

The Tufts dispute centered around a demand that the Volpe Construction Company employ additional minority workers on a $2 million, federally aided dormitory project. The demand called for minority workers to make up 20 percent of the work force.

Quota reached

Through extensive negotiations the quota was reached. However, the conflict did not end there. Two black workers recently were fired, and the students took to the picket lines again.

Incidents such as this are becoming numerous. Yet white-owned construction firms have not yet met the demands for swift increases in minority employment. Why?

Martin Gopen, director of transportation and labor for the New Urban League of Greater Boston, says: "They're being intimidated by labor unions who wish to remain the sole supplier of manpower."

Mr. Gopen does not believe contractors should be absolved of blame, however.

"Contractors can only be intimidated if they desire to be," he says.

Few black observers believe the construction field and labor unions are going to open to them, either.

Many believe it's time for them "to do their own thing"—forsaking those they feel have not been cooperative.

NAACP moves

In an apparent move to better the lot of existing minority contractors, while encouraging the development of more such firms, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) recently began a survey of 10 major cities to find out the problems of minority contractors. With this data the NAACP hopes to show the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development the problems, and needs of minority contractors in regard to bonding, long- and short-term borrowing, impact of unions, and management.

Early returns for minority contractors interviewed by the NAACP have indicated that minority contractors are sharing in little of the building-industry business.

According to the NAACP, "The majority of contractors interviewed to date seem primarily relegated to rehabilitation of existing buildings and are hindered by bonding and union and personal-management difficulties.

Using this survey as a wedge, the NAACP hopes to secure a larger amount of construction work for minority workers and contractors.

In line with this, observers believe blacks will have to take similar action on unions.

According to Mr. Gopen, racial discrimination by unions is going to force blacks to develop parallel structures in the near future.

Whether such a move is afoot Mr. Gopen did not say.

The Dallas Morning News — Friday, November 21, 1969

Farm Mechanization Sends More Migrants to Cities

By JUSTIN BAVARSKIS

DETROIT (UPI)—The young gas station attendant stood in an island of neon one recent autumn night outside Baird, Texas, pumping gas into a car with Michigan license plate. He told the driver he and his family had been migrant workers in Michigan about 15 years ago, when he was 6.

He said his Spanish-American family had followed the crop harvests up the shore of Lake Michigan. They worked at least 12 hours a day, and slept in converted chicken cooks with other migrants. He could barely remember when the family was not hungry.

IN 15 YEARS, these conditions have hardly changed. About 80,000 migrant workers each year arrive in Michigan, largely from Texas, to pick fruit and vegetables.

"The conditions under which tens of thousands of field laborers, living in converted sheds, barns, chicken cooks and old schools and farmhouses, exist while working to grow and harvest food . . . is living evidence that the low food prices have been gained, partially, at the expense of these workers . . the hazards to health are great, but rights to health care are few. In all of these ways, migrant workers may be treated legally . . . and inhumanely," the Michigan Civil Rights Commission reported this fall.

But even then, they were assured of steady work. When the sugar beets had been harvested, the cherries were ripe; when these were picked, the cucumber, tomato and apple harvests provided them work throughout the season.

Now, mechanization is setting in. Already, the mechanical cherry harvester has taken the place of many a worker.

"By 1975, almost everything will be mechanized," says Rou Fuentes, program director of the Latin American project of the MCRC. "That's mainly why the migrants will move into the cities."

ALREADY, an estimated 1,600 migrants leave the fields each year and try to strike up a new life in the inner cities of Michigan. By 1980, Fuentes estimates 3 million ex-migrants will be living in midwest cities, mainly in Michigan and Illinois.

In the cities, they live in overcrowded tenements; they lack the education and skills to find work, and unlike the poor blacks and whites they often run into a language barrier, since many speak only Spanish.

"The problems of Spanish-sur-

NEW YORK TIMES

NOV 9 1969

PROFIT-SHARING CAST AS LABOR PEACE KEY

MADISON, Wis. (UPI) — Profit-sharing may be an answer to many labor-management disputes, a labor union executive said.

Speaking at a conference on studies and disputes and settlement at the University of Wisconsin, Irving Bluestone, a special assistant to Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, said:

"Profit-sharing is a sane and responsible answer to many labor-management disputes.

"As it is now, management has to guess what it can afford over the next two or three years, and then labor has to determine what it thinks management can afford. The problem is that no one can predict with certainty what company performance will be in the future."

The union leader said that many unions were badly splintered, with each union organized in its own technological specialty, resulting in each union trying to outdo the one before it when negotiating for a new contract.

Profit-sharing would allow a more reasonable approach based on fact rather than projection, Mr. Bluestone said.

"Then we could move away from operating blindly, a cause of many disputes," he added.

4 CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR NOV 26 1969

Sugar dilemma

Puerto Rico's unemployed sidestep cane-field labor during hunt for jobs

By Jo Ann Levine
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Aguadilla, Puerto Rico

Aguadilla's sugarcane cutter of yesterday may be Boston's meat packer of today.

As agriculture moves into the background of economic life here, the rural worker is the one most likely to move to the United States in search of a job, any job.

But first he attempts to find work in Puerto Rico.

Every Monday morning, Victor Ujaque, director of the United States Division of Employment Security office here faces 400 to 500 unemployed workers. Most of them go home at the end of the day—still unemployed.

Ninety percent of the jobs he has to offer are in the 17 small factories in the Aguadilla district, factories that usually skim off the skilled workers first when they do have openings.

Job situation compared

After too many disappointing trips to Mr. Ujaque's office the unemployed worker may head straight to a travel bureau where he can buy a ticket to the United States on credit

Often the job situation is worse in the United States.

Many Aguadillians come to Boston where it is estimated that 60 percent of the Puerto Ricans are unemployed. Aguadilla's unemployment rate is 27 percent, compared with 13 percent for the island as a whole.

"Every year we place more people in jobs than the year before," he said. "But at the same time, the unemployment rate remains the same or goes up. If we place 1,000 a year more in jobs, the labor force goes up 3,000.

"The rural labor force is near 6,000 workers. Last year it was more than 6,000, and this year, I expect to have 5,500," he said.

A sign in Mr. Ujaque's office said that workers were needed in the tobacco fields in Connecticut.

"Already this year we have sent 2,000 workers from here to the United States. We will probably send 2,400 by the end of the year—400 more than last year," he said.

By January, United Hosiery, Inc., will employ 1,000 in a new Aguadilla factory.

Skills in short supply

"If today, they called for these 1,000 workers, I could send 1,000 tomorrow," says Mr. Ujaque.

"However," he added, "we can supply the people, but not with the skills the factory needs."

Even professionals in the Aguadilla area find themselves unemployed.

"We have persons with college degrees unemployed," said Mr. Ujaque. "Sociologists, chemists. This is very bad for us because we don't have opportunities here for them. If they moved to San Juan, they would be working the next day."

Mr. Ujaque says there are not enough job-training programs for all those who want to apply.

"More than 75 percent of the people who come here to our office searching for a job also apply for job training. We can only train 25 out of every 100 who apply for training."

Migrants considered

While Mr. Ujaque struggles to get enough money to provide job training for unskilled workers, Sugar Coloso, the nearby sugar mill, couldn't get all its sugarcane cut last year because it couldn't find enough laborers who wanted to work in the fields.

Coffee plantations in the area are thinking of importing laborers from nearby islands.

Mr. Ujaque says that the problem of not being able to get enough cane cutters also involves a change of attitude. "When I was a teen-ager," he said, "I overheard some workers from the sugarcane and also coffee plantations who said they worked 12 hours a day. And for a good worker it was something great to say, 'I worked from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.'.

"Now the majority of those workers say, 'I want to work eight hours as a human being. Before, I was an animal working in that way.' "

Sugar Coloso can be reached by driving through fields of uncut cane. Mr. Arsenio Martinez, the local manager, tells of the troubles of his sugar mill.

"I invite you to cut cane for an hour, and then you will know why men don't want to cut cane," he said.

"Until three years ago, there were plenty of people to cut cane. In the last five, six, seven years, industry from the states has come in. They sorta forgot about agriculture.

"Either we get cane-cutting machines in the next two or three years here, or else we are not going to have enough people to cut cane."

Mr. Martinez soberly pointed to a map of Puerto Rico which was marked with black crosses at every place a sugar mill had been discontinued. "We now have 17 sugar mills in Puerto Rico," he said. "Twenty years ago, there were 44."

NEW YORK TIMES
NOV 23 1969

BUSINESSMEN AIM TO AID MINORITIES

Owners Hope to Strengthen Food Chain's Standing

By LACEY FOSBURGH

There are chick peas and mangoes, pigs' feet, collard greens and 25-pound bags of rice. For three lawyers, one black, one Puerto Rican and and one Jewish, the items symbolize their attempt to transform a $17-million a year chain of supermarkets — the largest minority owned grocery chain in the city — from a successful business venture into a productive social experiment.

Because the supermarket business is traditionally all white and few blacks or Puerto Ricans ever advance byond the check-out counter, the three men consider their project a challenge.

J. Bruce Llewellyn, former deputy commissioner of the Department of Rent and Housing Maintenance, Samuel Berger, a practicing attorney, and Roberto Lebron, City Councilman from the Bronx, have been close friends since they were students 11 years ago at the New York University Law School.

Four months ago, after searching for five years for a business to buy together, they purchased the 11 Fedco Food Markets with a $2.25-million low-interest loan from Prudential Life Insurance Company.

'A Lot to Learn'

Now, with winter coming on and the wide glass plates of their 11 Bronx and Manhattan stores covered with notices about school basketball games and community programs, the three men are grappling with questions of costs, prices, profits and overheads.

"We're in this first and foremost to make money and we have a lot to learn," said Mr. Llewellyn, the president of the company, "but we still want to make this a social venture as well. There's racism in the grocery business just like there is everywhere else."

Their chief concerns, he said, are to overcome the practices that have long excluded minority people from the business as a whole and to strengthen the bond between the large, chrome and steel stores and the crowded ghetto areas in which they are located.

Roberto Lebron, a Democrat whose term as Councilman ends Dec. 31, looked at the young black men and women rushing around him in one Fedco Store at 1718 Madison Avenue, pushing brooms and moving cartons.

"There's never been any real attempt to advance these young people up to the managerial and supervisory level," he said, shaking his head. "No salary incentive, no training. Up till now, it's been an all-white affair."

Man With Experience

Mr. Lebron's chief responsibility after December will be in improving personnel procedures among Fedco's 300 employes in expanding in-service training programs.

Mr. Llewellyn is the only one of the three with previous business experience. The former regional director of the United States Small Business Development Center, he is now co-chairman of the New York Council of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity.

He explained that Fedco, which caters to black and Puerto Rican tastes, would actively encourage other black capitalists by dealing exclusively with black service companies.

"Most people warn you black companies are not reliable and they say, 'if you're going to have a good business, you should deal with someone you can trust,' " he said.

"But for refrigeration, maintenance, insurance and all the outside help a large company like ours needs, we're black . . . or Spanish," he added, laughing as he looked at his two partners.

"Most people think our friendship is strange," said Mr. Berger, who handles most of the company's legal work. "They don't understand how the three of us can be social friends and business partners. But to us, it's just our own little League of Nations."

M - EEO Bldg. 7.

AFL-CIO NEWS 11/15/69

IBEW Presses Recruitment Of Minorities

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has called on its construction locals throughout the nation to take immediate steps to increase the number of minority group journeymen and apprentices.

IBEW Pres. Charles H. Pillard outlined to the locals an affirmative action program based on the unanimous policy statement of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept.

It calls for immediate membership for qualified workers who have gained their experience with non-union employers and modification of the local job referral system so that they will have the same priority in employment as present members with comparable qualifications.

Existing requirements for prior employment under the local's collective bargaining agreement should be waived for a one-year period, Pillard told the locals.

He also called on IBEW construction locals to "accelerate your participation in the Apprenticeship Outreach Program in your area or, where no outreach program exists, work through the local Building & Construction Trades Council to establish one." The international union, he said, will provide assistance and help secure financing.

Locals were also urged to negotiate affirmative action programs with employers and to seek the cooperation of minority group organizations "in a program to actively recruit minorities."

Locals, he said, should provide trade union training for new members brought in under the program.

Week of December 1, 1969

KNOXVILLE BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL
DOUBLES OUTREACH GOAL, GETS NEW
PROGRAM

WASHINGTON -- The AFL-CIO Knoxville, Tennessee Building and Construction Trades Council will prepare another 35 minority youths for skilled-craft apprenticeship exams after more than doubling its previous goal of 35 by placing 78, the U.S. Department of Labor has announced.

The council's new one-year contract, supported with $50,985 in Federal funds, calls for up to 10 weeks of training, using the "tutor and cram" technique, to prepare youths to pass specific examinations, principally in the building and construction trades.

Among the 78 apprentices placed in the council's previous program were 1 bricklayer, 11 carpenters, 4 cement masons, 23 electricians, 1 elevator constructor, 3 glaziers, 5 iron workers, 3 machinists, 8 operating engineers, 4 painters, 9 pipe tradesmen, and 6 sheet metal workers.

The Apprenticship Outreach program was first developed by the Workers' Defense League in New York City. It is designed to "reach out" to minority youngsters, motivate their interest in becoming skilled craftsmen, and help them pass apprenticeship tests in 18 building and construction trades.

Apprenticeship Outreach sponsors also counsel and assist those apprentices selected to remain in their chosen apprenticeships until successful completion.

# # #

Manpower
Bldg. Trades

Week of December 1, 1969

HOUSTON, NEW MEXICO BUILDING TRADES
START NEW OUTREACH PROJECTS

WASHINGTON -- The Houston Gulf Coast Building and Trades Council and the Albuquerque-based New Mexico Building and Construction Trades Council, both of the AFL-CIO, will prepare another 105 minority youths for apprenticeships in the skilled building trades, the U.S. Department of Labor has announced.

The two one-year contracts will be supported with more than $97,000 in Federal funds. Both programs will provide up to 10 weeks of training, using the "tutor and cram" technique, to prepare youths to pass specific examinations, principally in the building and construction trades.

Under its first Outreach contract, the Houston council nearly doubled its program goal of 45 by placing 84 minority youths as apprentices: 3 bricklayers, 11 carpenters, 36 cement masons, 2 electricians, 2 elevator constructors, 2 glaziers, 10 iron workers, 1 operating engineer, 7 painters, 2 pipe tradesmen, 6 sheet metal workers, and 2 tile setters.

The Albuquerque program met its goal of placing 65 apprentices: 4 bricklayers, 11 carpenters, 3 cement masons, 8 electricians, 4 iron workers, 1 operating engineer, 4 painters, 4 pipe tradesmen, 21 roofers, 5 sheet metal workers.

The New Mexico contract is funded for $47,725 and will operate in 32 counties.

The Houston program will operate in 20 counties in the area surrounding Houston, with $49,745 in Federal support.

(MORE)

The Apprenticeship Outreach program was first developed by the Workers' Defense League in New York City. It is designed to "reach out" to minority youngsters, motivate their interest in becoming skilled craftsmen, and help them pass apprenticeship tests in 18 building and construction trades.

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# # #

WASHINGTON POST DEC 19 1969

Norfolk Calls Dropout Program Successful

NORFOLK, Va., Dec. 18 (AP)—About 50 school dropouts are back in school because Willie J. Ross gave them a reason for going back.

Ross is the mayor's youth coordinator for Norfolk, a post created last spring. His first job was to set up a summer recreation program to keep youths off the streets and to channel their energies into constructive avenues. It worked.

"We've had 50 dropouts return to school this fall because of the program," says Ross, a 27-year-old bachelor who was a policeman before Mayor Roy B. Martin appointed him youth coordinator.

"By these kids participating in the athletic clinics and working with other kids in the schools during the summer, they decided they wanted to go back to school.

"They saw other boys trying to better themselves. It was a good thing we involved them in the program."

Ross, a Negro, isn't stopping there. He knows the importance of an education. He was raised in a rough section of Chicago, orphaned at age 13, but went on to win a football scholarship at the University of Nebraska, where he received his degree.

"I'm going to work on borderline dropouts—talk to them, talk to their parents," says Ross. "I'm planing to work closely with the visiting teacher and probation officers."

Ross says San Antonio, Tex., has had success with a dropout prevention corps program and he would like to see one in Norfolk one day.

Meanwhile, Ross visits some of the neighborhood teen-age meeting places and tacks up posters advising children of the benefits of an education.

"Mainly in the black area, there's no one there encouraging him to go back to school," says Ross. "Sometimes it's the parents' fault — not showing him what he can get out of school."

Man Hard Core

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE October 28, 1969

NAB JOB-TRAINING PROGRAM

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the effort to eradicate poverty in our country necessitates the cooperation of both the Government and the private sector of our economy. The two, in concert, can develop and finance programs aimed at making all of our citizens contributing members of our society.

The National Alliance of Businessmen—NAB—and the Federal Government, largely through Outreach, have been working together for the past year on an NAB program to train the hard-core unemployed. Through this program, 229,679 previously unemployed men and women have received job training and been placed in jobs. Of these men and women, 54 percent have remained at work—a retention rate which approximates that for the working force as a whole.

On September 8, 1969, Newsweek published an article on the excellent work NAB has been doing through their training and employment program. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Newsweek, Sept. 8, 1969]

HOW TO HIRE THE HARD-CORE

When the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) launched its widely heralded effort to provide jobs for the hard-core unemployed early last year, there were scoffers who suggested that NAB would endure about as long as yesterday's headlines. Indeed, the group's formation did have some of the earmarks of one of those government-industry love-ins that all too often produce little, or nothing in the way of meaningful results. President Johnson summoned 500 of the nation's top businessmen to a dinner meeting in Washington, spelled out some ambitious goals, tapped Henry Ford II to head the operation—then left NAB pretty much on its own.

Yet NAB has confounded its critics by starting up fast—and actually gaining momentum. Its original goal was the placement of 100,000 workers by June 30 of this year. But that goal was reached before the end of 1968, and in an updated tally released last week, NAB reported that it has so far placed a total of 229,679 men and women—white, black, red and yellow—from the nation's urban slums and rural poverty pockets. More important, of those hired, 124,025 are still on the job—a retention rate of 54 per cent. That is just about the rate for the nation's white- and blue-collar work force as a whole.

MIND OPENERS

To the sellers of these results, both employer and employee have had to change. The typical hard-core unemployed livers [illegible] on a poverty level of $3,[illegible] a year [illegible] family of four; he is a high-school drop-out with no skills and no regular job for at least eighteen months. As often as not, he has a police record. "Employers are a lot more open minded than they used to be," says Paul W. Kayser, vice president for industrial relations of Pepsi Co., Inc., who is now serving as NAB president. "Until recently, most of these people [illegible]

For his part, the worker has to be convinced that somebody actually wants him. "Often," Kayser said, "they will be offered a job and won't show up simply because they are terrified of interviews. So what you have to do is arrange not only the interview but the means to get them to it."

To handle this chore, NAB has enlisted members of the government's Outreach program who seek out job candidates in ghetto bars and tenement buildings and then help them through the employment procedure. The Ford Motor Co., for one, has set up inner-city hiring halls in an effort to bring the job opportunity to the worker, while other companies ask longtime employees to shepherd new recruits through the first difficult months on the job.

Aside from the sheer numbers hired, perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the NAB program is the effort made at upgrading workers through on-the-job training. Even as Negroes in Chicago, Pittsburgh and other cities were demonstrating last week in an effort to gain more work in the building trades (page 34), NAB, with help from the Federal government, was expanding its in-plant, on-the-job training program to assist the hard-core.

During the present fiscal year, the government has set aside $120 million—by far the biggest slice of Federal manpower training funds—to finance programs at the 18,500 companies now participating in the NAB program. The average training grant is $3,000 per worker for an eighteen-month course. But in some cases the government will finance up to $5,000 in training. As one example, the Ford Motor Co. has hired some 2,800 workers at its inner-city employment centers at an average starting wage of $3.45 an hour. Already, "hundreds" of the new employees have moved up to higher-paying jobs through normal competition for better jobs. Currently, there are some 60,000 workers involved in training programs at NAB member plants and that number is certain to grow. Among other reasons, President Nixon's proposed new welfare program provides for an additional 150,000 job-training slots, many of which will presumably be in plants that are part of the NAB program.

Challenge: As far as most NAB leaders are concerned, the key to long-term success is training. As Donald M. Kendall, PepsiCo, Inc., president and NAB chairman, explained last week: "Say it takes a company $1,000 to train a regular employee; well, it might cost them $2,000 to train one of the hard-core unemployed. The government puts up the additional $1,000, but in one large area we studied, the government got its money back within 2 months [because of the savings in welfare costs, unemployment compensation and the sudden contribution of payroll taxes] That's not a bad investment for anyone."

But [illegible] NAB [illegible] face a challenge [illegible] the [illegible] NAB's vice chairman, Curtis [illegible] consortium [illegible] operate much like a [illegible]

[illegible] better than NAB that a great deal of work remains to be done. Estimates [illegible] hard-core unemployed who haven't been reached by NAB. The heath of the program also depends upon the continued health of the economy. As one Labor Department administrator observed: "If the economy takes a nose dive, this program is going to go to hell."

Still, for men like PepsiCo., Kendall, the effort is well worth the risk of disappointment. "The response has been marvelous by both business and the unemployed," he summed up last week. "In fact, I never would have dreamt of the response we would get when I first took over the job. It's been the most rewarding experience I have ever had."

NEW YORK TIMES DEC 15 1969

A Parley to Raise Hawaii Immigration Gets Plea to Curb It

HONOLULU, Dec. 14 (AP)—Gov. John A. Burns called a conference on immigration to examine ways to attract more Pacific and Asian peoples to the islands. However, at the conference he heard a plea from a labor leader that the doors to Hawaii's open society be closed.

Edward Tangen of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union said that Hawaii should take care of its own people first.

"The I.L.W.U. is not opposed to immigration," he said, "but is opposed to overpopulation or exploitation."

He said that his union did not want Hawaii's present work force "to run the risk of sharing the poverty solely for the purpose of priding ourselves on an open-door policy."

Governor Burns, in opening the conference Thursday, referred to Hawaii as an "open society that welcomes all visitors to our islands."

Increased immigration from the Pacific Basin, he said, is needed "to keep in balance that unique character of our society that makes us the envy of the world."

But Mr. Tangen retorted:

"We don't buy the argument that groups of people in the Pacific and Asian areas should be imported to maintain an ethnic balance.

"We are satisfied that a favorable balance should be maintained, based on the size of the labor force, the size of the total population and a

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~~LEAP~~ M-Bld Trades

WEEK OF JANUARY 4, 1970

URBAN LEAGUE OUTREACH CONTRACT
ADDS 900 MORE APPRENTICE CANDIDATES

WASHINGTON -- The Labor Department has extended to August 1971 a highly sucessful contract with the National Urban League that will prepare nearly 900 additional minority youths for apprenticeship entry tests in the construction trades.

Manpower Administrator Paul J. Fasser, Jr., recently announced that extension of the apprenticeship outreach contract for $1.4 million will increase to at least 3,700 the number of youths being prepared for apprenticeship.

In 34 cities the past year, the Urban League outreach program has recruited nearly 10,000 minority youth who wanted to enter the construction trades. To help them pass written exams for specific apprenticeship openings, AFL-CIO journeyman instructors gave the youths up to 10 weeks of "tutor and cram" schooling.

Through this past September, 2,755 of these youths had passed their exams and become apprentices.

"We had expected the League to place only about 1,000," Fasser said, pointing out that experience had shown that only 10 percent of all youth recruited could successfully pass tests and be placed.

"But the League has placed almost 2,800 -- nearly tripling its expected contract goal, -- without additional funds, also, and we salute the League for this outstanding accomplishment," the Manpower Administrator said.

(MORE)

The previous contract between the Urban League and the Department was for $1,697,015 to support 25 outreach projects in the 34 cities. Four of the projects embrace 13 cities.

Other apprenticeship outreach program sponsors include the Workers' Defense League, with 2,144 placed; the Building and Construction Trades Councils, AFL-CIO, with 2,257, and eight other organizations with 876, totaling more than 8,000 apprenticeship placements (including the Urban League) as of October 1, 1970.

In addition, the Urban League has a separate on-the-job training (OJT) contract to train 5,500 unemployed and underemployed persons in 17 States assisted with $7.2 million in Federal funds. The League had successfully placed 12,355 trainees in jobs through its OJT projects up to October of this year.

As a byproduct of the National Urban League's Apprenticeship Outreach programs, it is estimated that about 45,000 youths will nave attended classes to a major or minor extent and received instruction in mathematics, reading, and other trade-related subjects, although they did not complete classes.

The Outreach program recruits prospects through local State Employment Service offices, Apprenticeship Information Centers, and various community-action agencies.

Written and oral tests are given by joint apprenticeship comittees representing management and labor in each trade.

(MORE)

Apprenticeship Outreach sponsors also counsel and assist those apprentices selected to remain in their chosen apprenticeships until successful completion.

(MORE)

The following is a breakdown by city of apprentice placement goals and funds apportioned under the extended National Urban League contract:

Allocation By City

City	Apprentice Placement Goal	Funds
Akron	50	$ 83,892
Atlanta	100	113,648
Baltimore	150	139,760
Colorado Springs	60	81,566
*Columbia, S. C.	90	154,645
Columbus, Ohio	50	104,055
Dayton	45	98,552
Denver	80	85,202
**Flint	125	248,405
Hartford	30	57,471
Jacksonville	50	85,639
Kansas City, Mo. & Kansas	80	134,456
Los Angeles	100	148,629
Miami	65	93,679
Milwaukee	90	104,096
Minneapolis	60	67,123
New Orleans	70	96,488
Omaha	35	60,432
Phoenix-Tucson	140	178,057
Portland, Ore.	60	97,651
St. Louis	70	95,967
St. Paul	70	64,882
Tacoma	75	78,752
Tampa	40	67,210
Tulsa	45	101,414
Total	1,830	

* Includes Aiken, Charlotte, Greensville
** Includes Battle Creek, Muskegon, Lansing, Grand Rapids.

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M - Bldg Trades

NEWS from the AFL-CIO

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

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For Release:

A.M. PAPERS, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1970

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE PROGRAM 37, SERIES 9

The Nixon Administration has turned in a "pretty bad" first-year record in behalf of minority group Americans, with more show than substance, the AFL-CIO's Director of Civil Rights declared today.

Donald Slaiman said that unless the momentum of earlier administrations is again developed, "we will see a lot of razzle-dazzle, but a slowdown in minority progress." He made the statements on the AFL-CIO produced public service radio interview, LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, broadcast Tuesday at 7:35 p.m. (EST), on the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Even the "substantial amount of progress" in earlier administrations "wasn't enough," Slaiman said, despite the implementation of "excellent legislation" that helped stem unemployment and stimulate school desegregation, manpower and poverty programs. He said that "significant gaps" in unfulfilled minority expectations existed when President Nixon took office, but instead of pressing ahead, the Administration slowed "what was being done -- on school desegregation -- on voting -- on training -- on eliminating poverty -- and on maintaining the kind of high-level employment situation that would produce more (job) opportunities for minorities."

Slaiman said the Administration's Philadelphia Plan "is of questionable legality, of little practical value," and, "given the nature of the construction industry," will do little to "bring Negroes into permanent jobs." He stressed that the building trades unions had already gone forward with affirmative programs to recruit, train and place minority workers in permanent jobs. He said the union-sponsored Apprenticeship Outreach programs have placed more than 5300 minority youngsters in registered apprenticeships, many of them in such highly-skilled crafts as "electricians, the pipe trades, iron workers, sheet metal workers and carpenters."

The union spokesman charged that the Philadelphia Plan is "a political gambit . . . a calculated attempt to confuse the public . . . about doing something on the job front to cover up a retreat in civil rights." He said he doubts that the "minority community really buys the idea that with this effort, the Administration is really doing something for minorities."

Reporters questioning Slaiman on LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE were William Eaton of the Chicago Daily News and Frank Swoboda of Business Week magazine.

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(Text of LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE is available at Public Relations Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Room 405).

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE

PROGRAM 37, SERIES 9
Tuesday, January 6, 1970

SUBJECT : Civil Rights 1969

GUEST : Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights

REPORTERS: William Eaton, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Daily News
Frank Swoboda, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine

MODERATOR: Frank Harden

MUTUAL ANNOUNCER: The following time is presented as a public service by this station and the Mutual Broadcasting System.

HARDEN: LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE. Welcome to another edition of LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, a public affairs program brought to you by the AFL-CIO. LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE brings together leading AFL-CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights.

Equality of opportunity in every phase of life -- education, employment, voting, housing and all the rest -- is a basic tenet of America's trade union movement. Here to question Mr. Slaiman about developments in civil rights during the first year of the new Administration and the first session of the 91st Congress, are William Eaton, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, and Frank Swoboda, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine. Your moderator, Frank Harden.

And now, Mr. Eaton, I believe you have the first question?

EATON: Mr. Slaiman, how would you sum up the Nixon Administration's record on civil rights during the President's first year in office?

SLAIMAN: Well, I think it has been pretty bad -- since in previous administrations, we had a substantial amount of progress. Even that progress, we -- as well as the civil rights groups -- had concluded was just not enough, even though there had been excellent legislation and some implementation of it.

And, there was some especially significant economic progress, as a result of a decrease of unemployment, and an increase of manpower and poverty programs.

We had made substantial progress, but it wasn't enough.

In spite of this progress, there were significant gaps, not only in unfulfilled expectations, but in reality.

Then comes a new Administration that slows down what was being done -- on school desegregation -- on voting -- on training -- on eliminating poverty -- and on maintaining the kind of high-level employment situation that would produce more opportunities for minorities.

EATON: Mr. Slaiman, Attorney General Mitchell says there is about twice as much school desegregation now as there was in any year of the Johnson Administration. How do you say that that represents a slowdown?

SLAIMAN: Following the Supreme Court decision, the Congress, as well as the country, found that progress was at a snail's pace, instead of "all deliberate speed."

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare made regulations and used the powers they got under the Civil Rights Act -- sanctions -- where regulations weren't being followed, to end the dual school system in many states.

As they went along, the amount of desegregation accelerated.

Now, what you got this year, obviously, was more than the year before, and more than the year before that.

But, the Administration went into court and asked the courts to slow down.

This is the first time an Administration not only didn't take initiatives to implement the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, but asked the courts to slow down. And remember, this was fifteen years after the Supreme Court ruled that dual school systems should be ended "with all deliberate speed", and then found out, a decade and one-half later, it was too slow and asked for acceleration.

Then the Executive Department goes in and asks the court to slow down.

Now, Mr. Mitchell can't take credit for the fact that there is more desegregation in 1969 than there was in 1967. They may, after losing their battle with the courts, now turn around and acquiesce -- do the job that they should have started doing when they came into office.

SWOBODA: Mr. Slaiman, on the basis of the first year's performance, what do you see for the next three years in the area of civil rights?

SLAIMAN: Well, I am afraid that unless momentum is again developed in the country -- and this has its effect in Congress -- that we will see a lot of razzle-dazzle, but a slowdown in minority progress.

In fact, if the economic indicators continue the way they have been going, there could be substantial retrogression.

SWOBODA: Well, one of the programs that the Nixon Administration has come up with or the Labor Department has come up with -- is the Philadelphia Plan -- for hiring minority workers on construction jobs -- federal construction jobs. What is the AFL-CIO's position on this? Why did it oppose it, when the rider was put into the supplemental appropriations bill in Congress?

SLAIMAN: Well, we opposed it on three grounds:

The civil rights resolution that our convention in Atlantic City adopted made it very clear. We did not oppose the Philadelphia Plan because we want to slow down the entry of minorities into skilled construction jobs. We opposed it because it is of questionable legality and of little practical value. It surely wasn't intelligently conceived, given the nature of the

industry and what is needed to bring Negroes into permanent jobs.

We also opposed it because it is, we think, a calculated attempt to confuse the public -- not merely the minority public, but the public in general -- to confuse them about doing something on the job front to cover up for a retreat in civil rights. It wouldn't do anything on the job front.

EATON: Mr. Slaiman, why do you say that it wouldn't do anything on the job front, when it would give a substantial federal spur to contractors to hire more minorities, who allegedly, --and, I think, admittedly, by all sides -- have been generally excluded, along with other workers, from building trades unions?

SLAIMAN: Well, you see there are a lot of myths about what the situation is in construction. There was, as in other parts of the labor force in the past, discrimination.

Occasionally, one can find it even today.

But the supposition that you make is that there are large numbers of skilled minorities being kept out of jobs because of discrimination.

This is not true.

The Building Trades, at their convention in Atlantic City, not only called for accelerating and increasing the effort to bring minority youths into apprenticeships, where they could be trained while getting paid decent wages, and learning to become top-paid journeymen. They also called on all of their locals to take the initiative to bring in every qualified minority journeyman that could be found.

They went further. They said that these locals should explore programs to bring in minority workmen who are not qualified to become apprentices -- who aren't presently qualified journeymen.

In other words, they called for a three-point program. The first part has been highly successful already, in bringing minorities into the trades through apprenticeships, and bringing whatever journeymen there are into the unions.

They also called for further exploration of ways to bring in minorities who were not qualified in either of those categories.

This is the sound way to provide permanent jobs in increasing numbers for minorities in these trades. What the Administration proposed instead of this would not bring them in.

SWOBODA: Well, Mr. Slaiman, in that case, how would you characterize the efforts of Labor Secretary Shultz and Assistant Labor Secretary Arthur Fletcher, who is in charge of the Office of Federal Contract Appliance -- their efforts to integrate the building trades and the construction unions? Do you think they are off on a lark, or, what are they doing?

SLAIMAN: Well, first let me quote Secretary of Labor Shultz. He said, in effect, that the most favorable way to increase the number of minorities in the trades would be to get an area-wide, affirmative action program from the unions and the contractors -- a program that would bring minority youths and workmen, on a permanent basis, into the union and into the permanent labor supply for the area. He said this is better than the Philadelphia Plan they proposed.

In presentation of the Philadelphia Plan, there has been very loose use of facts by many people.

Let's make clear what the Philadelphia Plan says, as they presented it on September 23rd. It would not be for all construction, it would set ranges -- minimum ranges -- for contractors to hire minorities in each of the trades where minorities were poorly represented, on particular federal jobs.

Now, a particular construction job for a journeyman can last a week, a month, two months, two years, three years. Most of them don't have long duration.

So all that is proposed is to set a minimum number for a particular contractor on some jobs.

Then, all the contractor has to do is make a good-faith effort to try to meet this number.

If he meets the number without bringing a single new Negro into the labor force, this is adequate.

If his good faith effort doesn't find anybody, this is also adequate.

Now, this is no guaranteed plan to increase the number of minorities who will be skilled -- who will have permanent jobs -- who will be in the union -- on either count, either way.

SWOBODA: Well, Mr. Slaiman, in late December, just before Congress adjourned, the AFL-CIO took --appeared to take-- a very active role in trying to bring about the defeat of the Philadelphia Plan. Yet, last August, AFL-CIO President George Meany said that labor wouldn't take this type of role. Does this mean that labor is now taking a new position, or a new stand regarding the Philadelphia Plan— attacking it?

SLAIMAN: No, the labor movement, and the AFL-CIO has said that we agreed with the stated objective announced by the Secretary of Labor. That was, to take affirmative action to bring more minorities into skilled jobs.

We still agree with this objective.

When the Comptroller General announced that he felt that the Philadelphia Plan, as amended, as presented, was illegal, and that he didn't want to expend federal funds on any program where federal law would be violated, we felt it was incumbent upon us to support him, because this was our position.

Federal funds shouldn't be expended where the NLRA is violated -- where the Civil Rights Act is violated.

Our main interest, however, in this area is to maintain our positive stance on civil rights matters -- across-the-board -- to work with civil rights groups and all people of good will -- to improve the position of minorities in employment, and education, and housing without unnecessarily attacking and underminding the position and security of other people.

We think this can be done.

We think that more minorities can be brought into skilled jobs, not only in construction, but in all

sectors of the labor market. This can be done, if we have a good economic climate -- if we end discrimination -- if we have affirmative programs to make up for the gaps that exist in education and training -- gaps that were caused by discrimination in the whole of society.

For example, when people pointed out, very early, that one of the big problems in getting the skills necessary to be a journeyman in the key trades was getting into apprenticeship programs, we not only endorsed legislation to guarantee non-discrimination in apprenticeships -- we not only endorsed compliance with the regulations drawn up by the Labor Department -- we also took the initiative to help develop affirmative programs to recruit, and prep, and place minorities in apprenticeships.

Let's look at the results.

There are 109,000 apprentices -- registered apprentices -- in construction. The Outreach programs have placed, in the last few years -- not merely recruited, not merely involved, but placed -- more than 5,000 minority youngsters in registered apprenticeships -- 5,304, to be exact, by October 31, 1969. And they are working.

Of these 5,304, 4,948 were in the construction industry. Of those in construction, 2,910, 60 percent were not in the trowel trades, where there already were Negroes in substantial numbers. These men were placed in the electricians, and the pipe trades, iron workers, sheet metal workers, and carpenters.

Now, this kind of program is consistent, is permanent and solid. It brings minorities into the trades and into the best-skilled jobs with the highest skills. They will be there permanently. And it doesn't undermine anybody else's right to get in. It doesn't violate the intent of the law.

And, it produces results.

EATON: Mr. Slaiman, I think you said earlier that a contractor would be exempt from the Philadelphia Plan, if he were involved in actively recruiting minorities. Is that still in the Plan?

SLAIMAN: No.

I said that the Secretary had made the statement that an area-wide plan by contractors and unions -- an area-wide, affirmative plan -- would be preferable to any other method.

EATON: But, there is no exemption for contractors or unions involved in such a plan?

SLAIMAN: The Labor Department has never spelled out what they consider would be such an area-wide plan.

The present Outreach program for recruiting apprentices existed in Philadelphia before they started their plan. They obviously don't consider this a sufficient area-wide plan, but they haven't said why.

We have gone further.

We have recommended that the Outreach programs go beyond apprenticeship. But the Labor Department, knowing this -- the Administration, knowing this -- knowing what the Building Trades had voted unanimously -- knowing what has already been successful on the apprenticeship front -- went ahead with this quota plan -- deliberately.

EATON: It is sort of a "rubber quota" though, isn't it? You can go from five percent to seven percent -- it has a lot of flexibility. If you make a good faith effort, you don't even have to meet that quota -- it's very "rubber," isn't it?

SLAIMAN: That is precisely the point.

It sounds as though a great deal is being done, but it doesn't have substance.

Yet, it's been effective -- not in bringing in minorities, but effective in dividing minorities, and liberals, and labor. It has been effective in allowing the Administration to sell the idea that they were doing something significant on civil rights, after a whole record of action after action that infuriated the civil rights organizations and the minority community.

EATON: You mean, it was a good political gambit for them?

SLAIMAN: It was a political gambit -- it is a political gambit.

Clarence Mitchell, who didn't agree with us on the Philadelphia Plan, points out that this was a political move to divide civil rights groups and labor, over what he considers a minor problem. Even if it worked -- if it worked completely -- it would provide only a small number of jobs.

EATON: Well, now that the Administration has won this test in Congress, do you think they will extend it to other cities -- Chicago and Pittsburgh, for example -- where there have been many demands for more black hiring?

SLAIMAN: Well, if they do, they will again interfere with the solution of the problems that are being worked on in those cities.

In both Chicago and Pittsburgh, the coalitions and the building trades have been negotiating for some time, with, presumably the benign interest of the Administration, and it hasn't been over quotas or ranges.

It's been over what kind of affirmative programs would produce the best results, given the actual situation in the industry.

SWOBODA: Well then, in summary, would you consider the Philadelphia Plan to be the Administration's "red herring," to draw attention away from the other areas of civil rights?

SLAIMAN: Yes, I would. And I would say it's a very dangerous game. What if the same criteria were used in other industries? They occasionally imply they are doing this, but they are not.

Let's take a look -- let's take a look at the newspaper industry.

EATON: Very few have federal contracts.

SLAIMAN: I know. But they have lower figures for professional, technical and higher-paying jobs than those few, selected locals in the building trades.

Should all future hirees on the major newspapers be black, until they reach an agreed-upon percentage, regardless of whether people are applying, qualified and trained? Should there just

be a number set, and nobody else hired until that number is reached -- in the federal government -- or any industry?

EATON: Mr. Slaiman, do you think that President Nixon's success in getting the civil rights organizations to line up on one side, and organized labor to line up on the other side of the Philadelphia Plan, is going to be successful in 1970, in splitting the liberal-labor alliance that has been so successful in the past?

SLAIMAN: No, I do not.

EATON: Why not?

SLAIMAN: Because it isn't that simple -- that all the civil rights organizations are lined up.

Nor is it true, in my opinion, that the bulk of the minority community really buys the idea that with this effort, the Administration is really doing something for minorities.

HARDEN: Thank you, gentlemen. Today's guest on LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE was Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights. Representing the press were Frank Swoboda, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine, and William Eaton, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Daily News. This is your moderator, Frank Harden, inviting you to listen again next week. LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE is a public affairs production of the AFL-CIO, produced in cooperation with the Mutual Broadcasting System.

MUTUAL ANNOUNCER: The preceding program time was presented as a public service by this station and the Mutual Broadcasting System. The opinions expressed are solely those of the participants.

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M – Bldg Trades

The Chicago Plan

An Agreement for the Implementation of Employment of Minorities in the Chicago Building and Construction Industry

January 12, 1970

Additional Copies Available
from
Building and Construction Trades Department AFL-CIO
815-16th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

1-17-70 M-Bldg Trades - EEO

Philadelphia Plan Assailed As Masking Rights Retreat

Meany Calls Job Quotas Unworkable

The Philadelphia plan won't help a bit to increase the number of minority-group jobs in the construction industry and is simply a "concoction and contrivance" designed to mask the Administration's overall retreat on civil rights, AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany declared.

Meany, in a speech at the National Press Club in Washington, said "I have seen more misinformation and confusion about the Philadelphia plan from columnists, editorial writers and public officials than anything I have seen or heard in a long time."

The plan, which sets up government-determined "goals" for minority-group hiring on major federal construction jobs, would have been killed in the Senate by a rider to an appropriations bill on the ground that racial quotas in hiring are a violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Rider Removed

However, the rider was removed in subsequent votes of the House and Senate after a vigorous push from the Administration which included a White House press conference by Sec. of Labor George P. Shultz and Assistant Sec. Arthur Fletcher.

Meany described as "just plain, ordinary bunk" many of the press accounts of the plan, including one columnist's description of the congressional action as "the most important civil rights vote in the history of the country."

On the contrary, Meany said, the plan "served its purpose when it got the Madison Avenue publicity

(Continued on Page 11)

Meany Calls Quotas Unworkable:

Philadelphia Plan Assailed As Masking Rights Retreat

(Continued from Page 1)

job that was done on it." In actual practice, he said, the plan "will fall of its own dead weight."

"Perhaps the greatest drawback to the plan," he said, "is that it diverts attention from the real solid task of training and qualifying minority workers for a permanent place in the ranks of skilled workers, available and qualified for employment on all of the construction work in an area, not just the federally-financed work."

Such a solution is offered, Meany said, by the Apprenticeship Outreach program inaugurated by the AFL-CIO and its affiliates two and one-half years ago. In contrast to Outreach, he said, the Philadelphia plan has these shortcomings:

- The plan applies only to construction work and then on a job basis, which could mean employment for only a few months, while making no provision for getting minority-group members into permanent places in the area work force.
- A contractor could comply with the Philadelphia plan by transfering workers from private jobs to government jobs, without bringing any new workers into the work force at all.
- A "good-faith" effort is all that is needed for compliance, and a contractor could dismiss the responsibility with "one phone call to some source."

"The only sound method to bring minority representatives into the skilled construction trades is the comprehensive program outlined by the Building Trades and backed up in every

Recession, Inflation At the Same Time?

The Nixon Administration's anti-inflation policy isn't working because the key problem is "profit inflation," not catch-up wages, AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany said.

In answer to a question at the National Press Club, he warned that the Administration policy could bring about "a very strange phenomenon —a recession and inflation at the same time."

While "that's going to take a lot of doing," Meany observed, "it looks like Nixon may be able to do it."

that could be helpful in the black community—it would seem that this attempt to use the Building Trades as a whipping boy could be designed to give the Nixon Administration a few Brownie points to offset their shortcomings in the civil rights area as a whole."

Meany also contrasted the Administration's attitude toward the Building Trades with its approach to three big textile firms in the Carolinas—J. P. Stevens, Burlington and Dan River Mills. He said Shultz had pointed with pride to a six-month report that minority employment in those mills had risen nine-tenths of 1 percent, reach an overall ratio as of Sept. 30 of 18.3 percent under the pressure of the Labor Dept. "Big Deal. They came up to 18.3 percent in their employment of minority groups. This could be compared to the

Meany called for a similar breakdown by skills on employes of the southern textile mills. "Well, this isn't done," he said. "They don't break down the figures. They take the whole thing en masse and if you took the whole thing en masse, the Building Trades would be No. 1 in this area in the country.

"Nobody would be ahead of them—no manufacturers, no industrial set-up, not the auto workers or anyone else.

"Still, they try to make a whipping boy out of them because the percentage of the skilled trades is not as high as they would like to see," Meany said. "We would like to see it higher and the unions in skilled trades are doing what they can to make it higher."

And if breakdowns according to skills are going to be made, Meany said he'd like to see the same done for the textile mills, but "this would not fit in with the southern strategy" of the Administration.

Meany also refuted the figures of minority-group membership in the Philadelphia Building Trades on which the Philadelphia plan was based. The Labor Dept. set the figures for the Iron Workers at 12 minority-group members out of 850, or 1.4 percent.

"Our official union records show a different picture," Meany said. "We show that there is not one Iron Worker local union in Philadelphia, there are five. The total membership is not 850, it is 3,575, of whom 690, or 19 percent, are from minority groups."

He also challenged the statement that 302 Iron Workers

VOTER REGISTRATION efforts of organized labor for the 1970 elections are discussed by LaRoy H. Purdy, assistant to the president of the Communications Workers, and national COPE Dir. Al Barkan, right. Purdy is on loan to the AFL-CIO to direct the COPE registration campaign. He held the same post in 1968 when 4.5 million persons were added to voter rolls.

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"The only sound method to bring minority representatives into the skilled construction trades is the comprehensive program outlined by the Building Trades and backed up in every way by the AFL-CIO," Meany said. "Even Sec. Shultz, after singing the praises of this [Philadelphia] plan, recognized its limitations just a few days ago when he strongly endorsed what he called an area-wide, multi-employer program.

"This is what we have. This is what Outreach is. But it was started under a previous Administration. It started under a different Secretary of Labor, and of course, it doesn't have the attraction of being something that can be attributed to this Administration," Meany observed causticly.

"And when we contemplate the record of this Administration in the civil rights field—the softening on voters' rights, delayed desegregation of the schools in the South, the attempt to put Strom Thurmond's baby on the Supreme Court, the cutting back of programs that could be helpful in the black community—it would seem that this attempt to use the Building Trades as a whipping boy could be designed to give the Nixon Administration a few Brownie points to offset their shortcomings in the civil rights area as a whole."

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But the 30 percent minority-group involvement in the trades in Philadelphia is called meaningless, Meany noted, because it includes the membership in the "trowel trades," while the Philadelphia plan is "directed especially to iron workers, plumbers, carpenters, steam fitters, sheet metal workers and electricians."

Meany said the charge is often made that blacks are not admitted to the highly-skilled trades but only to the low-wage, dirty jobs. "First of all," he went on, "there are no low-wage jobs in the building trades. Lower paid at $7 an hour is not too much lower paid. And as far as dirty jobs are concerned, there are no clean jobs. They are all dirty."

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He also challenged the statement that 302 Iron Workers from minority groups were available for union membership in Philadelphia. Meany said the union president John H. Lyons, wrote to Shultz asking for names and addresses and pledging that these persons would be given every assistance in securing employment.

Shultz responded that it would be impractical to provide the names, Meany said, "because of the nature of the information-gathering techniques used by the Dept. of Labor." Meany said it therefore "seems reasonable to suggest that the Secretary of Labor might look over the fact-finding process that prevails in his department."

He said the labor movement had no apology to make for its commitment to civil rights and the stories which said the Philadelphia plan was splitting labor away from civil rights groups were not true. Meany traced labor's close ties with civil rights groups in various legislative programs, including its 1963 insistence on getting a fair employment practices clause into civil rights legislation at a time when the Kennedy Administration gave up on being able to get it passed.

The clause was included in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Meany said, but the power to issue cease-and-desist orders to enforce it was stricken from the bill. That fight is still going on, he said.

"At the present time, the AFL-CIO and all of the civil rights groups are fighting side by side to re-establish these powers under the bill and the Nixon Administration, including the Secretary of Labor and the Assistant Secretary of Labor, are opposing these powers."

In contrast to the publicity surrounding the Philadelphia plan, Meany said the Outreach Program is progressing steadily, with minority-group participation in apprenticeship up to 9.4 percent from the 2.5 percent of 1960.

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M – Bldg. Trades EEO 1-17-70

Chicago Minorities Pact Hailed as Pattern-Setter

The "Chicago plan" to step-up employment and training of Negro and other minority group workers in the construction industry is a "significant forward step," AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany said, and a possible guide for other areas of the nation.

The agreement, setting an immediate target of 4,000 job and training opportunities, was signed in Chicago's City Hall by the Chicago & Cook County Building Trades Council, the employers' association, and the Coalition for United Community Action, which includes black neighborhood groups.

"Its most important attribute," Meany said, "is that this multi-employer, area-wide agreement is truly a hometown product, developed by men aware of the problems, needs and practicalities of this area.

"It is an achievable program, that rests four-square on mutual trust. As such, it is vastly superior to any government-imposed quota system—which is, of course, artificial and discriminatory."

Meany's comments, contrasting the Chicago plan with the Labor Dept.'s government-dictated Philadelphia plan, were made in a letter to C. J. Haggerty, president of the

(Continued on Page 11)

1-17-70 AFL-CIO News

Chicago Minorities Pact Hailed as Key to Jobs

(Continued from Page 1)

AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept.

Meany noted that the agreement is "substantially in line" with the policy set by the building trades unions at the department's recent convention "and with the continuing policy of the AFL-CIO."

He promised the continuing cooperation of the federation's Dept. of Civil Rights in making the program work.

"The Chicago agreement may well serve as a guide to Building Trades councils in other areas as they implement your convention policy," Meany added.

He suggested that the department send copies of the agreement to its affiliated councils "for their study and consideration, for it is a worthy extension of Operation Outreach, which has already proven itself."

Six Months of Negotiations

In Chicago, delegates to the Building Trades Council unanimously endorsed the plan. Its key points had been proposed earlier by the unions and employers, but rejected last fall by the community action coalition. With help from Mayor Richard J. Daley, talks were resumed and agreement reached, ending six months of sometimes bitter confrontation.

Robert McGlotten of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights helped bridge the gap between the black community groups and the construction industry unions and employers.

With the proviso "if general business conditions permit," the parties to the agreement "hope to achieve . . . over a period of not more than five years, a level of minority group employes proportionate to their percent in the community at large."

It stresses that neither skill standards nor collective bargaining provisions will be discarded or diluted in working toward greater minority group employment.

The first-stage target of 4,000 jobs contemplates:

- Recruitment of 1.000 workers, already possessing the skills of their trade, who will be accepted into the unions as full journeymen.

Last September, before the community action coalition agreed to the program, a construction industry labor-management committee opened a recruitment center for journeymen in the black community.

- Workers with at least two years of experience in a craft but with less than journeymen skills will work a 30-day probationary period and then be slotted into the appropriate step of the apprenticeship scale, as determined by the Joint Apprenticeship Committee for the craft. Alternatively, a special training program will be set up.
- Inexperienced young men from 17 to 23 would be eligible for a one-month pre-apprenticeship training program, similar to the Outreach program, to prepare them for apprenticeship tests.
- An on-the-job training program in industries where this is practicable for persons who do not wish to take the apprenticeship test or who fail the test.

The community groups would be expected to recruit applicants for the various programs—a source of difficulty in earlier efforts to increase minority membership in the skilled crafts. Applicants would have had to have been residents of Chicago for over one year.

An administrative committee for the program will include two union representatives, two employer representatives, two coalition representatives and the mayor or his designated representative. Each craft would have its own operations committee of four coalition representatives (who would be expected to be knowledgeable in the craft or industry involved) and two representatives each from the union and employers.

Fund-Raising Operations

Any action by the administrative committee would require approval by at least five of the seven members. The committee's functions would include fund-raising to finance the programs developed by the operations committees, including recruitment, counseling and staffing.

Thomas J. Murray, president of the Chicago Building Trades Council, termed the agreement "historic." He added:

"We are confident that if economic conditions permit, we will move ahead rapidly in bringing more minority youth into our industry. We will do this without diluting our standards, conditions and agreements."

Wall St. Jnl 2.2.70 M-Bldg. Trades

Building Trades Are Yielding to Pressure, But Blacks Wonder if Jobs Will Open Up

By THOMAS LINDLEY EHRICH
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PITTSBURGH—"This is a monumental occasion," proclaimed William J. Usery Jr. Assistant U.S. Secretary of Labor.

"We didn't get anything," countered Nate Smith, an ex-prize fighter, and a leader of the Black Construction Coalition, a militant local group pressing for more jobs for blacks in well-paying construction jobs.

Both men were talking about a document made public last Friday after four months of heated negotiations involving the coalition, building trades unions and local construction-industry officials. The talks, sometimes mediated by Mr. Usery, were designed to solve a dispute that had triggered street demonstrations and temporary closedowns of construction projects in Pittsburgh last summer.

The document, "An Affirmative Action Program for Minority Progress for the Construction Industry," is intended to bring unions and builders here into compliance with a Federal executive order requiring that they grant minority workers equal opportunity for jobs in Federally aided construction work.

Federal Pressure

It was the latest in a series of signs that increasing Federal pressure is forcing building trades unions and contractors to unusual steps in attempting to correct the long-standing under-representation of Negroes in skilled construction trades. Only last month, a similar agreement involving black groups, unions and contractors was hammered out in Chicago under the eye of Mayor Daley. Just last week, the plumbers union signed a labor department agreement meant to increase journeymen's openings for Negroes.

Despite these apparent signs of emerging solutions to an old problem, there's some doubt how far such moves will go toward really opening many jobs to blacks. The Pittsburgh "agreement," for instance, was causing disagreement even before it was unveiled Friday. Thus, it was hastily redesignated a "Memorandum of Understanding," but then there wasn't unanimity as to just what had been understood.

The Pittsburgh program sets up a tripartite committee of union, industry and coalition representatives. It will develop training programs for minority workers. The plan also provides that the committee can interview graduating trainees and refer them to "craft selection committees" for union membership, but it doesn't require the unions to accept them.

In fact, nothing in the document is binding on individual craft unions—a sore point with the blacks. It was signed by the Building Trades Council of Pittsburgh, which is made up of several construction unions and which had voted "unanimously" to approve the document. But council president William Lally said actual participation in the plan is left to the unions and is contingent upon approval by rank-and-file members, who haven't been known for their sympathy toward the black job demands.

Only a Beginning

Black spokesman were quick to call the document only a beginning, not a solution to the problem. Lloyd Bell, chief spokesman for the coalition, called it "a first step toward building a complete affirmative action program, a skeleton to which meat must be added." It was the blacks who belatedly demanded that the document not be called an "agreement," which they felt would have suggested compliance with the Federal executive order.

The question of compliance is crucial because Federal construction funds have been held up pending evidence that Pittsburgh builders will come into line with the executive order. One industry official estimated that some $50 million in Federal construction money has been "frozen" pending compliance.

Unions and contractors argued that the document amounted to compliance. "We feel Federal funds should be released on the basis of what was done today," said Pasquale Navarro, vice president of the Master Builders Association, a contractors' group.

Mr. Lally of the union group said labor officials take a similar position, but he commented that the plan "doesn't obligate the unions to change their policies."

The "Memorandum of Understanding" itself doesn't specify how many blacks will be aided. However, a supplementary letter sent by the contractors to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, an enforcement arm of the Labor Department, stated the contractors' intention to "make a good faith effort to employ 1,250 new minority journeymen" over a four-year period. But that number was contingent upon all unions approving the plan, and would be reduced proportionately if any unions balked.

Mr. Usery of the Labor Department wouldn't comment on whether compliance with the Federal executive order had been achieved. Some industry and union men angrily commented after the press conference that Mr. Bell's remarks might lead to a continuation of the Federal fund freeze. Mr. Smith of the black coalition said that was precisely what the blacks had in mind.

Despite apparent loopholes and the need for further negotiations, Mr. Usery hailed the Pittsburgh plan and said the Labor Department hopes for more such "home-town solutions." He said: "We're hopeful this is the initial step that will pave the way not only in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, but in the rest of the country."

Similar negotiations on the same problem have been underway in other cities, including St. Louis, Detroit, Atlanta and Seattle. In Philadelphia, the Government has initiated a controversial plan of ensuring black representation on Federal construction that numerous critics contend is an illegal, racial-hiring quota system. The Philadelphia plan, viewed unfavorably by the unions, has served as a prod in the negotiations in Pittsburgh and elsewhere.

M - Bldg Trades

Week of February 9, 1970

AFL-CIO UNION COUNCILS TO PROVIDE APPRENTICESHIPS FOR MINORITY YOUTHS IN 2 CITIES

WASHINGTON -- Building and construction trades union councils in three areas will prepare 180 minority youths for skilled-craft apprenticeship examinations, the U.S. Department of Labor has announced.

The San Antonio Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO, has a new one-year contract, supported with $46,790 in Federal funds, to prepare 40 minority youths. The Council has already placed 42 youths as: carpenters (11), cement masons (3), electricians (4), plumber-pipe fitters (11), sheetmetal workers (10), and an elevator constructor, an ironworker, and a painter.

The Oklahoma City Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO, has a new one-year contract, supported with $49,620 in Federal funds, to train 40 minority youths. Among the 111 trainees previously placed in Oklahoma City by the Council were 9 bricklayers, 15 carpenters, 1 cement mason, 4 electricians, 1 ironworker, 2 operating engineers, 5 painters, 7 plumbers-pipefitters, 57 roofers, and 10 sheetmetal workers.

The Southern California Area Construction Opportunity Program has a one-year contract, supported with $126,187 in Federal funds, to train 100 minority youths from Orange, Riverside, and San Bernardino Counties. No previous contract existed for this area.

(MORE)

The contracts all call for up to 10 weeks of training to prepare the youths to pass specific apprenticeship entrance examinations, particularly in the building and construction trades.

The Apprenticeship Outreach program, aimed exclusively at minorities, uses the "tutor and cram" technique, to help youths enter the building and construction trades.

Youths who indicate interest and aptitude will be "drafted" to study for apprenticeship tests as openings occur. Program people will select the apprentices from among the larger group of aspirants. Skilled craftsmen and other specialists will be hired to develop materials and coach the prospective apprentices.

A project director will be employed to maintain liaison with employers, unions, joint apprenticeship committees, the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, and others.

# # #

Outlook for '70:

Battle Over National Priorities Emerges in Halls of Congress

The following is excerpted from "Congress and National Priorities," an article in the February issue of the American Federationist by AFL-CIO Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller.

THE FIRST SESSION of the 91st Congress will be remembered for passage of major tax legislation, the Senate's rejection of a Supreme Court nomination and the drawing of sharp battle lines with the Administration over appropriations, or what amounts to the ordering of national priorities.

The first two are history. The tax reform bill, while not as sweeping as the AFL-CIO proposed, was nonetheless the biggest step toward tax justice since 1912. The rejection of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr. for the Supreme Court is distinctive only as an example of what a concerned coalition can accomplish on a basic issue.

But the appropriations battle has barely started. It will be the name of the game throughout the second session—indeed the first action of the second session was the fight against a presidential veto in an attempt to add much-needed funds to education and health. The bid to override the veto failed in the House, but the fight for such funds will continue.

The AFL-CIO was totally involved on these issues in the first session and will be in the second session—joining the battle for adequate funds for the great social programs begun in the 1960s. Without the money—previously promised by Congress—these programs will wither and die in the 1970s.

Early in 1969 signs of a tax revolt among middle and low-income Americans were growing in the aftermath of publicity given a Treasury report of tax-dodging by millionaires and others of extreme wealth. The report confirmed charges labor had made for some time without getting publicity.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, testified that workers are "willing to pay their fair share" but are fed up with paying a share for millionaires. The federation proposed closing major loopholes to raise $16 billion in new revenue—enough to provide $9 billion for domestic programs and grant $7 billion in tax relief to low-and middle-

Congress came in the Senate at just past noon on Friday, Nov. 21. Packed galleries watched intently as the roll of Senators was called. When it was completed, the Senate rejected the nomination of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr. to the Supreme Court, 55-45.

Labor seeks extensive social security reforms through a bill introduced last year by Rep. Jacob H. Gilbert (D-N.Y.). It calls for further improvements in benefits; expansion of Medicare to cover prescription drugs and the disabled; financing of medical insurance on a contributory basis during working years; cost-of-living protection for benefits; an increase in the taxable earnings base and bringing the government in on social security financing.

THE 1969 SESSION passed two important safety bills: The Federal Construction Safety Act authorizing the Secretary of Labor to set safety standards for federal and federally assisted construction, and the Federal Coal Mine Health & Safety Act to set safety and health standards in coal mining and provide workmen's compensation to miners covering "black lung" disease.

These were other highlights of the first session, including the progress or lack of it on issues left to the current session:

- Congress extended for two years from June 30, 1969, the Office of Economic Opportunity and its anti-poverty programs, after the House voted down, 231-163, an attempt by the conservative coalition to turn the program over to the states.
- The same House coalition managed to scrap the 1965 Voting Rights Act to facilitate voter registration for Negroes in the South. It substituted an Administration program that would abolish close supervision of the South. Labor will press for extension of the 1965 act in the Senate.
- Congress approved a $4.8 billion, one-year expansion of major federal programs for public housing, rent supplements, urban renewal and government-backed housing insurance programs.
- The House approved a labor-backed constitutional amendment to abolish the Electoral College and choose the President and Vice President by direct vote. The Senate still must act.

By Press Associates, Inc.

WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE suddenly discovered that a great many of their fellow Americans suffer from hunger or at least malnutrition, despite huge agricultural surpluses, they also discovered that hunger can be a worldwide problem.

There are, of course, areas of the world where hunger has been endemic—India, for example—but for most Americans the thought of a hungry world has been somewhat remote.

Yet, for many food scientists, the problem is by no means a theoretical matter. It is very real. Ever since Malthus published his theory that sooner or later human population would outrun food production, there has been a debate on the subject that is becoming increasingly heated.

There is one school—the "green revolution" one—that is convinced that Malthus was all wrong. They envision a continuing growth of food production through improved agricultural technology, use of fertilizers, new, highly productive and disease-resistant strains of useful plants and the cultivation of that vast storehouse of rich protein, the ocean, as holding the answer to increasing food needs.

There is a second school that takes the position that this optimism is unwarranted. Only recently two Stanford University scientists published a report contending that at least half a billion people in the world are undernourished or "slowly starving" while another billion are malnourished, that is suffering from nutrient deficiency.

They further contend that India alone would need half the world's present production of fertilizers to reach the scale applied in the Netherlands, and that hope for getting more food from the sea is made doubtful by problems of over-exploitation, pollution and economics.

The Population Reference Bureau early this year also published a study making the startling statement that "if all food in the world were equally distributed and each human received identical quantities, we would all be malnourished." This study contended that the only well-fed areas of the world are in the United States and Canada, parts of Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand and La Plata countries of Latin America.

The Russians, East Europeans and Japanese, the study said, belong to an in-between group, while Asia, Africa and most of Latin America are critical hunger areas.

WHATEVER THE MERITS of the conflicting viewpoints, the reality of hunger in the present world, our own country included, cannot be neglected.

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The bill worked out in conference passed the House, 381-2, and the Senate, 71-6. All opposing votes were cast by Republicans. It was signed into law by the President on Dec. 30, known as the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

Although the new law narrows long-favored capital gains tax treatment, it does not go far enough. The capital gains loophole remains an attractive tax escape for high income individuals.

However, the law is a good start toward tax justice. It contains notable reforms, most of which were opposed by the heaviest special-interest lobbying on any one bill in history.

The Senate rejected, 59-27, an amendment to the tax bill sponsored by Sen. Paul J. Fannin (R-Ariz.) and pushed by the National Right to Work Committee. It would have stripped unions from tax exempt status if they engaged in political activities, including non-partisan voter registration.

The most dramatic vote in the first session of safety bills: The Federal Construction Safety Act authorizing the Secretary of Labor to set safety standards for federal and federally assisted construction, and the Federal Coal Mine Health & Safety Act to set safety and health standards in coal mining and provide workmen's compensation to miners covering "black lung" disease.

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- The House approved a labor-backed constitutional amendment to abolish the Electoral College and choose the President and Vice President by direct vote. The Senate still must act.
- The Administration proposed extending unemployment insurance coverage to 4.8 million uncovered workers. The House approved an even smaller extension, 4.5 million. The AFL-CIO seeks extension to all of some 16 million workers plus federal standards for minimum benefits.

In this session, the AFL-CIO will press for a number of new social measures, strengthening of some existing ones and completion of some unfinished business from 1969.

Congressional action is needed to extend coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act and increase its minimum wage to $2 an hour; apply federal standards to workmen's compensation; protect workers' pension rights; expand manpower programs and secure wage increases for federal employes.

Other labor goals will be advancement of a bill to establish a National Health Insurance program covering all Americans, additional consumer protection and critically-needed new restraints on air and water pollution.

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M — Bldg Trades

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WHATEVER THE MERITS of the conflicting viewpoints, the reality of hunger in the present world, our own country included, cannot be neglected.

Just as the United States suddenly appears to have come to the conclusion that today's pollution of the environment must be met head on and eliminated, so it would appear that a study of our natural resources and their conservation should be next in line.

The United States still has great resources in arable, food-producing land. Yet each year about 1 million acres of arable and semi-arable land are swallowed up by advancing industrialization and population growth—highways, airports, industrial plants—leaving the cities constantly expanding housing developments.

Just the physical loss of land is becoming more and more serious. In addition, the use of pesticides and fertilizers, urgently needed to produce larger and larger crops from smaller and smaller acres, is becoming a pollution problem of major proportions. The day may well come when their use will be barred or limited in the interest of a livable environment.

American expenditures for conservation of our Natural Resources are not commensurate with the problem. The Nixon 1971 budget, for example, earmarks $4.6 billion for natural resources, including recreational facilities, water resources and power. Of this, about $1 billion is for land management and other natural resources work.

These modest outlays in a $200 billion budget are not believed by conservationists to be adequate for the huge job that must be done if our people are to continue to remain among that small group of people who are well fed.

MEANINGFUL JOBS with real opportunities for minority workers are the objectives of the labor-backed Chicago plan, declares Robert McGlotten, center, of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights. McGlotten was interviewed on Labor News Conference by Sam Sharkey, left, of the Newhouse Newspapers and William Eaton of the Chicago Daily News. The radio program is aired Tuesdays at 7:35 p.m. on the Mutual Broadcasting System.

M- Bldg Trade

A $3 MILLION LOAN from the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust Fund made possible this housing project in Pittsburgh. When completed, Penn Circle Tower will provide low-cost housing for 152 families.

Labor's Mortgage Trust Held Way To Build Jobs as Well as Homes

The placement of union pension money in the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust "offers a means to build unionism, create union jobs and aid union contractors caught in the tight money squeeze," AFL-CIO Urban Affairs Dir. John Evans says in an article for the labor press.

Evans explains the five-year-old Mortgage Investment Trust (MIT) as an opportunity for unions to help ease the nation's critical need of new housing for low- and moderate-income families. "At the same time, it is providing a better rate of yield on invested union monies and at a higher degree of security than many pension funds now realize." he observes.

The trust now has construction loans working in five major cities with projects in the planning stage in as many more. Evans

For unions which do not want to disturb their present investment program, Evans proposes the alternative of pledging a percentage of each month's new available funds to the MIT. The Painters international union and Local 77 of the Operating Engineers have done this

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Industry in 'Shambles':

Keenan Asks Action To Revive Housing

High interest rates have foreclosed on the dream of home ownership for millions of American families, the House Banking & Currency Committee was told.

Sec. Joseph D. Keenan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers blamed current anti-inflation policies which "have made a shambles of the housing industry and are self-defeating since they are directly responsible for the soaring increase in the price of both new and existing housing."

The housing industry has been victimized by a one-two combination of high interest rates and tight money, he said.

Keenan, testifying at a hearing on housing mortgage funds, said the foremost challenge of the decade will be to assure a decent home and suitable environment for every American family. These goals were established in the Housing Act of 1949 and reaffirmed 19 years later in the Housing & Urban Development Act of 1968, he observed.

An AFL-CIO vice president, Keenan is chairman of the federation's committee on housing.

He told the Banking & Currency Committee that a number of bills it is considering are imaginative responses to the problems strangling the housing industry. They include:

- A proposal by Representatives Leonor K. Sullivan (D-Mo.) and William A. Barrett (D-Pa.) to create a Home Owners Mortgage Loan Corporation. It is intended to assist many middle-income families whose housing needs have been inadequately provided for.
- Committee Chairman Wright Patman's proposal to establish a
- Another proposal by Patman for the Mortgage Investment Act, designed to help meet national housing goals through the purchase of mortgages with private pension funds and Federal Reserve assets.

Keenan said there is much overlap between the Sullivan-Barrett bill and Patman's proposal for a development bank. He suggested the committee consider consolidating both bills into a National Housing & Development Bank bill.

He also noted that there is a growing consensus to make the Federal Reserve Board more responsive to the will of both the President and the Congress. Yet, he said, there are strong arguments for keeping an independent Federal Reserve and much more study and information is needed before any changes should be considered.

The impact of present monetary policy and inflation is severely hurting the housing industry, Keenan declared.

"Our nation's money managers in their insensitive wisdom were not satisfied with the impact of high interest rates so they implement policies which dried up the availability of credit," he said.

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The trust now has construction loans working in five major cities with projects in the planning stage in as many more, Evans says. He notes that the program has been expanded recently because of the housing crisis, which he describes as the worst in 20 years.

"Basically, the supply of housing has not kept pace with population increases or the current steep climb of marriages by the 'war babies' of 25 years ago," Evans says.

"With interest at a 100-year high and land costs high, the day of the $10,000 or $15,000 home is pretty well gone. The average price for a new home is over $20,500 and the typical wage and salary earner is already priced out of it."

All of this has resulted in a drop in housing construction to below the 1950 level, he notes, and the trade union movement is feeling the crunch—with unemployment in housing construction averaging 11.1 percent between 1960 and 1968.

At the same time, Evans points out, various unions have "some **$20 billion in union pension and welfare funds invested through banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions and only 5 or 6 percent of the total is invested in mortgages."**

Often, the unions are able to exercise little control over this money, it is pointed out, and there is no guarantee that it won't be used for loans to non-union contractors or anti-union firms. Also, the investment may not be yielding as much to the union as the 8 percent that can probably be expected from new investments in the MIT.

The long-range goal for MIT is described as $1 billion, with several hundred million sought immediately. The fund has grown by almost $3 million in the last two calendar quarters, Evans reports, and several million more has been pledged.

Certificates in MIT are issued in units of $500, with a minimum investment of $1,000, Evans explains, and the plan has the flexibility of allowing funds to be withdrawn on 60 days notice.

For unions which do not want to disturb their present investment program, Evans proposes the alternative of pledging a percentage of each month's new available funds to the MIT. The Painters international union and Local 77 of the Operating Engineers have done this recently.

All funds invested are insured by the Federal Housing Authority when held to maturity, Evans explains in pointing out that the security of MIT is often greater than in trusts in which union funds are now invested. If the mortgages are sold before maturity, they are subject to the FHA market prices, Evans notes.

It is a program "which will return a reasonable, secure yield, afford direct control over use of our own money and help solve a national problem too," Evans says. "Similar opportunities do not readily come to mind."

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- Committee Chairman Wright Patman's proposal to establish a National Development Bank that would finance housing for low- and moderate-income citizens who suffer from the tight money squeeze and high interest rates.

He also noted that there is a growing consensus to make the Federal Reserve Board more responsive to the will of both the President and the Congress. Yet, he said, there are strong arguments for keeping an independent Federal Reserve and much more study and information is needed before any changes should be considered.

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"Our nation's money managers in their insensitive wisdom were not satisfied with the impact of high interest rates so they implement policies which dried up the availability of credit," he said.

"Mortgage credit accounted for about one-third of the cutback in total outstanding credit in 1966. It is a gross injustice to impose one-third of the cutback necessary to reduce inflation on an industry which comprises 3.5 percent of the gross national product."

The money crunch has hurt low- and moderate-priced housing the most, Keenan noted. He compared the declines between 1965 and 1966: "The sale of housing priced under $12,500 dropped 51 percent; houses priced between $12,500 and $15,000 declined 42 percent, and those between $15,000 and $17,000 slid 20 percent."

While low and moderate housing was being massacred, the sale of housing priced over $30,000 rose 10 percent, Keenan pointed out.

There is a general agreement on the need to stop inflation, he noted, but "the disagreement is how to stop it and who should bear the burden of anti-inflation policies."

"Organized labor believes in a selective approach—the rifle as opposed to the blunderbuss—whereby efforts are made to control the areas of the economy which are causing the inflation."

Keenan said that inflation has been a convenient excuse for not recognizing the fundamental inadequacies of the mortgage instrument. Mortgages cannot compete with other forms of investment, and the result is that housing suffers even in periods when the economy prospers.

He cited the labor movement's efforts to ease the housing crisis through the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust. Unions and other labor organizations participate in the trust for investment in federally-insured or guaranteed construction loans and mortgages.

The IBEW pension fund and its affiliated funds own about 16,000 mortgages valued at more than $250 million, Keenan reported. He said the union plans to invest about $40 million in FHA and VA mortgages during 1970.

Nixon Outlines Broad Program To Combat Air, Water Pollution

(Continued from Page 1)

cleaning up the nation's environment:

WATER—Adopt uniform federal standards for purity. Encourage municipalities to build sewage treatment plants by offering $4 billion in federal grants from fiscal year 1971 through 1974. Stiffen penalties against polluters by authorizing fines of up to $10,000 a day for industries and cities.

AIR—Reduce exhausts from motor vehicles and authorize $9 million for research to develop a **"virtually pollution-free" automobile. Set federal minimum standards for air pollution for all communities. Stiffen enforcement with fines up to $10,000 a day.**

LITTER—Provide cash incentives for hauling abandoned cars to junk yards.

PARKS—Take a fresh inventory of all federally-owned land, especially that belonging to the Dept. of Defense, to open suitable areas for public recreation.

Particularly significant in the message was Nixon's emphasis on the need for greater federal authority in the enforcement of anti-pollution programs, a departure from his long-time advocacy of local and state controls.

"The present fragmenting of jurisdiction . . . has hindered comprehensive efforts," he said in referring to problems of water pollution control.

Nixon's message suggested that industry faces heavier cleanup outlays in the coming years.

This, he said, is based on the principle that "the nation's waterways belong to us all, and that neither a municipality nor an industry should be allowed to discharge waste into those waterways beyond their capacity to absorb waste without becoming polluted."

He also cited the need for stiffer clean air regulations with federal minimum standards.

The absence of national standards in the Clean Air Act of 1967 has meant that industries in states and communities requiring strict controls are often at a competitive disadvantage against "more permissive rivals," the President noted.

The act requires only that the federal government establish "air quality control regions," so individual states may develop air quality standards. But adjoining states within the same region have developed inconsistent standards, Nixon noted, and some areas of the country have remained outside the program completely.

The time has come, he stressed, for Congress to establish nationwide standards, giving the states one year to provide abatement plans to meet those standards and to provide for strict enforcement as well.

The President gave special attention to the automobile which, he said, accounts for nearly half of all air pollution in the country—dumping an estimated 66 million tons of carbon monoxide into the atmosphere annually.

He said the auto industry is voluntarily making plans to produce a 1972 model car that runs more efficiently on unleaded gasoline.

Under existing authority, Sec. Robert Finch of the Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare has issued new proposals to tighten federal emission standards for 1973 and 1975 model cars.

Nixon also ordered the start of an effort to "marshal both government and private research with the goal of producing an unconventionally powered, virtually pollution-free automobile within five years."

The President's new three-man Environmental Quality Council will direct a federal research program on such vehicles.

On the proposal for more parks, the President said that the federal government owns thousands of acres of land in and near metropolitan areas that is no longer needed. He said the property would be converted to recreational use or sold to finance new recreational areas.

Leo D. Ritter Dies, Merkle Official

Leo D. Ritter, senior vice president of Merkle Press, Inc., died at 69 after a two-month illness following a paralytic stroke. He was buried in Washington, D.C., after services at Christ the King Church, Silver Spring, Md.

Ritter had close personal and business ties to many unions as printer of numerous labor publications.

Born in Johnstown, Pa., he joined Ransdell, Inc., Merkle predecessor, in 1926. At his death he was an officer of Merkle and Publishers Co., Inc.

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AFL-CIO News
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Unions, Blacks Reach Accord In Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh—Building trades unions, their employers and a coalition of Negroes have entered into a "memorandum of understanding" to bring more members of minority groups into construction jobs.

The document sets up a tripartite committee of four members each from the Pittsburgh Building & Construction Trades Council, the Employers Association and the Black Construction Coalition.

The 12-member committee will develop programs to bring blacks into craft apprenticeship training, arrange for the hiring of qualified black journeymen where available and seek to place older black workers in construction jobs.

The memorandum doesn't specify any set number of opportunities to be opened to blacks. But a contractors' supplementary letter to the Labor Dept. pledged a "good-faith effort to employ 1,250 new minority journeymen" over the next four years.

Dir. Donald Slaiman of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights said the agreement, like a similar one established recently in Chicago, is in line with policies set by the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. and the AFL-CIO.

"We hope that this action in Pittsburgh will bring a continuing flow of minority workers into the construction industry in that city," he said.

AFL-CIO 2-7-1970

Construction Industry

Week of March 9, 1970

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY BARGAINING
UNIT ADOPTS DISPUTES PROCEDURES

WASHINGTON -- The Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission has adopted procedures that it will follow in labor-management disputes in the construction industry, Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz has announced.

The policy statement was adopted at a Commission meeting on January 27. The panel was created by President Nixon last fall for the purpose of assisting in the improvement of labor relations, manpower and other practices in the important construction industry. The Commission membership represents the industry, labor organizations, and the public.

Secretary Shultz, the Commission's Chairman, said the policy statement stresses that reliance in preventing and settling labor disputes will be placed upon procedures established by builders and construction unions themselves, and upon the regular mediation agencies of the Government. The Commission itself will enter disputes only in special situations.

(MORE)

The Secretary expressed hope that publication of the Commission procedures at this time would clarify its role before representatives of management and labor enter a period of intensive bargaining on contracts expiring this year.

It was pointed out that from information currently available approximately 850 contracts involving an estimated one million workers are to be renegotiated in 1970, most of them before July 1.

The Commission procedures contain several key points:

1. The Commission does not regard its procedures as a substitute for responsible effective bargaining.
2. The Commission endorses use of private dispute-settling procedures developed by the parties.
3. Full utilization of Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service assistance is expected.

The Commission summarized its policy as follows:

"In setting forth a disputes procedure the Commission emphasizes that it is not intended to provide a substitute for the collective bargaining process. Nor is it a means to bypass or neglect existing mediation facilities or industry branch dispute settling procedures. The standard procedure for the Commission to accept

(MORE)

cognizance over a collective bargaining dispute is through referral to the Commission by the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. The Commission will exercise its judgment in accepting or declining specific disputes. The staff of the Commission is directed to maintain close contact with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service on all aspects of bargaining in the construction industry and to see that critical disputes are brought to the attention of the appropriate International Union and the national offices of an appropriate contractor association."

# # #

WEEK OF MARCH 16, 1970

M — Bldg Trade

HEARINGS ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN NEWARK CONSTRUCTION WORK SET BY LABOR DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON -- The Labor Department will hold public hearings this week in Newark, N.J., to obtain information for assuring that equal employment opportunity requirements are met in Federally-involved construction work in the Newark area, John L. Wilks, Director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, has announced.

The hearings will be held on March 18 and 19 in Room 807A and B, Federal Office Building, 970 Broad Street. They begin at 9:30 a.m. on March 18.

Information gathered from the hearings will be used by the Labor Department to carry out the requirements of Executive Order 11246 in Federal and Federally-assisted construction work in the Newark area.

Executive Order 11246 prohibits discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion or national origin, and further requires that the employer or prospective employer take affirmative action to insure equal employment opportunity.

The Department of Labor is responsible for implementing Executive Order 11246 throughout the country on Federally-involved construction.

Newark is one of 18 cities, and 1 of 6 priority cities, where special efforts will be made in 1970 to develop equal employment opportunity programs, the Labor Department announced recently.

The hearings will offer an opportunity to those working and living in the Newark area to present their views regarding implementation of the Executive Order before a panel designated by the Director of OFCC.

(MORE)

The information sought includes, but isn't necessarily limited to:

1. The current extent of minority group participation in each construction trade, and the full employee complement, of each trade.
2. A statement and evaluation of present employee recruitment methods as well as the assistance and effectiveness of any employer or union programs to increase minority participation in the trade.
3. The availability of qualified and qualifiable minority group persons for employment in each construction trade, including where they are now working and how they may be brought into the trades.
4. An evaluation of existing training programs in the area, including the number of minorities and others recruited into the programs, the number who complete training, the length and extent of training, employer experience with trainees and the need for additional or expanded training programs.
5. An analysis of the number of additional workers that could be absorbed into each trade without displacing present employees, including consideration of present employee shortages, projected growth of the trades and projected employee turnover.

(MORE)

6. The desirability and extent -- including the geographical scope -- of possible Federal action to assure equal employment opportunity in the construction trades.

Those invited to the hearings include community leaders, academic specialists, Federal, State and City legislators and executives, local contractors, representatives of local and national trade associations, officials of both local and national trade unions, and interested citizens.

Persons desiring to be heard should notify the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, 110 East 45th St., Rm. 533, New York City (Tele. 212-573-6066) of their intention to appear as early as possible. Those desiring to file written statements and pertinent information may file their materials with OFCC on or before Friday, March 20, 1970.

# # #

M— Bldg Trades

LABOR

Construction pay push is raising the roof

The datelines read Chicago, Miami, Hartford. The headlines blare:

- "Building strike ends; $21,000 a year victory."
- "Plumbers demand $13.37, double present pay."
- "Road laborers sign for 88.3% wage hike."

The Chicago story discloses that operating engineers had won pay boosts of upwards of $3.90 that would take them to $10.05 an hour in January, 1972. The Miami plumbers, capitalizing on a condominium building boom, demanded a $7.37 boost in their $6.07-an-hour rate over three years, and threatened to strike for it. The Connecticut road workers won hikes that will push their pay from $3.85 an hour to $4.50 now and to $7.25 by 1973.

The headlines underscore the obvious: Building trades pressures have not eased this year, despite the Nixon Administration's warnings about the heavy inflationary impact of construction settlements at "very high" levels.

Despite federal pressure, pay boosts in early contracts are nudging 20%

In 1969, the median first-year wage boost in building union contracts, as measured by the Labor Dept., was 14%, with increases averaging 12.8% a year over the duration of the pacts. That was almost double the rate for settlements in other industries. But if last year's rate caused worries, the trend so far in 1970 is generating bigger ones.

On the way up. In advance of pattern-setting agreements, ordinarily somewhat larger than the early settlements, the construction pay boost rate already is nudging 20%, according to Labor Dept. figures for the first quarter of this year. One in every four accords reported to Associated General Contractors, an employer association, called for annual pay increases averaging more than $1 an hour, ranging as high $1.64 for carpenters in Vero Beach, Fla. The AGC noted that in the 1960s, construction pay tended to double about every seven years, but that the trend now is for raises that would double pay every four years.

A couple of years ago, building trades were talking about an eventual wage of $10 an hour for skilled workers. But that level has been reached in some negotiated pacts, and unions now are setting sights on $13 to $14.

In Miami recently, a contractor commented: "If the plumbers get the money they want, I'm liable to go back to my tools." He and other contractors say demands are "exorbitant and completely unjustified," but they concede privately that they do not know what they can do about it.

The Nixon Administration is in much the same fix. It is against big construction settlements, because they are inflationary and run up the costs on many of government's urban programs. But the Administration's hopes of taking effective steps to hold down construction wage increases have been abandoned.

'If the plumbers get the money they want, I may go back to my tools'

Last September, President Nixon created a Cabinet Committee on Construction and a separate tripartite Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission to try to cope with the industry's particular problems. Above all, the aim was to forestall what Labor Secretary George Shultz called "the formula for disaster," by which building trades pay had risen almost 15% a year in 1969.

The Cabinet-level committee was charged primarily with the problems of federal construction work. Among other things, it took steps to spread work more evenly throughout the year and ease "seasonality" pressures on pay—workers' arguments that they need higher hourly rates to offset idleness in "off seasons."

The tripartite commission, headed by Shultz, is patterned after the Missile Sites Labor Commission, which has functioned quietly but effectively since 1961. The government, contractors associations, and building trades unions have four members each on the new panel. Its chief of staff is Dr. John T. Dunlop of Harvard, who for years served as the industry-unions arbiter of jurisdictional disputes. The commission is studying possible solutions for such major construction industry problems as manpower shortages and seasonality of work, as well as the industry's complex, costly, and strike-prone collective bargaining structure. It also is looking for ways to avoid the recurrent disputes over jurisdictional matters, minority hiring practices, and contract terms. The Administration's expressed hope was, and still is, that the panel's efforts might, in time, ease labor cost pressures.

Proposals. During its initial meeting, the commission suggested unanimously that bargaining, which is largely dispersed now, could be improved by imposing tighter controls over local union actions and giving union negotiators "binding authority" to sign labor agreements. This would eliminate contract rejections and renegotiations, avert many strikes, and perhaps avoid

Building pay: still soaring in '70

Early settlements	Raises in dollars	Spread over
Vero Beach, Fla., carpenters	$3.70	27 mos.
Waterbury, Conn., bricklayers	3.11	2 yrs.
Connecticut highway laborers	3.96	37 mos.
Chicago operating engineers	4.50	41 mos.
Oklahoma City iron workers	3.15	30 mos.
Phoenix, Ariz., electricians	2.55	2 yrs.
Wichita, Kans., cement masons	3.60	3 yrs.
Wichita, Kans., iron workers	3.50	3 yrs.
Baltimore electricians	3.40	3 yrs.
Boston operating engineers	3.30	3 yrs.
Western Massachusetts highway operating engineers	3.30	3 yrs.
Baltimore laborers	3.14	3 yrs.
Springfield, Mo., plumbers	3.13	3 yrs.
Wichita, Kans., laborers and construction drivers	3.10	3 yrs.
Chicago carpenters	2.00	2 yrs.
Reading, Pa., electricians	2.00	2 yrs.

Of 60 settlements reported, 43 averaged under $1 an hour per year

Data: Associated General Contractors

PAGINATION INCORRECT

* M — Bld Trades

CONSTRUCTION JOB BIAS in the District of Columbia proves less prevalent among nonunion employers, a Government survey shows. It finds six of nine nonunion contractors on Federally assisted projects in compliance with Equal Employment Opportunity regulations. But only three of 19 union contractors were reported in compliance.

* * *

FEDERAL-EMPLOYE UNIONISM continues to grow, but at a slower pace.

The number of Federal workers represented by unions with exclusive bargaining rights climbed to 54% last November from 52% a year earlier. The gain was the smallest year-to-year increase since a 1962 Presidential order gave exclusively recognized unions the right to negotiate contracts. Outside the Post Office, union representation of blue-collar workers rose to 72% from 67%; the white-collar figure edged up to 29% from 28%.

The representation strength of exclusively recognized postal unions remained unchanged at 87% of all Post Office employes, according to the Civil Service Commission's latest count. The figure for the Post Office, which was highly unionized even before 1962, has been "about the same" since 1963.

The largest Federal employe union: The American Federation of Government Employes, which represents 482,000 workers.

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: To dramatize his case against no-strike laws for public employes, jailed Teachers Union president David Selden plans a series of "bread-and-water receptions" in 13 cities starting after his release from prison Thursday. . . . Departing from such traditional picket-line pastimes as drinking black coffee and singing union songs, striking Goodyear Tire & Rubber employes set up a tent near a plant gate where they spend some evenings watching stag movies and drinking beer.

4-28-70 ; Wall St Jnl

NEWS Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20506

M — Bldg. Trades —

FOR RELEASE: AM TUESDAY, MAY 19, 1970

70-15

Phone: 202/343-5621

Nationwide figures for 1968 on minority group membership in local unions with hiring hall or other referral arrangements were released today by Chairman William H. Brown III of the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

These statistics, based on 1968 reports from almost 3,000 local unions with more than 1.8 million members in hiring hall/referral bargaining units, show that Negroes account for 9.2 percent of the total membership in these unions. An additional 6.4 percent were Spanish Surnamed Americans.

In the building trades unions, Negro participation averaged 7.4 percent, ranging from no Negroes in the Asbestos Workers to 29.2 percent for the Laborers. A closer analysis indicates that almost three of every four Negroes in the Building Trades were members of the Laborers Union. Spanish Surnamed Americans made up 2.8 percent of the membership in the building trades unions.

Outside the construction unions Negroes accounted for 12.0 percent and Spanish Surnamed Americans 9.5 percent of the total membership. In these non-building trades unions, four international unions had substantial minority group membership: the Building Service Employees, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Meat Cutters, and Hotel and Restaurant Employees. On the other hand, Patternmakers and Masters, Mates & Pilots reported an exceedingly low minority group representation.

In announcing the data today, Mr. Brown stated that "while we are aware of the efforts of some unions to increase their minority union membership, these figures indicate the need for more aggressive action by many others."

This data, which is the most up-to-date available, was prepared by the Office of Research and based on the 1968 Local Union Report EEO-3, required annually under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

TOTAL AND MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP IN
REFERRAL UNIONS IN THE U.S., 1968

	Number Reporting	Membership in Referral Unit				
		Total	NEGRO		SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent
ALL UNIONS	2,987	1,852,807	170,009	9.2	118,469	6.4
BUILDING TRADES	2,189	1,131,051	83,510	7.4	49,814	4.4
Mechanical Trades	853	386,558	5,424	1.4	10,787	2.8
Boilermakers	38	22,482	876	3.9	834	3.7
Elevator Constructors	14	6,660	48	.7	120	1.8
Electrical Workers	289	125,927	2,373	1.9	4,058	3.2
Iron Workers	117	62,120	1,160	1.9	2,086	3.4
Plumbers	330	138,208	882	0.6	2,059	1.5
Sheetmetal Workers	65	31,161	85	0.3	1,630	5.2
General Construction Trades	999	535,934	17,263	3.2	20,025	3.7
Asbestos Workers	22	4,740	0	.0	54	1.1
Bricklayers	99	25,470	2,551	10.0	625	2.5
Carpenters	538	302,721	5,370	1.8	9,461	3.1
Lathers	15	5,284	247	4.7	334	6.3
Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers	12	3,043	70	2.3	244	8.0
Operating Engineers	57	111,453	2,747	2.5	2,055	1.8
Painters	155	50,398	1,836	3.6	4,227	8.4

Source: 1968 Local Union Report EEO-3, Office of Research
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

	Number Reporting	Membership in Referral Unit				
		Total	NEGRO		SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent
General Construction Trades (Cont'd.)						
Plasterers	62	21,928	2,920	13.3	2,658	12.1
Roofers	39	10,897	1,522	14.0	367	3.4
Laborers	337	208,559	60,823	29.2	19,002	9.1
NON-BUILDING TRADES	798	721,756	86,499	12.0	68,655	9.5
Bakery & Confectionery Workers	26	19,978	3,001	15.0	3,739	18.7
Bookbinders	22	20,448	1,508	7.4	1,693	8.3
Building Service Employees	24	19,865	3,223	16.2	2,191	11.0
Distillery Workers	29	18,599	1,680	9.0	501	2.7
Hotel & Restaurant Employees	105	133,638	16,677	12.5	14,539	10.9
Lithographers & Photoengravers	28	18,576	415	2.2	279	1.5
Masters, Mates & Pilots	7	5,563	8	.1	35	.6
Meat Cutters	34	52,515	7,411	14.1	4,520	8.6
Musicians	16	6,865	158	2.3	77	1.1
Office Employees	7	8,187	46	.6	77	.9
Patternmakers	21	6,701	9	.1	42	.6
Printing Pressmen	35	14,190	1,173	8.3	1,063	7.5
Retail Clerks	13	18,449	813	4.4	659	3.6

Source: 1968 Local Union Report EEO-3, Office of Research
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

	Number Reporting	Membership in Referral Unit				
		Total	NEGRO		SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent
NON-BUILDING TRADES (Cont'd.)						
Seafarers	9	20,347	1,698	8.3	1,188	5.8
Shoe Workers	3	1,805	8	.4	45	2.5
Stage & Motion Picture Operators	28	17,553	229	1.3	627	3.6
Teamsters	171	196,558	19,514	9.9	12,026	6.1
Other Non-Building Trades	220	141,919	28,928	20.4	25,354	17.9

NOTE: Data on individual Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, is Available upon request to the Office of Research.

Source: 1968 Local Union Report EEO-3, Office of Research
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

70-15
May 19, 1970 ####

M-EEO-Bldg. Trades

LABOR

Integration drive fails to overcome

Plans for minority hiring in the building trades falter at working level

The efforts of the Nixon Administration to integrate the nation's building trades are bogged down in red tape and other complexities. Its "Philadelphia Plan" for minority group quotas on all federally financed construction has yet to produce results. Other programs are doing no better.

In part, this failure is a product of the times. Tight money and government spending cutbacks have put a crimp in construction, and too few jobs are being created for the inexperienced. Actually, building trades unemployment figures are running high in many areas. But the roots of the problem are as deep as racial prejudice itself—and plans that looked fine on paper have clearly failed in practice.

The Philadelphia Plan, strongly opposed by builders and the unions, is tied up in the courts. It is expected to wind up in the U.S. Supreme Court, with the distinct possibility that its quotas aspect will render it unconstitutional. In Newark and Boston, where the plan was to be used, some hearings have been held, but actual programs appear far off.

In Buffalo, Governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered construction resumed on the state university buildings despite tough talk by the Administration that minority hiring in the city should be speeded up. In Chicago and Pittsburgh, "hometown solutions" were worked out between the unions and the industry in an effort to keep the government out. In both cities, plans were drawn up to put thousands of blacks into construction jobs at various levels—from starter jobs, to trainees, to journeymen. These plans were negotiated under the pressure of minority-group demonstrations and the angry reactions of "hard hat" union members. But, so far, the gains for blacks under these plans have been minimal.

Only in Seattle is a plan working. And this formula developed with little federal involvement. The program grew from efforts to bring together federal contractors, who must hire minorities, and the unions, whose hiring halls got in the way of open hiring. Problems remain, but there is progress. Unions and employers agree there would be more progress if the slowdown had not severely limited the number of available jobs. The plan is being implemented with the help of a non-profit corporation, BUILD, set up and financed by the building unions, joint apprenticeship committees, and several non-construction unions.

The statistics. Few question the seriousness of the problem. A recent report by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission showed that blacks averaged 7.4% of all jobs in the construction industry—with their ratio varying from virtually none in the Asbestos Workers to a high of 29.2% among low-skilled Laborers. Minority membership in the latter group exaggerates the position of blacks in the building trades—EEOC studies show that almost three out of four blacks in the construction industry are Laborers. In general construction, blacks make up 3.2% of the work force; in the higher skilled mechanical trades only about 1.4%.

Even these figures represent gains over the past. Many of the unions are trying to increase minority-group membership, but, according to EEOC's chairman, William H. Brown III, "more aggressive action" is necessary by all unions. The question is: What kind of action?

Unions decry 'quota system'; contractors say they're caught in a hopeless situation

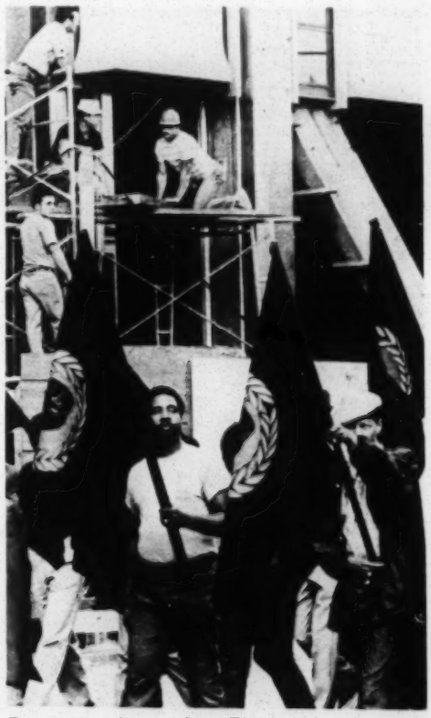
In other industries, the government acted against individual employers. Because of the special problems of the construction industry, with its casual employment and hiring through unions, a different approach was taken: EEOC "standards for affirmative action" to be met by any employer with a contract involving federal money. EEOC decided to set minority-hiring goals on an area basis, and initiated its pilot plan in Philadelphia.

The criticism. The plan there has been under constant attack. Labor—from the AFL-CIO's George Meany down to the union "hard hat" building tradesmen—criticizes it as "a quota system" that is unworkable and unfair. Contractors contend that they are in the middle of a hopeless situation. They say they are required to hire blacks who are not available and who would not be usable or acceptable to unions if they were. And civil rights groups protest that the plan does not assure enough jobs.

The government is trying to make the Philadelphia Plan more acceptable to contractors, less of a threat to the union apprentice system, and more productive of jobs for minorities. But conflicts continue, and the plan still is not in operation.

Andrew Freeman, director of the Philadelphia Urban League and chief of a citizens' watchdog agency—the Action for Jobs Committee—says that he "is very disappointed in the failure of the Labor Dept. to monitor construction sites." As yet, there is no estimate of how many minority group members, if any, have been hired under the plan.

Benjamin Stahl, head of the city's Human Resources and Development Institute, a manpower arm of the AFL-CIO, says; "The Philadelphia Plan is a good slogan, but ineffectual. I don't think one person has been put to work under the Philadelphia Plan." Like other union spokesmen, Stahl complains that there is no "intensive training program to upgrade the skills of inexperienced black workers."



Demonstrations in Pittsburgh brought pledges but so far few jobs for blacks.

Meanwhile, federal plans have run afoul of state politics. The building trades are important politically in every big city. They have clout in city halls and state offices. In Newark and Boston, the unions, supported by contractors, appear to have bottled up local proposals—for now.

In Washington, all future federal construction work has been held up by a District of Columbia row over quotas

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THE 3 "STATES" OF

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3 STATES IN ONE

for minority hiring on the city's new subway system. Black groups, supported by former EEOC Chairman Clifford Alexander, accuse the government of presenting a false picture of minority employment in the area.

A year after the plan for minority hiring was first announced by the Labor Dept. in the Philadelphia test area, few additional blacks are on the job. A long and potentially hot summer is dead ahead.

Chicago's plan. Chicago's six-month old plan for bringing blacks into the construction trades has labor's approval because it permits, the unions say, a greater degree of voluntary action. Contractors and unions blame the lack of progress on the fact that funds were slow in forthcoming. Blacks say the cause is "discrimination by whites—the old story all over again."

But, while the Chicago plan itself has not showed much in the way of positive results yet, more blacks are getting jobs in the city's building trades unions under the unions' own rules. Labor spokesmen say there is "more concern being shown" for the needs of the blacks. Observers point out, however, that the unions were under very heavy attack for discrimination and, to alleviate some of the pressure, they may be taking in blacks they might have excluded before.

'I doubt if one man has been put to work with the Philadelphia plan'

Chicago's Black Coalition was important in winning the minority-job plan. It has an important role in making the plan work. But unions and contractors complain that the alliance of minority groups has not learned to work harmoniously with whites. One labor man said, "We're bending, but they haven't learned to. They don't realize that once the fight is over, you have to work together." Moreover, conflicts exist within the Black Coalition, itself. So far, the strain is beneath the surface.

For a time last week, trouble seemed imminent on the streets of Pittsburgh, where another "hometown plan" has bogged down. There, too, difficulties of working with a militant Black Construction Coalition, an amalgam of black organizations, appeared to be at the root of the problem. Police were alerted for demonstrations and marches similar to those last September. Unions agreed to open up 58 jobs for black apprentices immediately and to set up union subcommittees to decide on additional numbers of blacks to be given jobs. This staved off new confrontations—but the 58 jobs agreed on and the promises of more are a long way from the "at least 1,200 black jobs" demanded by the coalition. ■

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Mon Bldg Trades

JULY 11, 1970

AFL-CIO News 7-11-70

In 3 More Cities:

Trades Sign Pacts On Minority Jobs

Area-wide agreements to bring an increasing number of black workers and other minority-group members into the building trades have been signed in three more cities—Boston, Denver and Los Angeles.

The plans, similar to earlier agreements worked out in Chicago and Pittsburgh, provide for recruiting, counselling and placing of minority-group members at all levels of the building crafts.

All three plans call for pre-apprenticeship training and apprenticeship entry, but also for upgrading to journeyman status for older workers with some experience in a craft.

In each instance, the agreement was signed by representatives of the local Building Trades Council, the contractors association and representatives of minority organizations.

In Boston, the signatories included the Workers Defense League, one of the original groups which set up Apprenticeship Outreach, a three-year-old program which has placed over 6,000 apprentices in more than 60 cities. Outreach was subsequently expanded to include upgrading to journeyman status.

All three of the new agreements established boards to oversee the program.

In Los Angeles, the board will consist of 20 members, four each from the building trades and contractors association and 12 from minority-group organizations. Those 12 are broken down to four spots for Negroes, four for Mexican-Americans, three for Asians and one American Indian.

for jobs at the appropriate level—apprentice, trainee or journeyman.

The Los Angeles agreement was signed at a meeting of the full city council with press coverage. John A. Cinquemani, executive secretary of the Los Angeles Building and Construction Trades Council and one of the signers of the agreement, told the press that "one important ingredient is missing—jobs" and urged the council to take "bold steps to create jobs in the city."

All three agreements will span five years. The original Boston agreement is for one year, renewable annually for a total of five years overall. Denver set up an 18-month program originally, also with extensions to five years, and the Los Angeles agreement is for five years, with year-to-year extensions on a self-renewing basis after that.

Blacknews Digest Week of September 21, 1970

M - Bldg. Trades

KANSAS CITY PLAN FOR BOOSTING MINORITY HIRING IN CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY ANNOUNCED BY LABOR DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON -- Secretary of Labor J.D. Hodgson has announced that local parties have reached agreement on a Kansas City Plan for increasing minority hiring in construction trades.

Kansas City was one of 18 target cities designated by the Labor Department last February for concentrated efforts to achieve equal job opportunity in the construction industry.

The Kansas City agreement brings to six the number of these cities where unions, employers and minority coalitions have worked out "hometown" plans for minority hiring in the industry.

"This latest agreement is another encouraging step toward America's long-standing goal of equal employment opportunity," Secretary Hodgson said.

"But the signing of this agreement is not an end in itself," he added. "It is a beginning. Achievement of equity at the workplace is a day-to-day process that requires earnest efforts by all parties involved.

"For its part, the Labor Department will continue giving metropolitan areas the opportunity and assistance to develop area-wide, voluntary agreements, that cover public as well as private construction.

"Where such agreements are not possible, the Department will continue to impose solutions such as those initiated in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C."

Other target cities which have worked out area-wide agreements for achieving equal opportunity in various construction crafts are Boston, Denver, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Indianapolis.

Two other cities -- Chicago and Pittsburgh -- developed hometown solutions before the target list was established. In addition, a hometown solution has been reached in Rochester, New York, a non-target city.

On July 9, Secretary Hodgson announced an intensive summer program to assist cities in developing hometown agreements to achieve equal opportunity in construction work.

Secretary Hodgson listed these basic ingredients of the Kansas City Plan.

-- It will cover all Federal, State, local, and private construction work in the Greater Kansas City area (10 counties in Missouri: Clay, Platter, Jackson, Bates, Carrol, Lafayette, Ray, Johnson, Henry, Cass; 3 counties in Kansas: Wynadote, Johnson, and Miami).

(MORE)

-- It will provide that within a 5-year period minority representation in the construction trades be equal to the minority proportion of the population. The goal of the plan is the employment of 1100 additional minority workers within the 5-year period.

-- It will establish a tripartite, 7-member Administrative Committee to implement the program. Operations committees for each trade will formulate programs with goals and timetables for each trade.

The Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance assists cities in drawing up hometown agreements. OFCC is responsible for carrying out Executive Order 11246, which prohibits discrimination in Federal contract work because of race, color, religion, sex and national origin and requires contractors to take affirmative action to insure equal job opportunities.

# # #

Blacknews Digest

Week of September 21, 1970

M- Bldg. Trades

MINORITIES MAKE UP MORE THAN ONE-FIFTH OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN PHILADELPHIA PLAN PROJECTS, HODGSON REPORTS

WASHINGTON -- Employment of minorities in construction trades on current projects covered by the Philadelphia Plan is running ahead of the required first-year goals, Labor Secretary J. D. Hodgson has stated.

Mr. Hodgson reported that 41 minority group members comprised 22.7 percent of the 180 persons actually at work in five mechanical trades on 25 projects covered by the plan as of Friday, September 4.

This fact was turned up in on-site reviews conducted by the Labor Department over two weeks to validate contractors' regular reports which indicate the percentage and number of hours worked by minorities. The reviews verified data from the employer reports.

Though the covered crafts traditionally are only a small segment of the total work force on construction sites, they are the five high-paying mechanical crafts from which minorities have been largely excluded in the past.

When the Philadelphia Plan was unveiled, it was reported that minority workers make up less than 2 percent of the six construction crafts unions now covered by the plan.

The great majority of the workers on projects reviewed were in crafts not covered by the plan. These other crafts traditionally have had much larger minority representation than the mechanical crafts.

The year-old Philadelphia Plan requires all bidders on Federally-involved construction projects exceeding $500,000 to submit affirmative action plans setting goals and timetables for utilizing minorities.

The following is a status report on employment of minority workers for five of the six crafts covered by the plan as of September 4, date of the last one-site survey:

-- Iron workers: total number, 70; minorities, 21 (30%)
-- Steamfitters: total number, 8; minorities, 2 (25%)
-- Sheetmetal workers: total number, 13; minorities, 2 (15.3%)
-- Electricians: total number, 48; minorities, 12 (25%)
-- Plumbers and Pipefitters: total number, 21; minorities, 4 (9.7%)

Not any elevator construction workers -- the sixth trade covered by the equal employment opportunity plan -- have been involved in the 25 on-going projects surveyed by the government.

The first-year goals of the trades are: iron workers, 5% to 9%, plumbers and pipefitters, 5% to 8%; steamfitters, 5% to 8%; sheetmetal workers, 4% to 8%; electrical workers, 4% to 8%, and elevator construction workers, 4% to 8%.

(MORE)

By the end of 1973, these goals will range from a high of 22% to 26% for iron workers to 19% to 23% for sheetmetal, electrical and elevator construction workers.

Anticipating an increase of Federally-involved construction activity over the remaining three years of the Philadelphia Plan, the Labor Department is developing a training program to assure an ample supply of minority craftsmen for these expanding job opportunities.

Out of 43 contractors involved in the 25 projects now under way, Mr. Hodgson said, six either are not or appear not to be complying with the Philadelphia Plan.

Of these six employers, three have been served with notices to show cause as to why the Government should not move to cancel their contracts and to deny them future contracts. One of these has been notified that the Government intends to impose sanctions. The contractor has requested a hearing.

The Labor Department will ask that a show-cause order be issued in another case and will check the payroll records of the other two contractors to determine if they are in compliance after the on-site review turned up possible deficiencies.

To date, nine show-cause notices have been issued, with Federal agencies subsequently finding that six of these contractors have sufficiently corrected their deficiencies and are judged to be in compliance.

The Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance is responsible for carrying out Executive Order 11246, authority for implementing the Philadelphia Plan. This order prohibits discrimination in Federally-involved contract work and requires contractors to take affirmative action for achieving equal job opportunity.

# # #

Blacknews Digest

Week of September 21, 1970

M-Bldg Trades

3,000 MINORITY APPRENTICES PLACED THROUGH "OUTREACH"

WASHINGTON -- More than 3,000 minority youths became apprentices in the building and construction trades through the Apprenticeship Outreach Program during the year ended June 30, Secretary of Labor J. D. Hodgson has announced.

The 3,052 entering apprenticeship from July 1, 1969, through June 30, 1970, brings to more than 6,900 the number of minorities who have become apprentices through the outreach program.

During this period, 6,914 minority youths from all sources became apprentices in programs registered with the U.S. Department of Labor or with State Apprenticeship Agencies.

Citing this achievement, Secretary Hodgson said, "This program is but one of the means we are pursuing to get more minority group members into the skilled building and construction trades. The success noted here indicates that we are moving in the right direction. When our goals are reasonably attainable, they can be met."

The more than 6,900 apprentices in the program are learning one of 18 building and construction trades such as carpenter, structural iron worker, operating engineer, and a few miscellaneous trades.

Apprenticeship Outreach uses the "tutor and cram" technique to assist minority youths (Negro, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Indian, and Oriental) in preparing for specific apprenticeship examinations.

The courses run from four to 10 weeks, determined by the type of test to be given and each trainee's individual needs.

Apprenticeship Outreach agreements have been signed with 10 different sponsoring groups to conduct 78 programs serving minority youths in 81 major industrial cities and intracity areas. The programs represent a total Labor Department investment of more than $5.6 million.

Sponsoring groups include the National Urban League which operates 29 projects in 32 cities to place 980 apprentices; the Workers' Defense League has 16 projects in 17 cities to place 915; the local building and construction trades councils of the AFL-CIO operate 26 projects serving 27 cities to place 1,320 apprentices; 7 other sponsors operate one project each in six cities with a total placement goal of 920 apprentices.

Of the more than 6,900 placed as apprentices, the Urban League placed 1,015 during fiscal year 1970 for a new high of 2,415; the Workers' Defense League 650 for a new total of 1,923; the building and construction trades councils 933 for a total of 1,803; and the others 454 for a new total of 773.

(MORE)

Among the 18 building and construction trades in which all except about 4 percent of the 6,914 minority youths are apprenticed, five trades account for 3,918, or more than 56.6 percent of the total. They are: carpenter, 1,410 apprentices; electrician, 746; plumber and pipefitter, 643; painter, 633; and sheet metal worker, 486.

Biggest gains during the fiscal year were made in the carpenter trade, 641 apprentices; followed by electrician, 309; painter, 310; plumber-pipefitter, 275; and operating engineer, 216.

On July 1, 1969, 53 Apprenticeship Outreach projects were in operation. By the end of June 1970, 26 more had been added.

Other more detailed information on the Apprenticeship Outreach Program follows:

GAINS MADE THROUGH THE APPRENTICESHIP OUTREACH PROGRAM
(BY TRADE) FROM JULY 1, 1969, THROUGH JUNE 30, 1970

Trade	Total Apprentices June 30, 1970	Yearly Increase
Asbestos worker	50	24
Bricklayer	393	179
Carpenter	1,410	641
Cement mason	323	133
Electrician	746	309
Elevator constructor	145	90
Glazier	114	45
Iron worker	417	198
Lather	90	67
Machinist	146	92
Operating engineer	391	216
Painter	633	310
Pipe trades	643	275
Plasterer	122	37
Roofer	450	134
Sheet metal worker	486	199
Tile setter	42	12
Miscellaneous trades	313	91
	6,914	3,052

# # #

M- Building Trades

Week of September 28, 1970

MINORITIES SHOW CONTINUING GAINS AT
APPRENTICESHIP INFORMATION CENTERS

WASHINGTON -- Twenty-two percent of all apprentices placed last year by the 36 Apprenticeship Information Centers were from minority groups, Secretary of Labor J.D. Hodgson has announced.

During the year ended June 30, about 1,700 minorities became apprentices in programs registered with the U.S. Department of Labor, out of 7,800 who were placed through the AIC's.

The minority placement rate is 7 percent better than that for the previous year and 33 percent higher than that for the year ending June 30, 1968.

The Secretary pointed out that the AIC's, part of State Employment Security operations in 22 States, were not established primarily to place persons in apprenticeship, but were doing so as part of their services to prospective candidates.

During the year, 49,900 persons appeared at the Labor Department-sponsored AIC's 16,900 or 34 percent from minority groups.

Of this number 36,800 were referred by the centers to employers of apprentices, 11,400 (31 percent) members of minority groups.

During the three-year period ending June 30, 1970, 127,300 persons interested in apprenticeship programs appeared at the 36 centers, 40,000 (31 percent) minority members; 89,900 were referred to employers, 23,500 (26 percent) minority members; and 22,100 were accepted as apprentices, 4,300 (20 percent) minorities.

Apprenticeship Information Centers were conceived in 1963. Their purpose is to provide available information on apprenticeship opportunities in the community in which they operate and to give necessary support and assistance to young men and women who wish to become apprentices in the skilled trades.

Since the first AIC was established in Washington, D.C., in 1963, 35 more were added, operating in the District of Columbia and in 22 States.

To promote the work of the centers during fiscal year '70, staff personnel at the 36 centers made nearly 6,000 personal contacts and over 18,500 telephone contacts with employers, unions, apprenticeship committees, community organizations, vocational schools, and other groups interested in increasing the number of apprenticeship opportunities in the skilled trades.

Detailed information on the activities of the Apprenticeship Information Centers over the past three fiscal years and the locations and names of the 36 centers now in operation follow:

(MORE)

Year Ending	NO. APPEARING		NO. REFERRED		NO. ACCEPTED	
	Total	Minority	Total	Minority	Total	Minority
June 30, 1968	33,574	9,844 29%	22,020	4,654 21%	6,180	1,038 16.8%
June 30, 1969	43,801	13,296 30%	31,048	7,466 24%	8,092	1,583 19.5%
June 30, 1970	49,003	16,896 33.9%	36,798	11,427	7,829	1,705 21.8%
TOTALS	126,378	40,036 31.6%	89,866	23,547 26%	22,101	4,326 19.5%

ALABAMA

Birmingham
1816 - 8th Ave.
P.O. Box 2414
Tel. 251-1181, x218
Director: Donald L. Franklin

ARIZONA

Phoenix
438 West Adams St.
Tel. 258-1621
Director: Harry Mitchell

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport
67 Washington Ave.
Tel. 335-0112
Director (Acting): Michael Sorrentino

New Haven
634 Chapel St.
Tel. 777-4421, x56
Director: Kenneth I. Peters

INDIANA

Indianapolis
145 W. Washington St.
Tel. 635-7130
Director: Frank B. Grannan

IOWA

Des Moines
150 Des Moines St.
Tel. 243-7661
Director: Merle Staley

KANSAS

Topeka
1309 Topeka Ave.
Tel. 357-1291
Director: Phillip A. Clouse

Wichita
402 E. Second St.
Tel. 265-6611, x34
Director: Gerald R. Clift

(MORE)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

555 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Tel. 393-6151
Director: Richard L. Archie

ILLINOIS

Chicago
321 South State St.
Tel. 939-1905, x278
Director: William B. Martin

INDIANA

Gary
737 Washington St.
Tel. 885-0511, x250
Director: Herman M. Motsinger

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis
1629 Hennepin Ave.
Director: Fred L. Zeigler
Tel. 339-7061

St. Paul
637 Selby Ave.
Tel. 221-6451
Director: Fred L. Zeigler

MISSOURI

Kansas City
1411 Main St.
Tel. 471-5700, x360
Director: Marvin Noll

St. Louis
505 Washington Ave.
Tel. 231-7348
Director: Walter Dahl

MARYLAND

Baltimore
1100 N. Eutaw St.
Director: Louis Causey

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston
408 S. Huntington Ave.
Tel. 522-4500
Director: Mrs. Amanda Cook

MICHIGAN

Detroit
8600 Woodward Ave.
Tel. 873-6284
Director: Milton Waters

NEW YORK

New York
255 W. 54th St.
Tel. 265-2700
Director: Elbert Berry

OHIO

Cincinnati
108 E. 7th St.
Tel. 421-1610
Director: Augustine E. Birch

Cleveland
799 Rockwell Ave.
Tel. 579-7800
Director: Paul D. Ealy

Columbus
239 S. 4th St.
Tel. 469-2787
Director: Paul Gray

(MORE)

NEW JERSEY

Camden
519 Federal St.
Tel. 966-1262
Director: Alan Heinrich

Newark
1004 Broad St.
Tel. 648-3290
Director: Oliver Bernhardt

Paterson
301 Graham Ave.
Tel. 279-4100
Director: Arthur W. Nelson

NEW YORK

Buffalo
119 W. Chippewa St.
Tel. 854-4242
Director: Alfred Antonacci

RHODE ISLAND

Providence
72 Pine St.
Tel. 421-1410
Director: Jack Bennett

TENNESSEE

Memphis
43 N. Cleveland
Tel. 534-6312
Director: Eugene R. Carter

Nashville
1802 Hayes St.
Tel. 741-3401
Director: Tom Appleton

OREGON

Portland
1030 N.E. Couch St.
Tel. 233-4861, x41
Director: Donald Martin

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia
1221 N. Broad St.
Tel. 236-9221
Director: Malcolm C. Taylor

Pittsburgh
915 Penn. Ave.
Tel. 565-5683
Director: James Talton

(MORE)

TEXAS

Houston
2800 Travis St.
Director: Richard C. Galloway

VIRGINIA

Norfolk
904 Granby St.
Tel. 622-1361
Director: Joseph Catanzarito

Richmond
609 E. Main St.
Tel. 649-9251
Director: Paul Richardson

WASHINGTON

Seattle
515 Thomas St.
Tel. 623-8900
Director: Hoyt Bethell

M — Bldg Trades

Week of October 5, 1970

NEW ORLEANS, SANTA CLARA PLANS FOR
EXPANDING MINORITY HIRING IN CONSTRUCTION
ANNOUNCED BY LABOR DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON -- Local citizens in New Orleans and Santa Clara County, California, have reached agreements on plans to increase minority hiring in construction trades, Labor Secretary J.D. Hodgson has announced.

New Orleans was one of 18 target cities designated by the Labor Department last February for concentrated efforts to achieve equal job opportunity in the construction industry.

The New Orleans agreement brings to seven the number of these cities where unions, employers and minority coalitions have worked out "hometown" plans for minority hiring in the industry.

Other target cities which have worked out area-wide agreements for achieving equal opportunity in construction crafts are Boston, Denver, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Indianapolis and Kansas City.

Two other cities -- Chicago and Pittsburgh -- developed hometown solutions before the target list was established. And Rochester, New York, a non-target City, has also worked out a local agreement.

Secretary Hodgson said the New Orleans and Santa Clara agreements represent "encouraging steps toward America's long-standing goal of equal employment opportunity.

"But the signing of these agreements is not an end in itself," he added. It is a beginning. Achievement of equity at the workplace is a day-to-day process that requires earnest efforts by all parties involved."

The Labor Department, he said, will continue giving metropolitan areas the opportunity and assistance to develop area-wide, voluntary agreements that cover public as well as private construction.

Where such agreements are not reached, he said, the Department will continue to impose solutions such as those initiated in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.

The New Orleans Plan was signed by the Associated General Contractors and other contractors groups covering trades involved; the Urban League of New Orleans and other groups representing the minority community, and all member unions of the Southeast Louisiana Building and Construction Trades Council, with the exception of the plumbers' union.

The agreement calls for minority group workers to comprise 20 percent of the membership of each union involved within five years. This is to be accomplished by following these year-to-year goals: 5 percent, first year; 9 percent, second year; 13 percent, third year; 17 percent, fourth year, and 20 percent, fifth year.

(MORE)

Other features of the plan include:

-- Establishment of a 15-member Administrative Committee to study and implement programs tailored for each trade. Membership will include the Mayor or his representative; 6 persons from the Building Trades Council; 4 from contractors' groups, and 4 from the minority coalition.

-- Establishment of 6-member operations committees for each of the participating trades.

-- Provision by contractors of supervisory training for minority employees and assurance that these workers will receive every consideration when advancements to supervisory positions are made.

The Santa Clara Plan, which cover all construction in the county, includes these principal features:

-- A minimum goal of 16 percent to 18 percent minority participation in each craft covered by the agreement within five years; the timetable calls for achievement of 35 percent of the goal the first year, 20 percent the second year and 15 percent over each of the following three years.

-- Establishment of a 9-member Administrative Committee comprised of three representatives from labor, management and the minority coalition to seek program funding, review implementation of the plan monthly and settle any disputes arising.

-- Establishment of a 6-member, tri-partite operations committee for each participating craft to screen applicants and develop work-equivalency classifications and programs tailored for each craft.

The Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance assists cities in drawing up hometown agreements. OFCC is responsible for carrying out Executive Order 11246, which prohibits discrimination in Federal contract work because of race, color, religion, sex and national origin and requires contractors to take affirmative action to insure job equality.

# # #

M — Bldg Trades

WEEK OF NOVEMBER 2, 1970

MINORITIES FACE JOB BARRIERS IN
2 CONSTRUCTION CRAFTS NOT COVERED
BY LOS ANGELES PLAN

WASHINGTON -- All but two construction craft unions in the Los Angeles area -- asbestos and sheetmetal -- have undertaken efforts through the Los Angeles Plan to expand minority job opportunities, the top Federal contract compliance officer has stated.

John L. Wilks, Director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC), based his statement on findings of a U.S. Department of Labor panel that conducted two days of hearings last month in Los Angeles.

The hearings, called by Mr. Wilks, were designed to gather information on minority hiring practices in the asbestos and sheetmetal trades, the only two construction crafts that are not parties to the Los Angeles Plan.

Los Angeles is one of 18 target cities designated by the Labor Department last February for concentrated efforts to achieve equal job opportunity in high-paying construction crafts.

It is also one of seven of these cities where unions, employers, minority coalitions and local officials have worked out "hometown" plans for minority hiring in the industry.

The plan addresses itself to widening job opportunities for Mexican-Americans, Negroes, Orientals and American Indians in skilled construction crafts throughout the metropolitan area. It covers both public and private construction.

In its report on the Los Angeles hearings, the three-member panel noted that, while all minorities face job barriers in the construction industry, Negroes are least successful in finding work in the sheetmetal and asbestos trades.

Information gathered at the hearings included the following:
-- 47 minorities, none of them Negroes, out of 450 journeymen asbestos workers in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.
-- 128 minorities, four of them Negroes, out of 690 journeymen sheetmetal workers, (according to on-site compliance reviews of 20 contractors made by the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare and Housing and Urban Development.)

"Because of past and continuing exclusionary practices by unions," the report states, "Negroes and other minorities have been and continue to be under-represented in construction crafts unions."

(MORE)

Pointing out that the "vast majority" of construction projects in the Los Angeles area are performed by union members or others referred to work by unions, the report says the exclusionary practices include but are not limited to:

-- The failure to admit minorities into union membership.

-- The failure of unions to refer minorities for employment.

-- The failure to admit minorities into apprenticeship or equivalent training programs.

The panel makes two basic recommendations regarding the asbestos and sheetmetal trades, which are not covered by the Los Angeles Plan:

-- First, further negotiations to secure their participation in the hometown plan through the use of skilled mediators.

-- Second, that, failing resolution by mediation efforts, every effort be made to ensure compliance by these trades with Federal equal employment requirements, including recommendations to the Department of Justice for enforcement action.

Panel members were Nathaniel Pierson, Special Assistant to the OFCC Director for Field Operations; Roberto Ornelas, OFCC's area coordinator for the Southwest, and Gresham Smith, Deputy Associate Solicitor for Labor Relations and Civil Rights.

# # #

Labor Agency Seeks to Void Unions' Right To Veto On-the-Job Training of Minorities

12/21/78

By BYRON E. CALAME
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Labor Department is seeking to take away unions' practical veto power over the suitability of Federally aided on-the-job training programs that are set up as part of minority-hiring plans.

The action would give minorities a better chance to qualify for high-paying jobs, particularly in the construction industry, according to department officials.

A regulation change just proposed by the department would permit the Secretary of Labor to waive an existing requirement that an on-the-job training program can't get Federal aid unless the unions involved agree to it.

The proposed change, if adopted, would be "a major breakthrough" for the department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance, an official of the agency said. Top OFCC officials have complained frequently that unions were using the existing regulation to thwart Federal efforts to open up jobs in the building trades to minorities through voluntary hiring plans in major cities.

A special OFCC drive to get 102 target cities to come up with such hometown solutions to alleged construction-industry job discrimination has been lagging badly. So far, only 13 of the cities have been able to get representatives of contractor, union and minority groups to agree on a plan.

Philadelphia Plan Problems

Moreover, some OFCC officials have charged that the minority-hiring plan the agency imposed on Federally aided construction projects in the Philadelphia area last year has been hampered by the unions' use of the existing regulation to resist training programs aimed at minorities.

Because a Federally funded on-the-job training program is regarded by OFCC officials as an essential element of any minority-hiring plan, union agreement is usually necessary under the existing regulation. Officials in the department's Manpower Administration, which must approve the training programs, deny that any union actually has blocked a hometown solution. But sources concede that a voluntary plan in Seattle was "almost lost" because the unions refused to accept the training program.

"This is being put in to get around the problem if it really does develop in the future," a Manpower Administration insider explained. The present situation, he conceded, is "a little bit like having a judge sit on his own traffic case." Within the department, OFCC officials have been pressing the Manpower Administration in recent months to modify the existing regulation. Arthur Fletcher, the assistant Labor Secretary with responsibility for the OFCC, recently outlined the problem to a Congressional committee in these terms:

"This (the existing regulation) is creating quite a problem with the 'hometown solution' program because it simply means that organized labor at the local level can stay away from the table and not sit down and discuss the need for training—and in so doing frustrate the efforts of the contractors and the black community . . . to bring new persons into the crafts."

Mr. Fletcher warned that "the hometown solution won't work as long as they (unions) have that prerogative and exercise it, unless there are some changes in attitude."

Storm of Protest Expected

The proposed rule change, published in the Federal Register last week, apparently caught several union officials by surprise. But some Labor Department insiders conceded the proposal is likely to bring a storm of protest from organized labor. Interested parties have 30 days to submit comments on the proposal.

Most union officials withheld any assessment of the proposed change until they have had a chance to study it. But an AFL-CIO insider, after being informed of the proposal, snapped: "Who's going to train them if union journeymen don't?" He contended that bypassing unions would "mean a lot of people will be half-baked journeymen." Indeed, Manpower Administration officials had conceded in the past that it is pointless to launch training efforts that unions don't actively support.

It wasn't immediately clear just how the department would go about staffing a training program set up under a waiver after the unions involved had refused to go along with it.

The existing regulation provides that before the Manpower Administration agrees to fund an on-the-job training program, it must determine "there is joint agreement to the training program and wage scale by the training facility and the bargaining agent where there is a collective bargaining agreement applicable to the establishment and the occupation."

The proposed change adds a provision permitting the Secretary of Labor to waive this requirement when it is "reasonably necessary for the establishment of a training program pursuant to an affirmative action plan approved as meeting the requirement" of Federal equal employment regulations.

/ M — Bldg Trades

Five N.C. Cities Preparing Youths For Apprenticeship

Labor News - 12/4/76

Five North Carolina cities are among 18 urban areas designated for tutoring minority groups by the Workers' Defense League (WDL) to pass apprenticeship entrance examinations in the building and construction trades. The announcement was made today by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson.

The League has been awarded an 18-month Apprenticeship Outreach contract for the overall program to recruit and prepare 1,025 minority youths to become apprentices in about 18 skilled building and construction trades.

Local AFL-CIO Building Trades Councils will provide skilled union craftsmen as instructors.

The Apprenticeship Outreach projects will be conducted in the following locations:

The Apprenticeship Outreach program provides for up to 10 weeks of preparation, using the "tutor and cram" technique, to repare candidates to pass specific examinations in the building and construction trades, as they are announced.

Program sponsors have found that less than 10 percent of the total number of youths recruited for the tutoring courses are able to take and pass the examinations. As a by-product of the program, therefore, an estimated more than 10,000 youths will have attended classes to a major or minor extent and received instruction in mathematics, reading and other trade-related subjects.

Under its previous Labor Department-sponsored Apprenticeship Outreach contracts, the Workers' Defense League placed a total of 2,000 minority apprentices through July of this year, all but 120 of them in the building and construction trades.

The Outreach program recruits prospects through local State Employment Service offices, Apprenticeship Information Centers, and various community-action agencies.

Written and oral tests are given by joint apprenticeship committees representing management and labor in each trade.

Apprenticeship Outreach sponsors also counsel and assist those apprentices selected to remain in their chosen apprenticeships until successful completion.

M — Bldg Trades

Week of December 14, 1970

LITTLE ROCK, PROVIDENCE PLANS FOR EXPANDING MINORITY HIRING IN CONSTRUCTION GIVEN TENTATIVE FEDERAL APPROVAL

WASHINGTON -- Agreements to increase minority hiring in construction trades reached by local citizens in little Rock and Providence have been tentatively approved by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

In announcing the development, Secretary of Labor J.D. Hodgson said the two equal opportunity plans bring to 13 the number of cities and areas that have developed "hometown" solutions for construction.

OFCC gives tentative approval to a plan when the parties make a general commitment to establish numerical goals and timetables for expanding minority job opportunities in various crafts.

Final OFCC approval comes only after the signatories to the plan agree to specific goals and timetables for achieving equality in each trade covered by the agreement.

After giving final approval, OFCC monitors the plan as long as it operates to insure compliance with Federal equal opportunity requirements.

"These latest agreements represent another encouraging step toward America's long-standing goal of equal employment opportunity," Secretary Secretary Hodgson said.

"But the signing of these agreements is not an end in itself," he added. "It is a beginning. Achievement of equity at the workplace is a day-to-day process that requires earnest efforts by all parties involved."

For its part, the Secretary said, the Labor Department will continue giving metropolitan areas the opportunity and assistance to develop area-wide, voluntary agreements covering public as well as private construction.

"Where such agreements are not possible," he added, "the Department will continue to impose solutions such as those initiated in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C."

The Little Rock agreement provides that the parties will work to achieve minority representation in the construction trades equal to the minority proportion of the area population within five years.

The goal of the plan is employment of 800 additional minority workers within the five-year period. At least 160 persons are to be trained in the first year.

Signing the Little Rock agreement were the Building Trades Council, the Associated General and Speciality Contractors, the Arkansas Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other minority community representatives.

The Providence Plan is unique in that it is the first "hometown" agreement to involve a state government.

(MORE)

Signed by Rhode Island Governor. Frank Licht and representatives of unions, contractors, the State's Urban League and other minority groups, the agreement features these immediate goals:

-- Enrollment of 100 minority youth in pre-apprenticeship training programs.

-- Placement of 100 minority youths in apprenticeship training programs.

-- Enrollment of 100 minority group people who are over the apprentice ticeship age or who have not had training or experience in a particular craft in various construction and building trades as journeyment trainees.

-- Enrollment of 50 fully-qualified journeyment for regular union membership.

The plan to increase minority hiring in the construction industry in the Providence area is to be carried out over a five-year period in five counties: Providence, Kent, Bristol, Washington and Newport.

During the five-year period, the agreement calls for the enrollment of 200 minority youths in apprenticeship and pre-apprenticeship training programs, the placement of 100 minority group people as journeymen for regular union membership.

An administrative committee, composed of a member of the Governor's Office, contractors, unions, and members of the minority community, will carry out the agreement. Craft operations committees, composed of employer union and minority community representatives will also be responsible for implementing the agreement.

Eleven metropolitan areas have developed hometown agreements since the Labor Department launched a nation-wide program last February to achieve equal job opportunity in the construction industry. They are: Providence, Little Rock, Rochester, New Orleans, Santa Clara County, (Calif.), Kansas City, Indianapolis, Denver, Boston, St. Louis, and Los Angeles.

Two other cities -- Chicago and Pittsburgh -- developed "hometown solutions" before the national effort was lauched. Seattle, Washington has a court-imposed plan.

The Labor Department's Office of Federal contract Compliance assists local parties in drawing up hometown agreements. OFCC is responsible for carrying out Executive Order 11246, which prohibits discrimination in Federal contract work because of race, color, religion, sex and national origin and requires contractors to take affirmative action to insure job equality.

# # #

Apprentice Program Rule Changes Urged By Labor Department

Proposals Are Aimed at Insuring Minorities Equal Opportunity In Federally Certified Plans

2/1/71

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The Labor Department formally proposed revised regulations aimed at insuring minorities of an equal opportunity to enter Federally certified apprenticeship programs.

The proposed tightening of the regulations, as expected, would require program sponsors "with deficiencies in the utilization of minority apprenticeships" to adopt an approved selection method or set specific goals and timetables for admitting minority applicants.

Program sponsors agreeing to admit specific percentages of minority apprentice applicants would be permitted to use any selection method approved by the Labor Department.

Those who don't set specific goals and timetables would have to use one of three alternate methods of selection under the proposed rule changes. Apprentices could be picked from a list of applicants ranked in the order of their scores on a Government-validated test, chosen randomly by "impartial" persons from a pool of qualified but unranked applicants, or selected from a pool of eligible employes that is established by existing labor contracts or company policy so long as they aren't discriminatory.

There is no requirement in the present regulations covering entry into apprenticeship programs for any kind of equal-employment goals or timetables. And the tests used to screen applicants don't have to be validated by the Labor Department under current rules.

"For the first time," Labor Secretary Hodgson said, "we are adopting specific measures in the U.S. apprenticeship system to insure that minorities will be afforded full and equal opportunity in all (Federally) registered apprenticeship programs."

Roughly two-thirds of all apprentices in training are enrolled in programs registered with the Labor Department or Federally approved state apprenticeship councils. The building trades account for more than half of all registered apprentices.

Secretary Hodgson said the rules changes were proposed because "there continues to be underutilization of minorities in apprenticeships in some circumstances." The latest figures released by the Labor Department show that 7.7% of the apprenticeships in registered programs in 1969 were minority-group members.

The formal publication of the revised regulations in the Federal Register followed months of informal haggling among the Labor Department, union officials and employer groups. Many construction-union leaders have objected strongly to the proposed tightening of the regulations; some of them, however, have conceded the present proposal intrudes less into the detailed procedures for selecting apprentices than some versions under consideration several months ago.

All interested parties have 30 days in which to submit official comments on the proposed new regulations. But unless the official comments turned up "something new and different" from the views already presented informally, a top department official predicted, the proposed rule changes will probably be put into effect by Secretary Hodgson in something close to their present form.

The revised rules would apply to an estimated 10,000 registered apprenticeship programs that have five or more enrollees. Under the revised rules, a program's minority enrollment would be "deficient" if it wasn't roughly proportionate to the number of minorities in the local population, to the area's labor force and to those available to enter the program.

In the event a sponsor with a deficiency submits inadequate goals or refuses to set goals, the department would have the power to establish specific goals and a timetable for that program.

Federal certification of programs can be terminated after a hearing if there's a failure to make a "rigorous, determined, good-faith effort" to bring in minorities. Apprentices in registered programs can qualify more easily for veterans' training benefits and for draft deferments, among other things, than if they were enrolled in a plan that wasn't approved by the Labor Department.

M - B Hy Tucker

Week of March 22, 1971

"PITTSBURGH PLAN" PROJECT WILL TRAIN
314 CONSTRUCTION APPRENTICES, JOURNEYMEN

WASHINGTON -- Manpower Administrator Paul J. Fasser, Jr., recently announced a $471,255 manpower training project to prepare 314 minority workers for apprenticeship or journeyman training and to help them become members of Pittsburgh building and construction unions.

The project supports the "Pittsburgh Plan," a voluntary commitment worked out by the Black Construction Coalition and the construction industry to get more blacks into construction jobs.

The one-year contract is between the Labor Department's Manpower Administration and the Pittsburgh Building and Construction Industry Administrative Committee for Research, Education and Training, Inc. The Committee has agreed to prepare 158 minority youths for apprenticeship and to upgrade the skills of 156 construction workers who have varying levels of experience so they can become fully qualified journeymen, or -- if already qualified -- gain union status. Construction union members will provide instruction and supervision.

Fasser said the contract is a "major contribution" toward helping the Black Construction Coalition and the Pittsburgh construction industry fulfill their joint commitment to implement the voluntary Pittsburgh Plan.

"The financial support and emphasis the Manpower Administration is giving this project is a tangible indication of the Labor Department's concern for making sure the Pittsburgh Plan works," Fasser said.

The contractor will use five subcontractors to expedite the project and ensure a high level of performance. Three will concentrate on applicant recruitment, selection, counseling, and follow-up: the Opportunities Industrialization Center; Operation DIG, a community-action organization that

(MORE)

trains minority applicants for the building and construction trades; and the Bidwell Cultural and Training Center, Inc.

A fourth, Community Action of Pittsburgh, Inc., will coordinate subcontractors' financial reports.

The fifth, the Construction Advancement Program of Western Pennsylvania, will help the contractor with administrative work.

Applicants for the 158 apprenticeship openings will be trained along the lines of the Apprenticeship Outreach Program's concentrated tutoring plan. This includes basic education, preapprenticeship classroom training, and orientation in specific construction trades.

The 156 workers selected for the journeyman training project will be credited for their previous experience and given classroom or on-the-job training, or both, to provide the additional knowledge and experience they require to gain full journeyman and union status. The project will see that their previous experience is credited towards that required for union membership.

The Pittsburgh project sponsors estimate that about 2,700 recruits will be needed to attain its goal of 314 apprentice and journeyman placements.

The project will operate in the City of Pittsburgh, in the Hill District, Northside, and Homewood-Brushton, as well as other areas of Allegheny County.

# # #

M-B/by Trade

Week of March 22, 1971

SAN ANTONIO UNIONS GET 3RD CONTRACT
TO PLACE 40 MINORITY APPRENTICES

WASHINGTON -- The San Antonio Building and Construction Trades Council will prepare another 40 minority youths to become apprentices in the construction industry, Manpower Administrator Paul J. Fasser, Jr., reports.

The Council's new contract will run for one year through next January, supported with $47,272 in Federal funds.

This is the Council's third Apprenticeship Outreach contract to prepare 40 young men to pass entrance examinations and become apprentices in one of 17 building and construction trades.

In its two previous contracts, the Council placed 68 minority apprentices. By trade there were 16 carpenters, 1 bricklayer, 1 elevator constructor, 3 cement masons, 11 electricians, 6 ironworkers, 3 painters, 15 plumbers-pipefitters, and 12 sheet metal workers.

Of the minority apprentices placed in the Council's second contract, 60 percent were blacks and 40 precent chicanos.

The Apprenticeship Outreach Program is designed to prepare minority youths to take and pass written and oral apprenticeship entrance tests through a concentrated tutoring program of up to 10 weeks per trainee, tailored to fit each individual's specific learning needs.

(MORE)

For participants who are employed on other jobs, the concentrated preparatory sessions are conducted after the regular work day.

Over the three-year period since the program was fully organized at the beginning of 1968, more than 8,700 minority youths have become apprentices.

Major sponsors in the Outreach Program are the Workers' Defense League with 17 projects, the National Urban League with 28, the Building and Construction Trades Councils, AFL-CIO, with 26, and 20 other individual program sponsors.

The projects operate in the Nation's major industrial cities where there are high concentrations of racial and ethnic minority groups, but also opportunities for apprenticeship in the building and construction trades where more than half of all skilled-trade apprentice openings occur.

Apprenticeship Outreach projects recruit candidates through local State Employment Service offices, Apprenticeship Information Centers, and community-action and social-service organizations.

Nationwide, major minority participants in the program are blacks, with strong Mexican American representation in the southwestern States. Other ethnic participants include people with Spanish surnames such as Puerto Ricans, as well as Indians, Orientals, and, in Alaska, Eskimos and Aleuts.

# # #

P.I.C. NEWS

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Divide and Rule

By Stephen Clapp
Mr. Clapp is staff writer for the Public Information Center.

The Labor Department's minority hiring plans to integrate the building trades unions have produced few new black construction workers. In fact, whether in Washington or Philadelphia, Chicago or New York, Buffalo or San Francisco, minority hiring plans fail to come to grips with most unions' calculated policy of excluding outsiders and discriminating against blacks.

What the hiring plans have done is increase animosity between blacks and the labor movement, which has been used to political advantage by mayors and governors. Some critics believe this is what the Nixon Administration intended all along.

Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, recently called the Philadelphia Plan "part and parcel of a general Republican attack on labor" that includes embarrassing the unions and organizing public pressure against them.

"The advantages to the Republicans from this kind of strategy should be obvious," he states. "Nixon supports his friends among the corporate elite and hurts his enemies in the unions. He also gains a convenient cover for his anti-Negro policies in the South, and above all, he weakens his political opposition by aggravating the differences between its two strongest and most progressive forces—the labor movement and the civil rights movement."

As evidence of this thesis, there is George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, describing the Philadelphia Plan as "a concoction of a bureaucrat's imagination" while Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, denounces "racist hard hats (who) are the potential street fighters of American fascism . . . acting with the support of both Nixon and Meany."

There are, of course, valid reasons for attacking discrimination in the building trades. Racial imbalance in the building trades is dramatic and well-documented. Figures compiled by the Labor Department in 1967 showed that nation-wide there were only 61 black asbestos workers, or roughly one per cent of union membership. There were 33 black elevator constructors, 92 black sheet metal workers and 177 black lathers. In the laborer category, by contrast, blacks had 81,457 members, or roughly 30 per cent of union membership.

Moreover, construction is a fast-growing industry that receives millions of federal dollars. Labor economists estimate that the industry will require a minimum of 800,000 additional workers over the next decade. Wages in the industry are high, and construction should provide new job opportunities at good pay for large numbers of unemployed or underemployed black workers.

To maintain job security and high wages, craft unions in recent years have developed elaborate apprenticeship programs to limit the number of persons available to work. It can take longer to become a hardhat than it takes to become a doctor or lawyer. Even though most white construction workers have never gone through an apprenticeship program—some have never even completed

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primary school—many unions now require candidates to undergo four- or five-year apprenticeship programs before joining the union as journeymen.

Official AFL-CIO policy is non-discriminatory, but various local unions have adopted procedures that present opportunities for discrimination. Blacks are often subjected to a more extensive training process than their white counterparts. Some apprenticeship programs only exclude minority candidates; others practice nepotism. Still other apprenticeship committees employ inappropriate or purely subjective tests. A graduate of a Washington, D.C. training program recently took the elevator constructors' apprenticeship test. He was asked complex questions on air flow and ventilation. "None of us could have passed that test," his instructor reported. Yet there is no way to determine whether white applicants were given the same examination. The elevator constructors union in Washington has 128 members, of whom 6 are black.

When young blacks and Puerto Ricans taught by the Workers Defense League in New York City scored in the top 10 per cent of candidates for sheet-metal apprenticeship openings in 1965, the local unions threw out the results. The Workers Defense League had to take the union to court to get the applicants accepted.

"The whole setup is designed to discourage black interest," says Clifford Alexander, former head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. "You try to convince some black kids to go into a six-month preapprenticeship program, then four years of apprenticeship. It's ridiculous. That kid is either going to go to college or sign on as a laborer."

An even more serious problem is unwillingness to admit black workers, many of whom have been certified by state licensing boards as fully-qualified journeymen, directly into union membership and union controlled jobs. On this issue the craft unions refuse to budge. The EEOC reported that black membership in the building trade unions actually declined in 1969.

"About three-fourths of all the skilled construction workers in the United States . . . do not have to be prepared or primed or tutored," says NAACP's Herbert Hill. "They learn by doing. It is only blacks and members of other minority groups who must climb the slow apprenticeship ladder."

Nearly everyone agrees that the most potent instrument for achieving integration in the construction industry is forcing contractors to live up to anti-discrimination guidelines that are written into every federal contract. Federal contracts are a privilege, not a right, and the government could devise ways to insure that public money is not put into the hands of unions that practice restrictive and racist membership policies.

The difficulty lies in achieving compliance. In 1969 the Nixon Administration devised its Philadelphia Plan to reform the six construction trades characterized by the poorest records of minority employment. The plan covers all federal and federally-assisted projects of a half million dollars or more in the five-county Philadelphia area. Since February, contractors have also been required to demonstrate compliance with minority hiring goals on their privately-financed projects as well. This provision is designed to eliminate so-called "motorcycle compliance," by which contractors were

moving black workers from private projects to federal projects when government inspectors came to check.

To be considered for a federal contract, a contractor must include in his bid the percentage of nonwhite craftsmen he hopes to employ in his trade. His bid is not considered unless his employment goals meet federal standards for Philadelphia. The standards will allow contractors to gradually increase minority participation over a period of five years, with the ultimate goal of 19 per cent minority participation in the construction crafts in Philadelphia, which has a minority population of 30 per cent.

John Wilks, who heads the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, contends that Philadelphia is well on its way toward meeting its goal, since nearly 15 per cent of on-site workers in the six affected trades are now minorities. He concedes that the Philadelphia Plan has been less successful in making union members out of these workers but argues that union membership, too, will come in time.

"All blacks and Puerto Ricans who are members of the affected unions are now working," Wilks told *P.I.C. News*. "We have forced equity in that system. As for non-union craftsmen, after they have been on the job for a specified length of time, they are entitled to enter a local. It's a civil rights violation if they don't. I think the unions will want these guys as members, since they are now in the labor pool. Some black craftsmen told me they are not interested in union membership, but that may be just a rationalization."

In June 1970 the Labor Department issued a plan to increase black construction workers in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. The Washington Plan is modeled after the Philadelphia Plan, except that Washington is expected to reach a maximum of 25 per cent non-white in the unions by 1974. The Labor Department estimates that this goal can be reached by filling one of every two openings in the craft unions with a minority worker.

OFCC officials say that the success of the Philadelphia Plan is "representative" for Washington as well, where 71 per cent of residents are black, and the unemployment rate for blacks is twice that for whites. However, critics of the two plans question whether the federal agencies directly responsible for compliance have effectively monitored construction work in the two cities. The OFCC sets up the monitoring system but depends on the contracting agencies to do the actual site reviews.

The OFCC has only 31 professionals to coordinate compliance efforts. Overseeing the Philadelphia and Washington Plans is a compliance officer in Philadelphia with a three-man staff and several other responsibilities. Contractors can rest secure that the construction project will be over and their money in the bank before the project inspector gets around to checking their minority employment.

The Washington Area Construction Industry Task Force, representing a spectrum of community organizations and civil rights groups, recently accused the Nixon Administration of failing to enforce the Washington Plan. The task force pointed out that federal contractors had failed to keep records and file reports on equal employment despite requirements to do so. An advisory committee to oversee the plan had met only once, with notice to community representatives—who were greatly outnumbered by union and industry representatives—only hours beforehand.

"Nor has there been any access to any significant statistical information by representatives of the minority community," the Task Force said. "Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Fletcher tells us that all his department can do is coordinate, and that there is no information forthcoming from the agencies. Compare this to what Mr. Fletcher's department does to 'coordinate' enforcement of the Wage and Hour Act and the Davis-Bacon Act, which are of importance to white unions. Last year there were 2,835 government employees and over $41 million deployed in this effort."

The task force pointed out that Project Build, a federally-funded training effort sponsored by the Greater Washington Central Labor Council with Labor Department funds, had failed to get a single black graduate accepted for membership in any Washington-area construction union.

"This training program will be a dead end for every black trainee since none will be accepted into white unions and without union membership will be unable to find work in the construction trades until the federal government effectively enforces the Washington Plan," the task force said.

If the Washington and Philadelphia Plans have proved difficult to enforce, even more difficult to enforce are so-called "hometown" solutions that the Labor Department began promoting after meeting resistance to the Philadelphia Plan. If a city's voluntary plan is approved by Labor, the city gets money for job training programs and continues to receive federal construction funds. To encourage cities to develop these hometown plans, Labor has threatened to impose plans on cities that fail to come up with their own approaches. Washington was the first of these.

Of 102 cities designated as target areas for hometown plans, approximately 30 have come up with acceptable solutions. On May 12 the Labor Department announced it was preparing plans for Atlanta and St. Louis in the absence of local action. A government plan was imposed June 3 on San Francisco, which has a hometown plan that is not working.

On June 4 the Labor Department announced that it was imposing a plan on the city of Chicago, where the "hometown" plan had collapsed and $94,500 was missing from the plan account, representing a total of 12 forged checks. Alderman Fred D. Hubbard, a Daley Democrat representing the all-black Second Ward and project director, has been charged with forging a $20,000 check drawn on the account.

The Chicago Plan began with high hopes. The Labor Department provided $824,000 for administration and training which was expected to give immediate union membership to 1,000 blacks and Puerto Ricans and apprenticeship training to an additional 3,000 minority youths. The AFL-CIO lauded the plan as a model that should be used for future negotiations in other cities.

Despite the enthusiasm generated by the plan, it never got off the ground. One difficulty was Mayor Richard J. Daley, who became interested in the negotiations when he saw that his Model Cities funds might be tied up because of street demonstrations by black contractors and their community allies. At stake was $35 million in Model Cities funds, with which Daley wanted no interference. The Chicago Plan placed immense power in the hands of the mayor, giving him the swing vote on the seven member committee that oversaw administration of the plan. Each faction—labor, employer and minority coalition—had two members, with the seventh member being the mayor or his representative. Since five votes were needed to pass any matter, the mayor could veto any action unsatisfactory

Continued on page 4

Continued from page 3

to either the contractors or the unions by adding his vote to theirs.

There was constant bickering between labor and the minority community over how the numbers would be apportioned among the 19 craft unions involved. Since the plan became effective 17 months ago, 885 minority group members have begun apprenticeship training, but few have been put to work. Last year's construction season ended without a single minority worker on the job as a result of the plan.

The city of Buffalo, N.Y., has a plan imposed by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller against the wishes of the minority community. On February 3, 1970, Rockefeller lifted an 11-month moratorium on state-financed construction and imposed a plan on the Buffalo area. No members of Buffalo's minority community were consulted on terms of the plan.

The announcement of the plan was preceded by a year of community action directed toward unions and contractors' associations. In April 1969 the Governor's office recognized a Minority Coalition as the agent for blacks, Indians and Puerto Ricans; this group subsequently received $275,000 in manpower funds to "identify" minority applicants for training programs. That fall the Minority Coalition, the industrial unions and the contractors' association reached tentative agreement on a plan. Five unions then refused to sign, and all negotiations were ended.

Rockefeller's response to this development was to lift the moratorium on New Town and State University construction projects valued at $135 million and impose a plan under which he claimed 4,500 minority workers would be trained and taken in by the unions over the next four years. The plan is based on the percentage of non-whites in Erie County, which is only half the percentage of non-whites in the City of Buffalo.

The task force that came up with the Rockefeller Plan included Peter J. Brennan, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York. Brennan, a powerful labor figure, was one of the first union leaders to throw the support of his organization behind Rockefeller's reelection last year. A possible reason for Rockefeller's desire to resume construction activities in 1970 was the fact that he had failed to carry Erie County, the most populous area of New York State outside New York City, in the two previous gubernatorial elections.

Rev. James T. Hemphill, leader of the Minority Coalition, has accused Rockefeller of treating Buffalo blacks as a "plantation, to accept what is given."

"The community is awaiting Governor Rockefeller to announce and fulfill his pay off to the minority community for adopting his affirmative action program," Hemphill said recently. "The Governor was paid off by the unions, who endorsed his reelection. Rockefeller paid off the unions by delivering the 'minority community' to embrace union-designed programs which guarantee the unions absolute control."

Backed by the NAACP, the Minority Coalition has filed suit in federal court to halt all state and federal construction in the Buffalo area. The Coalition has petitioned President Nixon in hopes of getting the Labor Department to impose a plan of its own on Buffalo, which has the lowest percentage of minorities in craft unions in any major city in the country. But the OFCC continues to negotiate with Rockefeller.

"Construction is going forward like crazy," Rev. Hemphill told *P.I.C. News*. "The hometown solution isn't working, and the unions are not about to undertake affirmative action as long as they are able to work. With white craftsmen laid off from the steel plants here, the contractors have a ready-made labor force. All we're trying to do is get the law enforced. In Buffalo, nobody's enforcing anything."

The Labor Department is also having trouble negotiating a "hometown solution" in New York City, where the NAACP's Herbert Hill describes a plan that was rejected by the Labor Department as "an obvious attempt by the contractors and the building trades unions of New York City to prevent genuine contract compliance by government agencies."

The New York Plan provides no guarantee of minimum percentages of minority workers on public construction and no guarantee of work for already-qualified minority workers. It does not even require a minimum number of trainees, or specify which trades they were to be trained for. The plan could be implemented without placing a single black or Puerto Rican worker in training.

In general, minority hiring plans accept the unions' argument that long periods of training are required for construction work, including such ridiculous notions as "pre-apprenticeship training" and "post-training." To keep the excluded blacks pacified, the Labor Department has doled out nearly $9 million in salaries and training subsidies to Outreach programs run by unions and by black community organizations willing to go along with the game.

Contractors use the fact of discrimination as a counter in collective bargaining, holding down the wage base as a price for allowing unions to continue discriminating. It is no coincidence that the same Administration that salleyed forth so bravely to end discrimination in the building trades was also the first to suspend the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act, which guarantees non-union workers the same wages as union workers on construction jobs.

The Washington and Philadelphia Plans cannot be discounted entirely. The problem is one of monitoring and enforcement. The OFCC claims that the fault for non-enforcement lies with other federal agencies. Last March, it cited 10 federal agencies that had either ignored reporting requirements or else had failed to take corrective action against building contractors. In only one case to date, a small $43,000 contract in Philadelphia, has an agency agreed to proceedings against the contractor.

Last January, civil rights and community organizations met with Ford Foundation officials to discuss placing teams of lawyers and community organizers into each city where a plan exists. "Once you accept the idea of a hiring plan, you have to monitor and you have to sue," says one of the participants at the meeting. "As it is now, nobody can make life miserable for the federal government. But effective monitoring of the plans could break the back of the resistance within six months or a year."

Instant Prejudice

"The Farmers Home Supervisor told me that he could look at a family when they came in (to his office) and know whether he was going to lend them money for a house or not."

—Pat Gish, director of the Eastern Kentucky Housing Development Corporation, during hearings by the House Education and Labor Committee.

M-EEO
Bldg. Trades

Week of October 25, 1971

MINORITY EMPLOYMENT UNDER 'PHILADELPHIA PLAN' GENERALLY RUNNING ABOVE 1971 GOALS

WASHINGTON -- Average minority employment in construction crafts covered by the Philadelphia Plan is running above the second-year goals set by the Government, Secretary of Labor J.D. Hodgson reports.

Minority workers have accounted for 14.2 percent of the 287,777 total manhours logged in construction work under the plan for the latest reporting period, June 1 through August 1, 1971, he said.

When the Philadelphia Plan was imposed in September 1969, the second-year ranges set for the six covered trades averaged from 9.8 to 13.8 percent.

The 14.2-percent figure is based on reports received by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance from 11 Federal contracting agencies with 77 projects under construction from June 1 to August 1.

Secretary Hodgson said the reports showed that four crafts were above their second-year goals, one was within its prescribed range and one trade was below its 1971 goal.

The following is a craft-by-craft comparison of minority employment, by manhours, with total employment and the second-year goals based on reports received from the 11 Federal agencies:

-- Iron workers: Total manhours, 42,275; minority manhours, 6,509 (15.3 percent). Second-year range: 11 to 15 percent.

-- Plumbers: Total manhours, 72,571; minority manhours, 8,658 (11.9 percent). Second-year range: 10 to 14 percent.

-- Electricians: Total manhours, 94,796; minority manhours, 15,366 (16.2 percent). Second-year range: 9 to 13 percent.

-- Sheetmetal workers: Total manhours, 39,415; minority manhours, 6,824 (17.3 percent). Second-year range: 9 to 13 percent.

(MORE)

-- Steamfitters: Total manhours, 35,499; minority manhours, 2,825 (7.9 percent). Second-year range: 11 to 15 percent.

-- Elevator constructors: Total manhours, 3,221; minority manhours, 640 (19 percent). Second-year range: 9 to 13 percent.

In addition to the reports received from the 11 Federal agencies, the Department of Labor last week made on-site compliance reviews at all 78 active projects under the plan to determine the exact number of minorities employed at that time. John L. Wilks, Director of the OFCC, sent the team of investigators to review the projects.

The on-site reviews, conducted October 7 and 8 in the five-county area covered by the plan, showed that 102 minorities were among the 743 persons working in the six crafts on active projects. Of the 102, Federal investigators were able to interview 92 to them personally.

A sizeable number of minority workers was also employed in other trades not covered by the plan at the time of the two-day review.

The Philadelphia Plan requires all bidders on Federally-involved construction projects exceeding $500,000 to submit affirmative action plans setting goals and timetables for employing minorities in the six trades in their Government as well as private work.

By the end of 1973, the goals under the plan will range from a high of 22 to 26 percent for iron workers to 19 to 23 percent for sheetmetal, electrical and elevator construction workers.

Philadelphia was the first city where the Federal Government imposed a construction hiring plan. Other cities with imposed plans are Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Atlanta and St. Louis.

(MORE)

In more than 100 cases where contractors have not met requirements of the Philadelphia Plan, Federal contracting agencies have been instructed by Mr. Wilks to issue show-cause notices requiring the contractors to take corrective action within 30 days.

In most cases, contractors have fully corrected the situation and signed written agreements with the Government to take remedial action.

About 20 contractors are under investigation to determine whether there is sufficient evidence to bring them to debarment hearings.

On September 17, 1971, Edgely Air Products, a sheetmetal contractor, was debarred from further Government work for failure to meet requirements of the Philadelphia Plan.

# # #

M-EEO
Bld. Trades

Week of October 25, 1971

LABOR SECRETARY HAILS U.S. SUPREME COURT
REFUSAL TO STRIKE DOWN 'PHILADELPHIA PLAN'

WASHINGTON -- Secretary of Labor J.D. Hodgson has hailed the United States Supreme Court's refusal to review a case challenging the legality of the Philadelphia Plan.

"This Administration is delighted," the Secretary said, "that the Supreme Court, by refusing to take up this case, has affirmed our program as a valid means of achieving equal job opportunity."

Under the plan, Federal contractors are required to use numerical goals and timetables for boosting minority employment in six high-paying construction crafts in five Philadelphia-area counties.

The two-year-old plan requires bidders on construction work exceeding $500,000 to submit "affirmative action" plans setting percentage ranges for utilizing minorities in these crafts: Iron work, plumbing and pipefitting, steamfitting, sheetmetal work, electrical work and elevator construction.

The High Court refused to hear the case filed by the Contractors Association of Eastern Pennsylvania, which challenged the validity of the minority-hiring plan.

On April 22, 1971, the 3rd U.S. Court of Appeals upheld unanimously a decision rendered last year by the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania on the plan's validity.

At the time of the appellate court's decision, Secretary Hodgson said, in part:

"Every American concerned with fairness and equity in the world of work can find a large measure of satisfaction in the appellate court decision written by Judge Gibbons."

(MORE)

The Gibbons' decision specifically upheld the plan's concept of "affirmative action" for widening minority job opportunities among Federal contractors, including the use of numerical goals and timetables.

Only last week, Secretary Hodgson reported that average minority employment in construction trades covered by the Philadelphia Plan is running above the Government's second-year goals.

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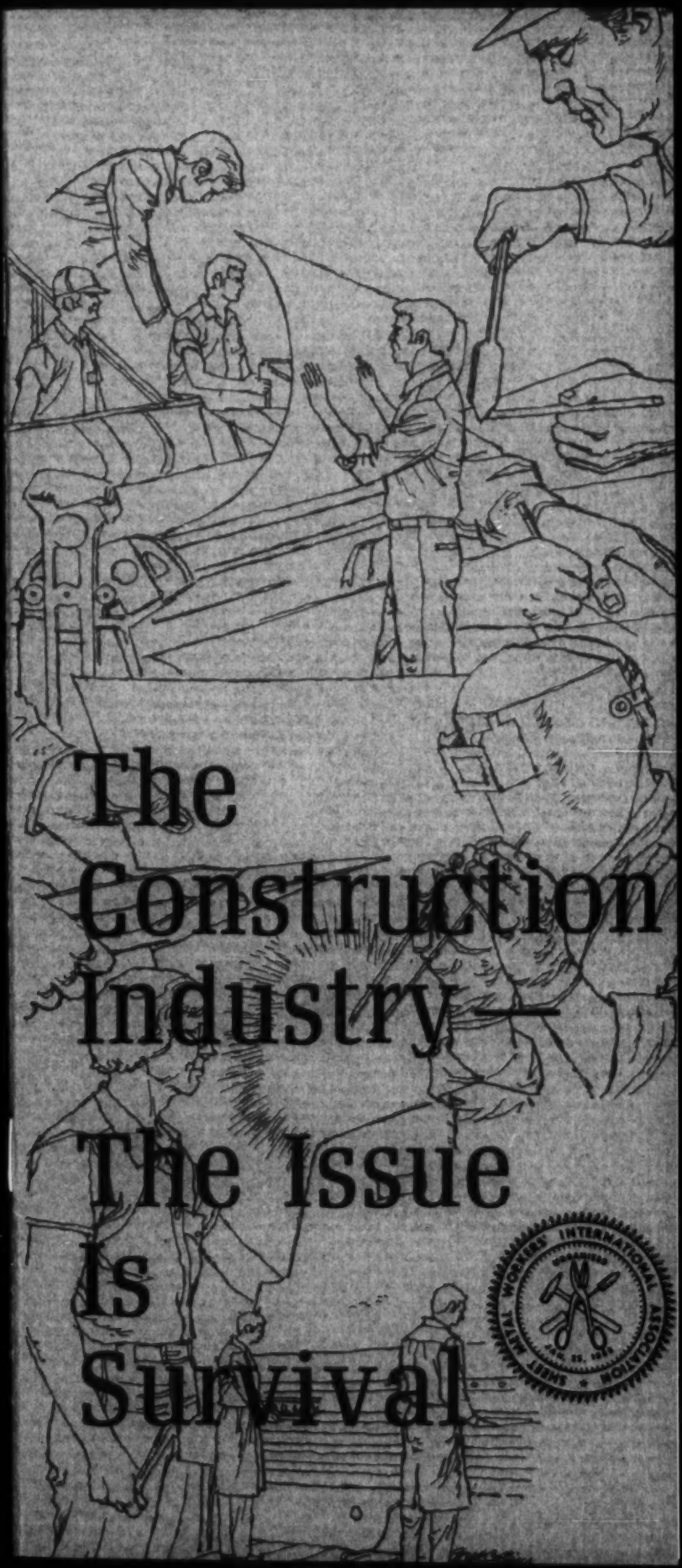

The Construction Industry — The Issue Is Survival

SHEET METAL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

7-7-72

Hard-Hats Split

Nonunion Contractors Winning Sizable Share Of Construction Work

Rules and Wages Fuel Trend; Destructive Clashes Erupt At Sites Around Country

The Double-Breasted Outfit

7/7/72

By BILL PAUL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NASHVILLE — It's known around here as the great Boy Scout ploy.

Last April, union construction workers unhappy about a new contract offer walked off their jobs at Opryland USA, a new amusement park and museum complex here. Picket lines went up, and for three weeks work at the site was at a standstill. The park's owner, National Life & Accident Insurance Co. of Nashville, was faced with the embarrassing prospect of having to delay the park's much-publicized May 21 grand opening.

So on Sunday, April 30, a nonunion contractor was called in to finish the job. Predictably, the union hard-hats reacted with fury; about 500 pickets showed up Monday morning, and there was "a lot of rock throwing and window breaking," according to one eyewitness. One subcontractor had all the windows of his office shattered, and the man in charge, Joe Rogers, president of Joe M. Rogers & Associates Inc. of Nashville, had to hire around-the-clock guards to protect his family.

Windfall for the Scouts

But the resourceful Mr. Rogers had an ace up his sleeve. He quickly announced that National Life had agreed to pay $25,000 to local Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations for each day the amusement park was finished ahead of schedule. In the face of a possible public-relations disaster, the steam soon went out of the union protest. And by working his men 24 hours a day seven days a week, Mr. Rogers finished two days ahead of schedule—a $50,000 windfall for the appreciative Scouts.

Unfortunately, not all confrontations between union members and "open shop" or nonunion contractors end on such a mild note. Today in many parts of the country, nonunion contractors have captured a sizable portion of construction work as union wages have soared and union work rules have become increasingly restrictive. (Except for a handful of independent unions, all construction guilds are members of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department.) The result has been a mounting number of destructive--and often bloody—clashes between AFL-CIO craftsmen and nonunion craftsmen.

In January, for example, Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel had to appeal to Baltimore building trades leaders for a cease-fire after several outbreaks of violence on nonunion construction sites. In March, the National Guard had to be called out in Port Allen, La., after independently organized hard-hats used helicopters to go up and over building trades pickets. And in February, a union man was shot to death during picketing at a Jay, Fla., refinery site.

Biggest Demonstration Ever

The conflict in the Philadelphia area has been particularly violent. For example, in

Hard-Hats Split: Nonunion Firms Winning More Construction Work

Continued From First Page

workers today. For one thing, labor costs account for about 40% of a typical contract estimate. And with union craftsmen receiving average pay increases of 15% in 1970 and 11% in 1971, according to the Labor Department, union builders now find themselves with sealed bids 15% to 20% higher than the nonunion competition on some contracts.

Equally important, nonunion contractors aren't subject to many of the work rules imposed by unions. In part, that means they can assign workers to jobs outside their particular craft and can assign the number of workers they think is needed to do a certain job. In addition, nonunion contractors aren't subject to crippling walkouts every time there is a labor dispute.

Indeed, some union work rules do seem quite far-fetched. For example, a contractor often is required to pay a union electrician or electricians to be on hand during any hours in which temporary lights are on. On some projects, of course, such lights are never turned off, which means that the electrician is getting paid around the clock to watch the bulb burn. Another common rule requires that an operating engineer be on hand whenever a welding machine or compressor is in operation, even though those machines can run unattended all day and turn on with the flick of a switch.

Rules Defended

Most building trades leaders defend the rules and charge that nonunion builders are out to undermine union solidarity. They also contend that unions aren't responsible for many of the rough tactics in the industry. Ed Courtney, president of the Baltimore Building and Construction Trades Council, says, "We got blamed" when trailers were burned at the site of a new shopping center being built partly with nonunion labor. "But I think some of these nonunion contractors had their own trailers burned so they could collect the insurance on them."

But at least a few union bosses recently conceded that the unions themselves are at least partly to blame. "Had productivity increased as wages began to rise, we would not now be faced with some of our present-day problems," Hunter P. Wharton, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers, told his union's national convention in April "As demands were made upon and met by employers, the telltale effects of a system without reason began to show in the loss of construction to dual and nonunion employers."

Robert Georgine, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO's Building and Construction Trades Department, was even blunter. He recently blamed both unions and union employes for "a serious problem of featherbedding, where two guys are assigned to a piece of equipment that needs only one."

But the message, for the most part, seems to go unheeded and the violence continues. Law enforcement agencies are beginning to respond. In Denver, a statewide grand jury is investigating a series of fires that destroyed $2 million worth of construction projects during the last four years in the Denver area. The projects, mostly condominiums near completion, were all built by nonunion contractors. The grand jury has been taking testimony for several months now, including that from the top 15 local building trades leaders.

Award to Beaten Man

In Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., a state circuit judge recently denied a union motion to set aside a $1.25 million judgment against the International Union of Operating Engineers and Local 675. The jury award, said to be the largest for personal damages in U.S. history, was made in December to a construction foreman who was severely beaten by a member of the union during a labor dispute. In another case, eight union men were recently sentenced to prison terms ranging from six months to five years for their part in an April 1970, incident in which 2,500 union men stormed a nonunion construction job on a Volkswagen agency in West Palm Beach, Fla. The attackers did an estimated $160,000 worth of damage, including burning 67 cars.

Some union contractors are responding by going "double-breasted," which means setting up a separate nonunion or open-shop company run by the same management that's running the unionized firm. The Associated General Contractors says that a large portion of its 10% increase in open-shop membership in the past year was due to the growing number of double-breasted firms. The association predicts another 10% increase this year.

But other union contractors see the incursion of nonunion builders as just as great a threat to them as to their workers. Some contractors are trying to bury the hatchet with local labor bosses, and one group, the North Texas Contractors Association in Arlington, has even signed a "memorandum of understanding" with the Dallas and Fort Worth building and construction trades councils. It calls for elimination of unnecessary and inefficient work practices and a fostering of increased productivity attitudes through education. The association represents 180 builders.

U.S. Leasing Real Estate

SAN FRANCISCO—U.S. Leasing Real Estate Investors said it acquired a 50% equity interest in the 27-story Colorado State Bank building in Denver. Terms weren't disclosed.

two days ahead of schedule—a $50,000 windfall for the appreciative Scouts.

Unfortunately, not all confrontations between union members and "open shop" or nonunion contractors end on such a mild note. Today in many parts of the country, nonunion contractors have captured a sizable portion of construction work as union wages have soared and union work rules have become increasingly restrictive. (Except for a handful of independent unions, all construction guilds are members of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department.) The result has been a mounting number of destructive--and often bloody—clashes between AFL-CIO craftsmen and nonunion craftsmen.

In January, for example, Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel had to appeal to Baltimore building trades leaders for a cease-fire after several outbreaks of violence on nonunion construction sites. In March, the National Guard had to be called out in Port Allen, La., after independently organized hard-hats used helicopters to go up and over building trades pickets. And in February, a union man was shot to death during picketing at a Jay, Fla., refinery site.

Biggest Demonstration Ever

The conflict in the Philadelphia area has been particularly violent. For example, in mid-June more than 1,000 angry union demonstrators firebombed half-finished buildings, stoned police and wrecked an estimated $300,000 worth of construction equipment at a new industrial park in King of Prussia, Pa., outside Philadelphia. Police the next day arrested 129 union members, who defied a court order and picketed the nonunion contractor on the job, Altemose Construction Co. of Center Square, Pa. About a week later, some 2,000 state police, half of Pennsylvania's state force, were mobilized to contain a protest march by 20,000 union hardhats near another Altemose site. It was the largest demonstration by organized labor in the state's history.

"Union workers are frustrated," says an official of the Associated General Contractors of America, an organization of both union and nonunion contractors based in Washington, D.C. "They've declared war on the open-shop firms that are taking away their jobs."

Statistics showing the shift to nonunion or independently organized labor on construction sites are sketchy but convincing. The National Constructors Association; the largest single group of union contractors in the industrial field, says that last year 32% of all industrial construction went to nonunion builders, a figure "at least double" what it was three years ago. The Associated General Contractors group says it has 1,000 more nonunion members than it did three years ago and that nonunion membership now comprises 35% of its 9,000 total membership.

Winning Bread-and-Butter Jobs

Traditionally, union builders have had the lion's share of industrial and commercial construction, while nonunion firms have handled the residential construction. But one building source says that in middle Tennessee, for example, nonunion builders now have about 80% of all industrial and commercial building compared with only 40% five years ago. In Miami, James L. Woodall, executive director of the local chapter of the Associated General Contractors, says that nonunion contractors are winning "more and more of the bread-and-butter jobs" that run up to $5 million or so. One estimate shows nonunion contractors now receiving more than 70% of Miami-area apartment building.

In Baltimore, another AGC official asserts that nonunion hard-hats are working on 75% to 80% of all area construction jobs, up "significantly" from five years ago. A recent survey in St. Louis showed that while 31% of the 25,000 AFL-CIO building tradesmen were out of work there, less than 1% of 4,000 independently organized tradesmen were jobless. And in Middleberg Heights, Ohio, where a bomb in April destroyed sections of a new car agency being erected partly by two nonunion subcontractors, including an electrical firm, sources note that there were some 400 union electricians out of work at the time. (Both nonunion subcontractors were put off the job by the general contractor 48 hours after the explosion.)

Both union and nonunion sources agree that there is a substantial incentive to use nonunion

Please Turn to Page 15, Column 1

burned so they could collect the insurance on them."

But at least a few union bosses recently conceded that the unions themselves are at least partly to blame. "Had productivity increased as wages began to rise, we would not now be faced with some of our present-day problems," Hunter P. Wharton, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers, told his union's national convention in April "As demands were made upon and met by employers, the telltale effects of a system without reason began to show in the loss of construction to dual and nonunion employers."

Robert Georgine, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO's Building and Construction Trades Department, was even blunter. He recently blamed both unions and union employes for "a serious problem of featherbedding, where two

sion of nonunion builders as just as great a threat to them as to their workers. Some contractors are trying to bury the hatchet with local labor bosses, and one group, the North Texas Contractors Association in Arlington, has even signed a "memorandum of understanding" with the Dallas and Fort Worth building and construction trades councils. It calls for elimination of unnecessary and inefficient work practices and a fostering of increased productivity attitudes through education. The association represents 180 builders.

U.S. Leasing Real Estate

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Week of July 17, 1972 M- Bldg Trade

NUMBER OF BLACK APPRENTICES HAS NEARLY DOUBLED IN FOUR YEARS

WASHINGTON -- The number of black youths in registered apprenticeship programs serviced by the U.S. Department of Labor has increased 91 percent since 1968.

Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson said the number of black apprentices rose from 6,561 at the end of 1968 to 12,550 at the end of 1971.

During 1971, the number of black apprentices increased 13.6 percent, from 11,045 to 12,550, a record high. Black apprentices represented 6.7 percent of the 186,236 apprentices registered as of December 31, 1971. A year earlier, blacks constituted 5.5 percent or 11,045 out of 199,928 registered apprentices.

Secretary Hodgson noted that the number of black apprentices increased during 1971 even though the total number of registered apprentices decreased 13,692 over the ye year.

New minority apprentices are being fed into the apprenticeship system -- conducted mostly by joint labor-management committees -- by affirmative action programs. These were generated by the Secretary of Labor's revised regulations under Title 29, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 30, which sets standards for equal opportunity in apprenticeship.

Secretary Hodgson pointed out that otureach programs financed by the Labor Department and conducted by AFL-CIO Construction Trades Councils, the Workers Defense League, the Urban League, and several other similar organizations also have contributed to the new apprentice totals.

Marked increases for black apprentices also occured in the construction trades where over half of all apprentices are employed. At the end of December 1971, out of 110,592 apprentices in the trades, 7,983 or 7.2 percent were black.

Yearly increases among registered black apprentices are shown in the following table:

(MORE)

All Trades	Date	Total	Blacks	Percent
	12-31-68	166,087	6,561	4.0
	12-31-69	201,574	9,331	4.6
	12-31-70	199,928	11,045	5.5
	12-31-71	186,236	12,550	6.7
Building and Construction Trades	12-31-68	91,177	3,728	4.0
	12-31-69	107,592	5,193	4.8
	12-31-70	112,890	6,732	6.0
	12-31-71	110,592	7,983	7.2

In other major trade groupings, black apprentice ratios stood as follows in December 1971: metal manufacturing, 5.1 percent; non-metal manufacturing, 4.7 percent; public utilities and transportation, 8 percent; trades and services, 7.5 percent; and mining, 4.9 percent.

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NEWS

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20210

Southeastern Regional Office
Bureau of Labor Statistics

SEP 14 1972

Atlanta, Georgia
404-526-5418

FOR RELEASE: Sunday Editions, September 17, 1972, or thereafter

M - Bldg Trads

SOUTHEASTERN BUILDING TRADES WAGE SCALES INCREASE 1.9 PERCENT IN SECOND QUARTER OF 1972

Union hourly wage scales for building trades workers in the Southeast 1/ rose 1.9 percent between April 3, 1972 and July 3, 1972, according to Brunswick A. Bagdon, Southeastern Regional Director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The all-trades average in the Southeast rose by 11 cents during the second quarter of 1972--from $6.00 to $6.11 an hour. Among individual trades, average quarterly increases in the Southeast ranged from 3.1 cents for building laborers to 21.1 cents for painters. Increases for other trades were 6.3 cents for carpenters, 10.6 cents for plasterers, 18.2 cents for plumbers, 18.4 cents for bricklayers, and 20.5 cents for electricians.

The Bureau's computations exclude wage increases negotiated during the second quarter of 1972 but not put into effect pending approval of the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC). Deferred increases scheduled to become effective between April 3, 1972, and July 3, 1972 are included in the increases shown if such increases were approved by the CISC. Also included are increases approved by the Committee within the quarter, but made retroactive to an earlier period.

The Southeastern average hourly wage scale on July 3, 1972 was 46.1 cents above that of the previous year, an increase of 8.2 percent. Yearly advances

1/ Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

varied from 6.6 percent for carpenters to 11.5 percent for electricians.

Among the six journeymen crafts, plumbers had the highest average scale as of July 3, 1972--$7.52 an hour. The basic scale for plumbers varied from $5.80 an hour in Columbia, South Carolina to $8.34 in Miami, Florida. For the other journeymen trades, regional average hourly scales were painters $5.75, plasterers $6.15, carpenters $6.43, bricklayers $6.94, and electricians $7.33.

Building laborers' scales averaged $3.99 an hour, ranging from $3.25 in Montgomery, Alabama to $5.60 in Miami, Florida.

Changes in union scales over the quarter and year and the rate levels on July 3, 1972 are shown below. In computing the changes in rates, the increases in each trade were averaged among all workers in the trade, whether or not they received raises. Data for the separate crafts, by city, are shown in the accompanying table.

Trade	Change* in Average to July 3, 1972 from --				Average Rate	
	April 3, 1972		July 1, 1971		July 3, 1972	
	Percent	Cents	Percent	Cents	Average	Range
Bricklayers.....	2.7	18.4	8.9	56.7	$ 6.94	$4.95 - 8.13
Carpenters.....	1.0	6.3	6.6	40.0	6.43	4.80 - 7.80
Electricians.....	2.9	20.5	11.5	75.6	7.33	5.35 - 8.98
Painters.....	3.8	21.1	8.3	43.9	5.75	4.00 - 7.20
Plasterers.....	1.8	10.6	7.4	42.5	6.15	4.25 - 7.75
Plumbers.....	2.5	18.2	7.4	51.9	7.52	5.80 - 8.34
Building Laborers...	0.8	3.1	7.4	27.5	3.99	3.25 - 5.60
ALL TRADES.....	1.9	11.2	8.2	46.1	6.11	- -

Data not comparable with Southeastern averages published prior to July 1, 1969, due to a change in regional definition.

* Increases made retroactive to April 3, 1972 or before were not considered in calculating changes shown. Data based on such retroactive pay changes are available upon request.

Union scales are the minimum wage rates (excluding holiday and vacation payments made directly to the worker each pay period) agreed upon through collective bargaining and reported to the Bureau by local respondents. The scales do not reflect rates for apprentices or for premium work. Overtime beyond established maximum daily and weekly hours is excluded.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Suite 540, 1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Union Hourly Wage Scales 1/ for Selected Building Trades
in 18 Southeastern Cities, July 3, 1972

City	Bricklayers	Carpenters	Electricians	Painters	Plasterers	Plumbers	Building Laborers
Atlanta, Ga.....	$ 7.800*	$ 7.150	$ 8.400#	$ 7.050	$ 6.920	$ 7.850*	$ 4.600*
Birmingham, Ala.....	6.650	6.000	7.350*	6.350	6.320	8.050	4.050
Charleston, S.C.....	4.950	5.050	5.700	4.000	4.600	6.000	2/
Charlotte, N.C.....	5.550	5.500	5.550 3/	4.000 3/	5.100*	6.000	3.280
Chattanooga, Tenn.....	6.600 3/	6.080 3/	6.850	5.450 3/	5.750 3/	7.500	4.500*
Columbia, S.C.....	2/	4.800	5.350	4.000 3/	2/	5.800	2/
Jackson, Miss.....	5.900	5.600* 3/	6.850*	5.050*	5.550	6.850	3.250
Jacksonville, Fla.....	6.380	5.950	7.250	5.700	5.860	8.000	3.560
Knoxville, Tenn.....	7.070	6.050	6.800*	5.650	6.500	6.650	4.090
Louisville, Ky.....	8.130*	7.800*	8.980*	6.540*	6.800	7.850	5.450 3/
Memphis, Tenn.....	7.100 3/	6.600 3/	6.830	5.500 3/	7.000*	7.440	3.475
Miami, Fla.....	7.750	7.600 3/	8.500*	7.200	7.750	8.340	5.600 3/
Mobile, Ala.....	7.390	6.800	7.900	6.880	7.200	8.250	4.400
Montgomery, Ala.....	5.700*	5.000	6.200*	4.750	5.200	7.380*	3.250*
Nashville, Tenn.....	6.750*	6.500	6.310*	5.600*	6.100	6.470 3/	4.050
Raleigh, N.C.....	5.550	5.500	5.550	4.400	5.250	6.000	3.280
Savannah, Ga.....	6.000	5.700	6.400	5.000	4.250	7.170	3.250
Tampa, Fla.....	7.050*	6.260 3/	8.100*	5.800*	6.410	7.700*	4.675 3/

1/ These scales represent the minimum wage rates (excluding holiday and vacation payments regularly made or credited to the worker each pay period) agreed upon through collective bargaining between employers and trade unions.
2/ No union scale in effect on survey date.
3/ Excludes negotiated increases which are pending Construction Industry Stabilization Committee approval.
* Represents either a newly negotiated or deferred increase which became effective between April 3, 1972 and July 3, 1972 and recently approved by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee. Some rate changes were retroactive to April 3, 1972 or before.
\# Revision of data previously reported.

Bldg Trades

Five N.C. Cities To Prepare Youths For Apprenticeship

Five North Carolina cities are among 18 urban areas designated for tutoring minority groups by the Workers' Defense League (WDL) to pass apprenticeship entrance examinations in the building and construction trades. The announcement was made today by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson.

The League has been awarded an 18-month Apprenticeship Outreach contract for the overall program to recruit and prepare 1,025 minority youths to become apprentices in about 18 skilled building and construction trades.

Local AFL-CIO Building Trades Councils will provide skilled union craftsmen as instructors.

The Apprenticeship Outreach projects will be conducted in the following locations: the Metropolitan New York City areas of Brooklyn Manhattan, Harlem and Westchester, Nassau and Suffolk counties; Buffalo, Rochester, Newark, Bridgeport, New Haven, Cleveland, Nashville, Lexington, Kentucky, Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh-Durham and Wilmington, North Carolina.

The Apprenticeship Outreach program provides for up to 10 weeks of preparation, using the "tutor and cram" technique, to prepare candidates to pass specific examinations in the building and construction trades, as they are announced.

Program sponsors have found that less than 10 percent of the total number of youths recruited for the tutoring courses are able to take and pass the examinations. As a by-product of the program, therefore, an estimated more than 10,000 youths will have attended classes to a major or minor extent and received instruction in mathematics, reading and other trade-related subjects.

Under its previous Labor Department-sponsored Apprenticeship Outreach contracts, the Workers' Defense League placed a total of 2,000 minority apprentices through July of this year, all but 120 of them in the building and construction trades.

The League successfully placed 17 asbestos worker apprentices, 68 bricklayers, 289 carpenters, 61 cement masons, 304 electricians, 78 elevator constructors, 449 glaziers, 90 iron workers, 19 lathers, 446 machinists, 434 operating engineers, 242 painters, 243 plumbers and pipefitters, 55 plasterers, 79 roofers, 182 sheet metal workers, 3 tile setters, and 121 in miscellaneous trades.

There are now 81 outreach projects in operation serving 83 major industrial cities.

The Outreach program recruits prospects through local State Employment Service offices, Apprenticeship Information Centers, and various community-action agencies.

Written and oral tests are given by joint apprenticeship committees representing management and labor in each trade.

Apprenticeship Outreach sponsors also counsel and assist those apprentices selected to remain in their chosen apprenticeships until successful completion.

M-Bldg

Nixon Rescinds Some Building Curbs, Pushes Training of Apprentices

Action Signals Partial Turn In Fiscal Policy Emphasis To Staving Off Recession

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—President Nixon signaled a partial turn in the emphasis of fiscal policy toward fighting recession and away from fighting inflation.

The President gave state and local governments a green light to resume normal levels of construction spending. He said the move is warranted because anti-inflation policies launched last year "are now moving the economy to the path of more stable economic growth."

The President also ordered increases in training and hiring of building-trades apprentices, directed that more Federal work be diverted into the slack winter months, and called on the "monetary, banking and financial community . . . to help the economy get on with the task of achieving lower interest rates."

Last Sept. 4, Mr. Nixon had requested state and local governments to voluntarily curtail Federally aided construction projects, and had asked governors to voluntarily limit purely state-financed activity. Dropping these requests, officials said, should give a $1.5 billion fillip to the sagging construction industry.

The President's eight-page statement on construction costs and labor supply left unmentioned and intact, however ,the Federal Government's 75% cutback in its direct construction commitments.

Reduction Exceeds Estimates

Because of the lag between planning and spending, officials last September had estimated that direct Federal savings in the fiscal year ending next June 30 would be only $300 million from postponing $1.6 billion in contracts. Now, the Budget Bureau estimates that $1.8 billion of purely Federal projects were postponed, along with "well over $1 billion" of state and local projects. All three levels of government spent $28.2 billion on construction last year, a White House fact sheet shows, or about one-third of the industry's $91.1 billion total.

Seeking to assure the nation that the White House is alert to both recession and inflation dangers, Mr. Nixon said the "rate of inflation still remains an urgent concern, and this action is no signal that our effort to sustain a strong budget has relaxed. As our policy to combat the rate of price increase takes hold, I will take the action necessary to help the nation's economy achieve a stable growth."

The slump-preventive nature of the construction-spending move was suggested at a White House briefing by Chairman Paul W. McCracken of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Mr. McCracken said that in altering economic policy "the right time to change will seem premature at the time." Because of the lags with which policy changes actual activity, he said, policymakers shouldn't wait until they "see the effects."

Ford Proclaims Victory

A far more conclusive victory statement in the inflation fight came earlier yesterday at the White House from House GOP leader Ford. The Michigan Congressman declared that "the problem of inflation has been defeated." And with the danger of recession "nil," Mr. Ford said, the economy won't be an issue in the 1970 Congressional elections. Later, Mr. McCracken more gingerly concurred that "the basic evidence appears to be consistent with what Congressman Ford said."

The Federal budget's restraint on the economy is fading anyway, Assistant Budget Director Murice Mann said separately in a speech to the American Paper Institute in New York. It is "moving into smaller surplus this quarter—which means less restraint—and, on a seasonally adjusted basis, will move into deficit—which means stimulus—in the second and third quarters" of 1970, he said.

On the "national income accounts" basis that Mr. Mann cited, the Commerce Department reported yesterday, the surplus slipped to an annual rate of $6.7 billion in the December quarter of last year from the $7.7 billion pace of the September quarter. The "swing" back to deficit is due to the higher Social Security payments slated for next month, Mr. Mann said, and the phasing out of the surtax as of June 30. It would also be appropriate, he said, for the budget to reflect some "modest modification" in the construction cutback.

The fourth quarter's surplus was slimmed by a decline in corporate profits, the Commerce report said, that cut income-tax accruals from this source by $400 million to a $39.4 billion annual rate; the profits figure is to be issued today. Federal receipts from all sources moved up $2 billion, to a $203.3 billion annual rate, in the December quarter; spending rose by $3.1 billion, to a $106.7 billion annual rate. The $1.1 billion drop in defense spending, to a $79.2 billion yearly pace, was the sharpest since 1962, the department said.

Focusing chiefly on the slump in housing starts, Mr. Nixon said getting at the root of the problem requires "actions that will end the rampant inflation of construction costs." The steps he recommends for bringing "the supply and demand of labor, money and materials into better balance," he said, can simultaneously meet pressing needs for shelter and for opening up "new job opportunities for millions of working men and women."

Ironically, the government construction freeze that the President thawed was billed last September as a major way to free more resources for housing. Partly reversing this action appeared to be a last-minute decision spurred by fresh evidence of cutbacks in private construction contracting. A few days ago officials were insisting that inflationary pressures were still far too strong for this to be part of the package.

Although the President said he is "proposing new actions" to channel more credit into home building he didn't go beyond plugging for already-pending proposals such as a limited subsidy for advances to savings and loan associations and creation of "secondary market" operations in conventional mortgages—those that aren't Federally backed.

Increasing Manpower Supply

Stressing that what the construction industry "most" needs is "more trained workers," the President directed that a number of steps be taken by Federal agencies to increase the manpower supply.

Mr. Nixon ordered the Labor Secretary to prepare a plan for expanding by 50% during the next six years enrollment in Federal manpower programs that provide training in construction skills. Mr. Nixon said there are about 30,000 construction trainees in Labor Department programs.

The President also directed Labor Secretary Shultz to "undertake a comprehensive study of apprenticeship programs" in construction crafts and make recommendations by Oct. 1 on ways to improve and expand the apprenticeship system. As expected, the White House ordered the Secretary to review the equal opportunity regulation governing Federally approved apprentice programs.

Another step in the apprenticeship area calls for Federal agencies to include clauses in construction contracts requiring employment of apprentices or trainees on the projects.

Training for Servicemen

The departments of Defense, Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare were given orders to develop programs to provide servicemen in their final months of active duty with training in construction crafts. "I anticipate that the program will enroll over 50,000 trainees during the next two years," Mr. Nixon told Congress.

HEW also was charged with the responsibility of working with state governments on plans for vocational education programs in secondary schools aimed at producing more building tradesmen.

Noting that the construction industry has long been plagued by seasonal unemployment—notably layoffs in the cold winter months—Mr. Nixon directed that Federal agencies install "counter-seasonal contract award procedures" whenever practical. Pilot projects in off-season construction should be conducted by Federal agencies, he said.

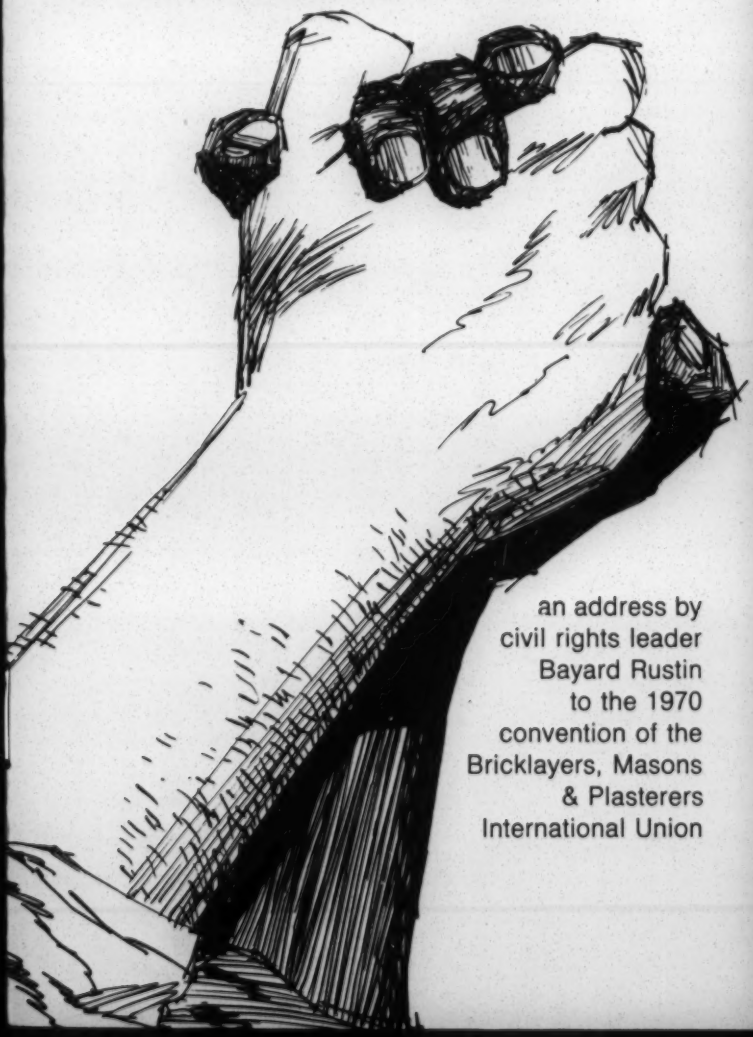
Calling for greater use of science and technology in the construction industry, the President directed the Commerce Department to report on methods of improving the "availability and use of weather information in construction." Mr. Nixon also instructed the Commerce Secretary to develop ways to disseminate information on winter building to businessmen.

Finally, Mr. Nixon said, the Labor Department should experiment with ways of using computerized job banks to place more persons in construction work. Job banks, run by the state employment services, produce daily listing of job vacancies in major metropolitan areas.

BLACK RAGE WHITE FEAR

M-Bldg Trades

the full employment answer



an address by civil rights leader Bayard Rustin to the 1970 convention of the Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers International Union

March 26, 1970

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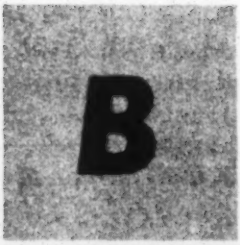

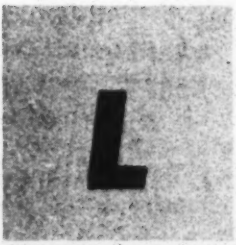

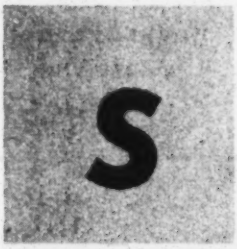

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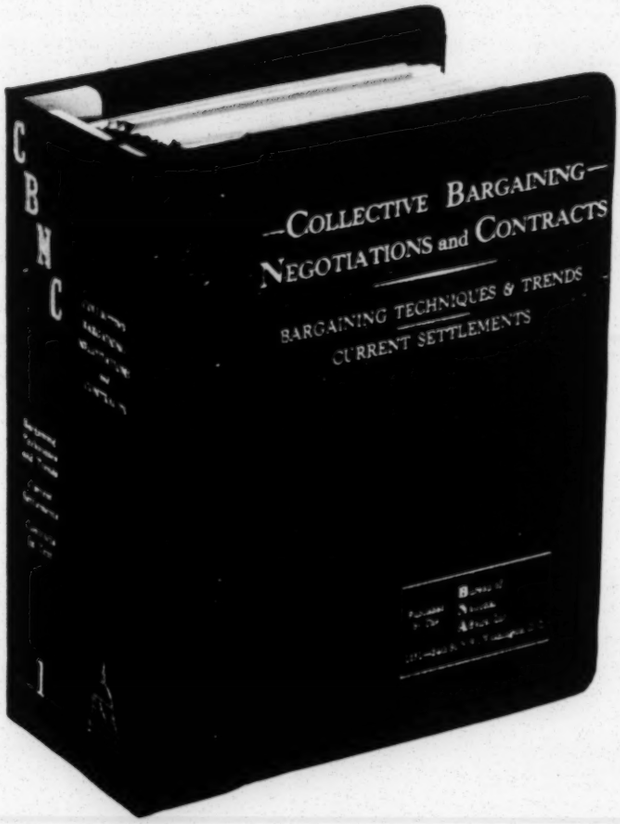

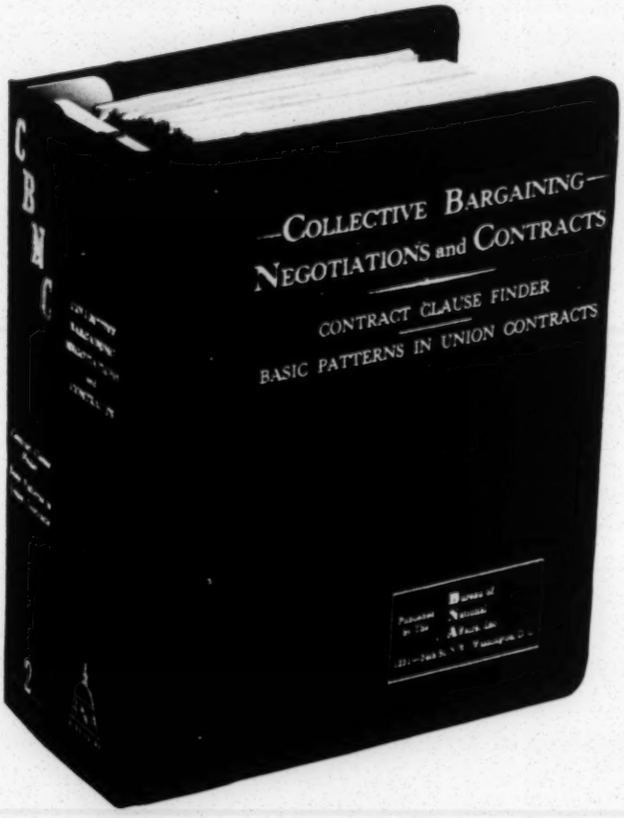

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WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS

Vocational education students, administration of HEW regulations 91:4121

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Will the events of 1970 alter *your* next contract? This year? Next year? In '72?

More major contracts in critical industries, affecting a greater number of workers, are expiring in 1970 than in any year of the past decade. New precedents seem sure to be set in these hard-fought negotiations.

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This authoritative labor information service assures you of the timely notification and valuable working data you need to keep on top of what management and unions are doing in the ever-changing field of wages, hours, and working conditions. More than that, CBNC is invaluable in preparing for negotiations, in working out the contract, and in administering and living under the contract.

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Don't risk moving ahead in 1970 without the "information insurance" provided by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING NEGOTIATIONS & CONTRACTS. Try it for 45 days, without obligation.

Sincerely,

J. B. Holt

J. B. Holt
Managing Director

JBH:jw
Enclosures

June 25, 1970

National Manpower Policy
Task Force
Suite 240
818 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Sirs:

Please send two (2) copies of:

"Improving The Nation's Manpower Efforts." A position paper by the National Manpower Policy Task Force.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/rh

August 26, 1970

Area Manpower Representative
501 Pulliam Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

Dear Sir:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

These materials have been ordered for you by the National Office of HRDI. I trust that they will prove to be of interest to you, useful in your work, and provide you with background information on the changing South.

We would be pleased to hear from you anytime if you have comments on the materials. If we can be of assistance to you as you carry out your duties for HRDI, I hope you will call on us.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. Peter Babin, III
Regional Director, HRDI
1016 Carondelet Building
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130

Dear Mr. Babin:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. Glen Cole
Area Manpower Representative
1712 Seventh Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Mr. Cole:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. Vincent Moretti
Area Manpower Representative
1921 Lafayette Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia 23509

Dear Mr. Moretti:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. Andrew E. Dann, Jr.
Area Manpower Representative
244 Biscayne Boulevard, Suite 301
Miami, Florida 33132

Dear Mr. Dann:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mrs. Arline M. Neal
Area Manpower Representative
1148 Seventh Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Mrs. Neal:

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. Harold Reddick
Manpower Representative
305 Morgan Street
Rooms 719-720
Tampa, Florida 33601

Dear Mr. Reddick:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. Lawrence Barker
Area Manpower Representative
P.O. Box 646
Charleston, West Virginia 2 5323

Dear Mr. Barker:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper. South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. L. G. Hollemaan
Area Manpower Representative
P.O. Box 10805
Raleigh, North Carolina 27605

Dear Mr. Holleman:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. J. Richard Mahoney
Area Manpower Representative
112 South Fifth Street
Suite 606
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Dear Mr. Mahoney:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. William T. Ross, Jr.
Area Manpower Representative
136½ South Second Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38103

Dear Mr. Ross:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. John Duncan
Area Manpower Representative
631 North First Street
Room 108
Nashville, Tennessee 37207

Dear Mr. Duncan:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mrs. Oneida Sawyer
Area Manpower Representative
2504 Meadowcliff Drive
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73106

Dear Mrs. Sawyer:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. Michael M. Arnold
Regional Director
1727 Young Street
Dallas, Texas 75201

Dear Mr. Arnold:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. Donald W..Bridges
Area Manpower Representative
6333 Gulf Freeway
Suite 201
Houston, Texas 77023

Dear Mr. Bridges:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1970

Mr. Frank Gallegos
Area Manpower Representative
360 Acoma Street
Room 110
Denver, Colorado 80223

Dear Mr. Gallegos:

You will shortly be receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council. They will include our quarterly magazine, New South, and our monthly paper, South Today. Beyond these two regular publications you will receive pamphlets, special reports, and other special releases of the Council.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

September 18, 1970
September 18, 1970

Mr. Robert M. McGlotten,
Executive Director
Mr. Robert M. McGlotten,
Executive Director
Human Resources Development Institute
815-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter. We would welcome the opportunity to cooperate on a Manpower Conference here in Atlanta. It seems to me, that aside from its general utility, that it would be a good way to assist in introducing you new staff man to this area so that I certainly agree that we should wait until he has been selected.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F.,,Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

February 12, 1971

U.S. Department of Labor
Manpower Administration
Office of Information
Washington, D.C. 20210

Dear Sir:

In BLACK NEWS DIGEST for the week of February 8, there was an excerpt from the speech made by Malcom R. Lovell, Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower, on plans to decentralize manpower programs. I would appreciate it very much if you would send me the full text of that speech.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Gwendolyn M. Sapp, Secretary
Resources Development Center

Manpower

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

IRRI

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Adjustment to Plant Closure

by James Stern

Reprinted from
Monthly Labor Review
Vol. 90, No. 1, January 1967

reprint series no. 81

Manpower - Govt. Employ.

AFGE Charges Southern Jobs Shortchanged

New Orleans — The American Federation of Government Employes charged that the federal government is shortchanging many of its employes in the South.

AFGE Pres. John F. Griner said this is being done by assigning southern workers to lower salary grades than employes doing the same work in other areas of the country.

He charged that this is direct defiance of civil service classification rules which are supposed to ensure "equal pay for equal work."

Griner told a news conference that a number of federal agencies are apparently following "the law of supply and demand" rather than the civil service law.

"In the large metropolitan areas, where there is competition for the skills of the employes, the government is willing to pay the price," Griner said. But when it can get people to work for less, as in parts of the South, he added, it hires them at lower civil service grades than their jobs should carry.

The union's executive council, meeting here, protested the practice.

AFL-CIO News 3/8/69

LABOR NEWS ROUNDUP

Arch

Manpower Shortage Seen As Critical In Year 1975

WASHINGTON, D.C. (PAI) — At the rate that the American economy has been advancing and with the current priorities for a better life for all Americans, there will be a manpower shortage by 1975 according to a study by the National Planning Association.

The Association estimates that in order to fulfill some 16 national goals in both the private and public sectors, the United States will need 101,000,000 workers — about 10,000,000 more than are expected to be in the labor force by 1975.

"As a result," the NPA says, "the nation must establish priorities to determine how much of the available manpower should be devoted to each present goal, as well as any new goals that may be added by our society in the early 1970's."

The study — "Manpower Needs for National Goals in the 1970's," by Leonard A. Lecht — finds that assigning top priorities to the goals of health, social welfare, housing and urban development will be ineffectual "without early and vigorous steps to eliminate prospective bottlenecks in key occupations."

Setting high priorities on the housing and urban development goals would demand increases in many skilled crafts at rates above the recent growth in these occupations.

3/30/69

The strong demand for manpower will provide an added incentive for making full use of the potentials of non-whites, the study says. The goals of education, health, social welfare, consumer ex- [illegible] res and urban development would be pendi[illegible] generating employment for non- foremost in [illegible] jobs for non-whites re- whites with 10,000 mo[illegible] ars spent on these sulting from every billion do[illegible] rban develop- objectives. Achieving the goals in [illegible] jobs ment would create an estimated one million [illegible] for non-whites in the next ten years.

RWDSU Record

CIVIL SERVICE
news

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
news unit
Washington, D.C.
20415
telephone: 343-7391
room 5354 / 1900 E st.,N.W.

FOR RELEASE: M-EqOp-Govt.

ADVANCE FOR WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON NEWSPAPERS
NOT TO BE USED BY PRESS, RADIO, OR TV
BEFORE 6:30 A.M., EDT, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18, 1969

The Civil Service Commission today announced the completion of its review of the Government Printing Office's Equal Employment Opportunity practices, including employment of minority group members and women. The Commission said that while notable achievements have been made by GPO in providing opportunities for minority group members to attain craft status, it had found a number of matters requiring corrective actions to which the Public Printer has agreed.

While noting that the Government Printing Office's program in some areas falls short of meeting public policy objectives of equal opportunity, it said that the agency has made significant progress which had come largely as a result of the Public Printer's personal concern.

The Commission's principal findings are summarized below:

- GPO excels when compared with the private printing industry in the employment of minority group members. For example, the percentage of Negro journeymen in all crafts at GPO is about four times as high as it is in the local private printing industry. This is significant, the Commission said, because it indicates the willingness of GPO management to employ minority group members in responsible positions, and because it evidences the training and advancement opportunities that already exist, since most of these journeymen were trained and developed internally.

- GPO's overall record also compares favorably with that of other Federal agencies; the latest (1967) census of minority group employment in Government shows that 43 percent of GPO employees are minority members, while the Government-wide figure is 14.9 percent.

- Significant advances have been made in expanding employment and advancement opportunities. For example, since 1961 GPO consistently has had substantial Negro representation in its apprentice programs, averaging over 25 percent throughout this period, and currently having 42 percent Negro representation among the total apprentice group. Contributing to the large representation of Negro apprentices in recent years is a policy established in 1967 by the Public Printer to appoint to the apprentice program GPO employees who can pass the test and who have demonstrated potential for success. Of the first 28 appointments made under this policy, 21 went to minority group employees.

- Heavy emphasis has been given to all types of training, resulting in increasing advancement opportunities for all employees. There are currently 15 non-apprentice craft training programs leading to journeyman status. Minority group members have long been heavily represented in these programs, with Negroes constituting 78 percent of those now in training. In addition, there are two ongoing training programs leading to higher grade sub-journeyman positions, with Negroes constituting 100% of those now in training.

- There has been a lack of minority group members in supervisory craftsmen positions, in higher level supervisory positions generally, and in administrative and management positions at grade GS-12 and above. (However, GPO made six appointments of minority group members to supervisory craftsmen positions in the past 6 months, which reflects management concern with the problem and some recent progress.)

- GPO has not always been able to make work assignments without regard to sex, because in at least one sizeable area of the plant there are no toilet and locker room facilities for women.

- Opportunities for advancement in a few occupational areas have been restricted by lack of training programs or career ladders that would permit employees to become qualified for more responsible work.

- Many supervisors need more training in how to implement a positive equal employment opportunity program in their day-to-day activities.

- Communication between GPO and the local community is not effective, and communication with employees is only partially effective.

- Many concerns and complaints of minority employees relate to supervisory and personnel practices which affect all employees. Although an individual employee might interpret an incident as evidencing discrimination directed at him personally, the event usually is the result of a practice that applies to all employees equally.

To correct the deficiencies noted in these major findings, the Public Printer has agreed to take responsive and specific action, and has already moved ahead on many of the Commission's recommendations. Both the Commission and GPO recognize that some of the needed actions will require additional time, money, and manpower. However, the Public Printer has committed the agency to move ahead with action that will:

- Eliminate practices in the selection process such as over-reliance on nomination of candidates by management, and lack of publicity to employees of their right to request consideration for specific promotion opportunities, which have tended to lessen opportunities for minority group members to advance to supervisory positions.

- Maintain a continuing review of the racial balance in each segment of its work force to determine the cause of any imbalances. If the cause is found to be unequal opportunity, then action must be taken to assure that all candidates, including minority group members, receive fair and equal consideration for employment and advancement.

- Provide an opportunity for interested and qualified employees to secure training needed to qualify for bindery worker positions.

- Equalize training opportunities in craft areas where there are significant employment needs by establishing more apprenticeships when legally possible, where opportunities are presently restricted or lacking.

- Remove any remaining conditions resulting in restricted employment opportunities for women, in accordance with the Federal Women's Program.

- Adhere to Commission requirements for a positive EEO program by: (a) keeping open channels of communication with local schools and minority group organizations to tell them about employment opportunities; (b) making periodic written program activity reports from those responsible for the EEO program to the Public Printer; (c) giving supervisors more training in their EEO responsibilities; and (d) following up at all management levels to get needed action.

In the course of its review, the Civil Service Commission interviewed over 400 Government Printing Office employees. In addition, representatives of 19 employee organizations were consulted as well as representatives of several interested minority group organizations.

The Commission expressed gratitude to the representatives of the Washington Urban League, Council for Negro Progress in Government, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and to the leaders of the 19 employee organizations representing various groups of GPO employees who were consulted during the review. These consultations produced many helpful leads which substantially assisted the Commission.

The Commission found that GPO was abiding fully with regulations which require Federal employers to consider all job applicants regardless of sex. It found that women are applying for, qualifying for, and are performing successfully in printing plant worker jobs which often involve heavy or arduous work.

No factual basis was found for charges that Negro women were being employed under "brutal and inhuman" working conditions. The Commission did recommend, however, that: (1) GPO should continue its current policy of showing the job site and the type of work to be performed in advance to women candidates for unskilled labor jobs; and (2) GPO should join with the Commission in developing a procedure for evaluating more accurately the physical capability of applicants for laboring jobs, including women.

Additional findings of the review and remedial actions to be taken by the Government Printing Office include:

- Departmental Service Office employees have not been permitted to participate in central office craft training programs, and training opportunities for those employees have been limited. GPO will act on the Commission's recommendation that Departmental Service Office employees be given a chance to compete for entry in central office craft training programs, and that they be given additional training opportunities.

- Some employees have skills and abilities which are not being utilized in their work assignments, and GPO has not had an effective method of identifying and keeping a current record of employee skills and training. In response to a Commission recommendation, GPO will develop a means of identifying and recording employee skills and training, and will attempt to make full use of employees' capabilities in appropriate assignments.

- There has been considerable variation in policy on use of sick leave, depending upon the particular unit to which an employee is assigned. GPO has agreed to act on a Commission recommendation that it adopt a uniform Office-wide policy for the approval of the use of sick leave so that all employees will be held to the same standard.

#

CHECCHI AND COMPANY
815 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE
298-8630

CABLE ADDRESS
"CHECCHI"

14 January 1970

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I appreciate your taking some time in mid-crisis to meet with me last week. The upshot of my talks with you and Jack has been that we will move ahead on our own in Lowndes County. We are scaling down the initial size of the shop, compared to that projected in the enclosed study. Once some women have been trained, a gradual expansion will take place. I will appreciate your reactions to our analysis and discussion of the issues involved in poor people's garment plants.

I wish you success in your current efforts, and look forward to future meetings.

Sincerely,

Pirie

Pirie M. Gall

PMG:rmc

Enclosure

M— EEO — Govt.

pansions. The aerospace industry has alternately suffered bust and boom in the postwar period.

"We've shot this course before," says J. L. Atwood, president of North American Rockwell, which is anticipating a major drop in sales as a result of an end to its work on the Apollo spacecraft's Saturn V booster and its failure to win the multibillion-dollar F-15 contract. Atwood can recall the decimation of the aerospace industry after World War II, its buildup for Korea, and the earlier stretchouts and wholesale cancellations of military programs such as the F-108 fighter, the B-70 bomber, and the Skybolt missile.

Resigned. A General Dynamics spokesman in Dallas indicates his company is living with a "wait and see" situation as far as the F-111 program is concerned. "Beyond the 493 production planes contracted for, you're talking about plans and expressed desires of the Air Force, the Defense Dept., and Congress," he says. "None of these have acted yet and it's uncertain what will happen. The Air Force is changing its estimates every few months depending on what funds it thinks it's obtaining."

What happens to the F-111 is particularly important to General Dynamics because its next big production contract on any other plane may be a long way off. GD is in competition with Boeing and North American Rockwell for the prime contract on the B-1 bomber to be awarded this spring, but its funding is uncertain. "This is the only big manned aircraft program up for grabs now," says the GD spokesman.

Hardest hit. Waiting is even harder on the smaller companies, which don't have a broad cushion of diversification to fall back on. Varo, Inc., the Dallas electronics company, saw its sales and profits plunge severely last year. Jack G. Smith, president and board chairman, says for the six months ended Oct. 31 sales were $19.8-million compared with $27.2-million the previous year, chiefly because of lower government sales. Between 80% and 85% of Varo's sales are to the government.

"One of the problems," says Smith, "has been that the government has not come out and said it is going to spend "x" numbers of dollars. Agencies kept saying as soon as funds became available they'd start buying, but funds never became available."

Collins Radio Co., a larger Dallas company that sells about 60% of its total products to the government, has felt the pinch, too. Its sales are in areas such as aviation, telecommunications, specialty military products, and space—all victims of government cutbacks. In the first quarter of its 1970 fiscal year, ending last Oct. 31, Collins earned only $532,000 compared to $2,057,000 in the first quarter of the previous year, a plunge of 75%. This was based on a sales decline of about 4%.

Grim outlook. Aerospace companies predict that they will ride out this contraction better than they have in the past. They base their hopes on improved diversification in sales and various yet-unfunded government contracts. But in truth, diversification in most aerospace companies has not been as successful as was hoped. And everyone seems to be counting on winning the same contracts.

Lockheed, with the loss of income from the 34 C-5As and cancellation of a contract for the AH-56A Cheyenne helicopter, is hoping to absorb some of its personnel and lost sales through increased orders for its L-100, C-130, and Jetstar.

The Autonetics Div. of North American Rockwell, faced with the end of its two major contracts on the guidance for the Minuteman missile and the F-111, has a contract with Sharp Electronics Co. of Japan for the sale of $30-million worth of semiconductors. But neither North American Rockwell nor any other major aerospace company can hope to replace the giant government contracts with what amount to piecemeal contracts.

The grim fact is that government money on which the aerospace industry is so dependent will be less plentiful in fiscal 1971 and the companies in the industry are sure to suffer. The only question is how much. ■

Jim O'Bannion, 31

When O'Bannion was laid off, he was working in personnel at Rocketdyne, processing other fired employees. He spent eight years there and made $9,200 a year. Now he earns $1,000 a month as a fast-food franchisee.

EMPLOYMENT

Where and why the cutbacks hurt

Manpower in the aerospace industry has already taken a beating from big cutbacks in the military and space budgets. And the prospects are that things will get far worse.

Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird estimates that the $9-billion that will be sliced from the defense budget in the two-year period starting in mid-1969 will chop 1.25-million people from defense payrolls. About 40% of these—or 500,000—will come from the 2-million-man force working at defense contractors' plants. A reduction of 600,000 men from the armed forces and of 150,000 civilian workers at military installations will make up the rest.

'Across-the-board cuts' hit hardest at white-collar workers

Budget cuts by the National Aeronautics & Space Administration in fiscal 1971 will eliminate about 65,000 space workers. The reductions will follow a cut of 28,000 men by the end of the current fiscal year. This will leave NASA with about 125,000 workers on its payroll on July 1, 1971. About 95% of the fiscal 1971 cuts are expected to be in contractor and university work forces.

Victims. Hardest hit will be NASA's Michoud (Miss.) plant, where Boeing Co. is assembling the last of the Saturn V rocket boosters. At Michoud, 2,368 people are still producing the booster. Once it has been completed, Boeing's force will be cut to a housekeeping crew of probably about 500 people.

Chrysler, which has shared the government-owned plant and is producing the Saturn second stage (the S-1B), has already reduced its crew from a peak of 4,000 to 472. At the nearby Mississippi Test Facility, what remains of a 6,400-man work force will also feel the executioner's knife. After a last rocket stage is test fired next October, General Electric Co. and other contractors at MTF could get the word to mothball the big facility. That could mean pink slips for nearly 2,000 people.

NASA's Cape Kennedy launch facility and its Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston have already reduced their work forces to the near-minimum needed to launch and maintain the remaining Apollo flights and thus may be spared further big personnel cuts. The Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala., and the Jet Propulsion

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Lab in Pasadena, Calif., also could be hit lightly.

Defense layoffs. On the defense side, a typical blow is already being felt in Marietta, Ga.

Lockheed Aircraft Corp., which makes the giant C-5A jet transport there, has laid off 1,100 workers since September and estimates that the remaining 29,000 will be cut to 25,000 by the end of 1970. Of more concern to Marietta is what will happen when the C-5A contract runs out in 1972. In December, civic leaders went to Washington to ask for a production increase or a stretchout of the current order—so far without success.

When aerospace payrolls are trimmed, officials invariably say that the cuts are "across the board." But this time the cuts are hitting hardest at white-collar workers in the $9,000 to $11,000 salary range, who are needed less when a project moves from development into production.

"While I was being processed out, 30 assemblers were being processed in," says a former buyer for the Autonetics Div. of North American-Rockwell, which has laid off 2,000. Douglas Aircraft Co. has similarly reduced personnel, from 46,865 a year ago to 39,500 today. And it expects to dismiss 2,500 more by midyear.

So far, however, the aerospace reductions have had little impact on local economies, officials claim. The California Employment Dept. says that engineers or technical people have not been clamoring at its doors.

Robert Hartman, manager of the Hawthorne (Calif.) Chamber of Commerce has seen North American's Los Angeles Div. cut 700 people since December 22. And the company is projecting cuts of another 700 in the next three months. But Hartman says, "We're diversified now, with things going well at Northrop, National Cash Register, and Mattel."

Shifting emphasis. The cuts in aircraft manufacturing cannot all be blamed on reductions in military spending. Some also stem from troubles in the commercial aircraft business. This is especially true of Boeing in Seattle, which employs more people than the entire forest industry in Washington state.

Unemployment in Seattle for the first week in January 1970, was 5% compared to 2.9% a year earlier. Statewide unemployment is 7.1%.

Boeing's layoffs, estimated at 18,000 in 1970, will be caused mostly by declines in orders for its earlier aircraft and by some disappointments in orders for its 747 jumbo jet, which have not come up to quantities estimated. "We need to reduce the hell out of our employment," says T. A. Wilson, Boeing president. Boeing's cutback this year follows a 25,000-man layoff in 1969. ■

Has bias locked up the room at the top?

The status of the Jew in U. S. business is a paradox. As entrepreneur, and more recently as conglomerator, he is often spectacularly successful. But in the executive suites of most large U. S. corporations he is practically invisible.

In some areas of the South and Midwest, Roman Catholics seem to suffer the same disability—they do not climb the corporate ladder so fast or so high as, say, Baptists or Methodists.

The Labor Dept.'s John Wilks will use publicity as main force against bias

The task of determining whether this actually reflects a broad religious discrimination in the promotion practices of U. S. corporations sits largely in the lap of Deputy Assistant Labor Secretary John L. Wilks. As director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, Wilks is Washington's watchdog on discriminatory practices among federal contractors. Heretofore his office focused mainly on job opportunities for members of racial minorities. This week, Wilks was gearing up to look into the prospects of advancement for religious minorities.

"We're going to really identify the problem," says Wilks, "and publicize it." Technically, Wilks has most of the tools he needs. Corporations doing $50,000 worth of business a year with the government, and employing more than 50 people, are subject to an annual review of the religious and racial distribution of their employees. Obvious discriminators run the risk of losing their government contracts, but publicity, for the time being, will be Wilks's chief weapon.

Eye on insurance. The examination of the executive suite has actually been under way for more than a year. The insurance industry has been its focus, and the results have moved Jewish spokesmen to urge Wilks to expand the inquiry to other industries. Meanwhile, Wilks intends to meet shortly with various Jewish groups, with the hope of setting up a national advisory group to determine the extent of discrimination in executive selection.

On the evidence at hand, it would seem that prejudice against Catholics as top-level managers is scattered and regional, and that if anyone is excluded from the executive suite because of his faith it is the Jew.

Even in New York City, where 25% of the population and 50% of the college graduates are Jewish, a study has shown that fewer than 9% of the executives in major corporations are identified as Jews. In Hartford, Conn., where 10% of the population is Jewish, only 1.2% of the men who run the city's important insurance industry are of that faith. The average is even lower for the shipping, oil, chemical, and electronics industries. And in Detroit only two-thirds of 1% of the white-collar jobs at the three major auto companies are filled by Jews.

AJC study. The American Jewish Committee, along with the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, has been working for more than a decade to open the executive door to members of its faith. In a study of 1,500 U. S. corporations made 10 years ago, the AJC determined that Jews made up 8% of all college graduates and 15% of the alumni of professional and business schools but only 0.5% of management.

"There has been some movement since then," says Samuel Freedman, associate national director of AJC's Business & Industrial Div. Freedman is in charge of the National Advisory Committee on the Executive Suite set up by the AJC and the Jewish Occupational Council. He organizes local committees which send delegates to companies that "have a negative image" in the Jewish community. Their role is to find out whether the Jewish view of the company is accurate, and, if so, why Jews find promotion difficult there.

In many cases, he says, companies have been unaware that they had an "image" problem, and have moved to correct it. In one of its more successful efforts, the committee in Philadelphia won the backing of the First Pennsylvania Banking & Trust Co., Scott Paper Co., and Bethlehem Steel Corp. to set up a full-time office to combat the problem. Whereas only 0.4% of Philadelphia's banking executives 10 years

ago were Jewish, the proportion has risen to nearly 4%.

'Is he our kind?' More often than not, Freedman says, companies indirectly discriminate against Jews. Often, he says, admission to the inner circle is based on such judgments as, "Is he our kind?" or, "Will he fit in with the crowd at the country club?" Freedman's group takes the view that this prevents many U. S. businesses from tapping a source of valuable manpower. It is noted, for example, that 15% of the graduates of the Harvard Business School are Jews.

Much of the group's job, Freedman feels, is to make U. S. corporations aware that exclusion exists. Sometimes the point is made quite unexpectedly. Two weeks ago, the Sybron Corp. of Rochester, N. Y., invited Freedman to address its quarterly personnel conference. Freedman welcomed the invitation, but noted that the meeting was to be held at a social club that traditionally has excluded Jews. With a new, somewhat red-faced awareness, company executives shifted the meeting to a hotel. ■

The unhappy parent of new hiring rules

The National Assn. of Manufacturers is getting credit—or blame, depending on point of view—for a proposed set of federal minority hiring regulations requiring quotas for all except the smallest companies that do business with the government.

The Labor Dept.'s Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC), author and enforcer of the controversial Philadelphia Plan for minority hiring in the construction industry, will soon issue the new minority hiring regulations in the Federal Register. They will call for what amounts to minority hiring quotas for all companies with 50 or more employees that engage in at least $50,000 annual business with the federal government.

The source of the new regulations, according to OFCC Director John Wilks, is the NAM.

Guidelines. Two years ago the NAM and Plans for Progress, the government's business group for promoting equal employment in industry, conducted regional seminars to instruct businessmen throughout the country on federal equal employment opportunity regulations and how to accomplish minority hiring goals.

After the regional meetings, NAM and Plans for Progress jointly issued a series of guidelines for affirmative action on minority-hiring programs. NAM circulated these among businessmen throughout the country in a booklet copyrighted by NAM and intended to help employers with their minority-hiring problems. The new regulations from the OFCC are a verbatim copy of the guidelines.

"When I first came in office nobody could define affirmative action," Wilks said this week. Explaining how the NAM guidelines came to be part of the federal regulations, he said he came across a copy of them "and all we did was . . . make them a standard." Wilks says that more than 400 of the nation's largest companies already have given at least lip service to the approach set down in the guidelines.

Ducking credit. The NAM wants no credit for the new regulations. A spokesman admitted that the guidelines were worked up in connection with the NAM, but said they were released without being cleared by association attorneys. Furthermore, he said, "they were meant as guidelines and not federal regulations."

The NAM is concerned about the reaction of Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D-N. C.), who has led the Congressional fight against the Philadelphia Plan and now objects to the "dirty pool" of the new order.

Senator Ervin says the order (Order No. 4) is even stricter than the Philadelphia Plan, which does not put a federal contract in jeopardy if a contractor makes a good-faith effort to meet a hiring quota and fails. There is no such provision for a good-faith showing in the new general order. Compared to Order No. 4, he said, the Philadelphia Plan "looks like small potatoes."

The NAM admitted that when the new regulations came to light "we had people who went up to see Senator Ervin to try and calm him down."

Points at issue. Of specific concern to Ervin are the regulations which would require an employer to take "special corrective action" whenever:

- The ratio of minority applicants recruited fails to approximate or equal the ratio of minorities in the population of each location.
- Lateral and/or vertical movement of minority employees [promotions, etc.] occurs at a lesser rate than that of nonminority employees.
- The selection process eliminates a higher percentage of minorities than nonminorities.

The regulations require a company doing business with the federal government to set their own hiring quotas subject to government approval—by division, department, location, and job classification—before they can win a government contract.

EXECUTIVE SUITE

Kerkorian: goodbye to some big chips

Early in his career, Kirk Kerkorian used to ferry crap shooters, chemin de fer fans, and roulette players between Los Angeles and the Nevada gambling palaces in his Trans International DC-3s. Those passengers would savor the Las Vegas mogul's current situation. The free-wheeling Kerkorian's dice have been coming up snake eyes:

- The $70-million cash investment Kerkorian's wholly owned Tracy Investment Co. shelled out in tender offers for 1.9-million shares of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer common stock has been hard hit by the bear market, dwindling to $43.7-million market value early this week.
- MGM stock Tracy pledged to European banks as collateral for $72-million in short-term loans, on which there is a huge 12⅞% interest, had faded so much in value that at least one bank has asked for additional collateral.
- Tracy's $57-million investment in Western Air Lines, Inc., for which Kerkorian paid $45 per share in late 1968, had slumped to $17.25 a share.
- International Leisure, Inc., which Tracy formed to operate Kerkorian's Las Vegas hotels and casinos, went public in early 1969 with Tracy keeping 5,428,000 shares, or 83.4%. The stock subsequently reached $66.50, then plummeted to $23 early this week, for a paper loss of $236-million.

Stock market's decline has cut the value of Las Vegas-based empire

- Last but hardly least, Kerkorian's name popped up last week at a joint New York state legislative committee hearing on crime poking into the affairs of a reputed Mafia lieutenant, Charles "Charley the Blade" Tourine.

Disavows link. In Los Angeles, Tracy Investment's general counsel, William Singleton, issued a statement that he can say unequivocally that Kerkorian has no ties with the Mafia, and that Kerkorian denies emphatically that he ever associated with known gamblers. But in Las Vegas in the late 1940s and 1950s, Kerkorian was known as "the Perry Como of the crap tables" because of the cool he displayed in bigstake games.

According to the legislative committee counsel, Kerkorian held one taped telephone conversation with Tourine. The committee's tape, dated Oct. 5, 1961, was said to be of a call

Tracy Investment's skewered stocks

Stock	Price at purchase	Current price	Paper loss Millions of dollars
M-G-M	$35	$23.25	$12.1
M-G-M	42	23.25	11.5
Western Air Lines	45	17.25	35.2
International Leisure	66.50*	23.00	236.1

*Public market established Feb., 1969; price is year's high on over-the-counter market

Tourine made to Kerkorian in Beverly Hills, suggesting that Kerkorian send him a check for $21,300 through actor George Raft.

The big time. Kerkorian burst into prominence with his purchase of the Flamingo Hotel in August, 1968, from a group that included Miami hotelman Morris Lansburgh. This property, plus the 1,500-room International Hotel and their casinos, makes up International Leisure. And according to Singleton, it was Kerkorian's inability to wheedle audited records out of Lansburgh that got Tracy in trouble with the SEC.

International Leisure filed for a secondary offering of 800,000 shares to the public, 730,000 of which were Tracy's, which would have reduced Tracy's holdings from 83.4% to 72.2%. But the SEC nixed the proposal when Kerkorian could not come up with audited records covering the last five years, as Singleton tells it. The SEC says it still holds to its demand for additional financial information.

Those loans. In addition to the paper losses Tracy's investments show, there is the matter of two Eurodollar loans Kerkorian took to raise cash for his tender offer for MGM shares. In one, he negotiated a $50-million loan from Burkhardt & Co., of Essen, West Germany, at 12⅞% interest maturing in August, 1970. The principal of the loan was $43.6-million. But according to the latest MGM proxy statement, Kerkorian personally and unconditionally guaranteed the loan, and pledged more security if the value of the 1,461,000 shares of MGM common he pledged as collateral fell below 140% of the value of the principal. While this meant that the collateral must be worth $61-million, MGM stock closed early this week at $23.25, so that the pledged shares are worth only $33.9-million.

According to Vinzenz Grothgar, the manager of Burkhardt, "He has given us additional, faultless salable shares."

In September, 1969, just before Kerkorian applied for the secondary offering, he borrowed $22-million in Eurodollars from Burston & Texas Commerce Bank in London at 13%, payable in a year. The principal on this loan was $19.1-million, with the same provision for additional collateral if the value of pledged securities fell below 140% of the principal, or $26.7-million. The 420,000 MGM shares he pledged are now worth $9.8-million.

To all appearances, Kerkorian and his Tracy Investment executives are keeping a stiff upper lip. While Kerkorian was not talking, Fred Benninger, president and chairman of International Leisure, told the *Los Angeles Times* that he was considering doubling the size of the 1,500-room International Hotel and paying for the $30-million "through cash flow." ■

URBAN AFFAIRS

Tax gremlins hit the Ford grants

Normally in January, the Ford Foundation starts mailing out quarterly payments on the $200-million it gives away each year to some 700 or so grateful symphony orchestras, colleges, civil rights groups, and widely assorted do-gooding agencies. But this month, the philanthropic Croesus on Manhattan's East 42nd Street turned off the faucet of funds, temporarily.

The new tax reform law went into effect on Jan. 1. Bristling with complexities for "tax-exempt organizations," the law—which one foundation executive wearily labels "the Lawyers & Accountants Relief Act of 1969"—imposes new taxes and stringent new restrictions on the nation's private foundations and the groups that depend on them for funds. The Ford Foundation, which with current assets of $2.5-billion was a target of some of the Congressional architects, is deferring payments while it examines its own grant-making and reporting procedures. The foundation wants to make sure its money is being given and spent for legally tax-exempt purposes.

Brakes. Ford recognizes that its action has caught some agencies short of operating funds. This week, in fact, it started some money on its way to grantees. Howard Dressner, Ford Foundation secretary, says his organization is working to keep hardships to a minimum. He hopes the review will be finished by mid-February.

Meantime, foundation executives, closeted with their legal advisers, are wondering how the law's many ramifications will affect their activities. In the long run, many foundation people feel, the law will give much philanthropic effort a more conservative cast.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Ma Bell's money line

With the bond market tight and interest rates near record highs, Wall Street has wondered for months how American Telephone & Telegraph Co. would finance an estimated $3-billion of new capital in 1970. This week, AT&T told how. Mother Bell plans the biggest financing ever undertaken by a U. S. corporation, probably the biggest financing ever undertaken by a corporation anywhere: a rights offering to share holders that will involve $1.57-billion in 30-year debentures, plus warrants to purchase 31.4-billion AT&T shares.

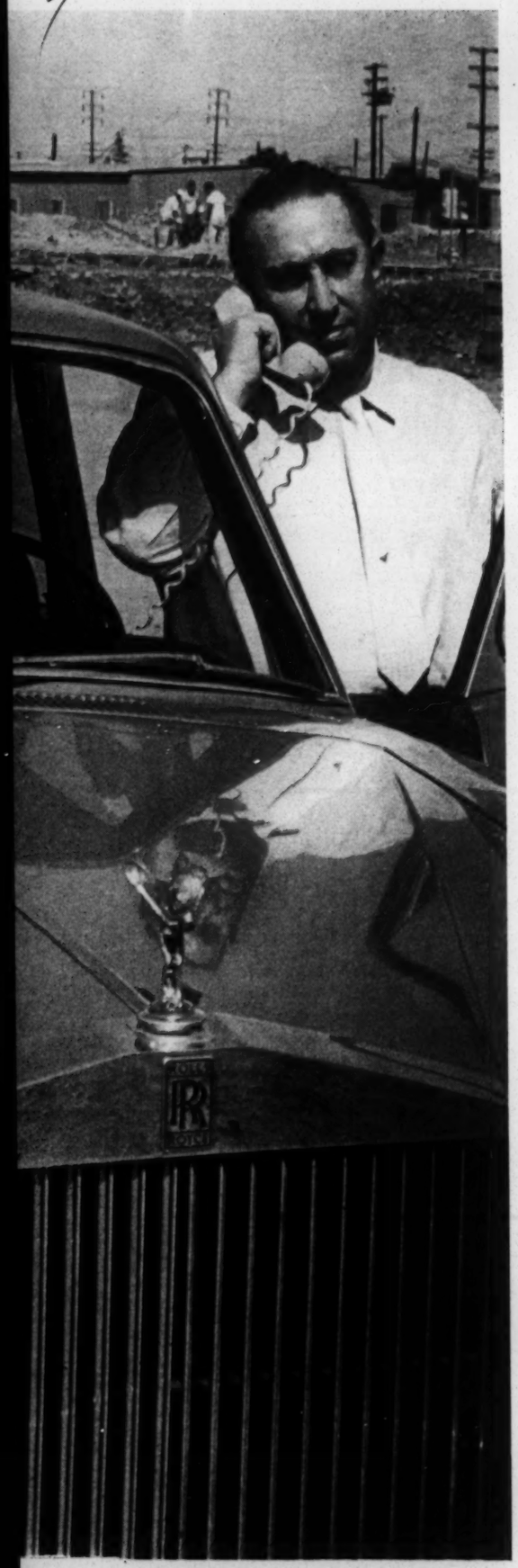
For each 35 shares, the company explained, "a shareholder will be entitled, on payment of $100, to subscribe for a $100 debenture, with warrants, exercisable after six months, to purchase two shares." By going to its shareholders, AT&T expects to nail down an enormous amount of money at one crack, with the warrants designed to make as many shareholders as possible accept the deal. The utility says it will pay comparable "market rates" to shareholders. The alternative would have been for Mother Bell to have hit the market a number of times in 1970 with issues of $250-million or so.

Imperial Oil's Arctic strike

Ever since the discovery of oil two years ago on Alaska's North Slope, Canadian oil men have been promising just as big a strike in their own Arctic region. Last week they saw the first sign of success. Imperial Oil, Ltd., Canadian subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. (N. J.), hit low-sulfur crude near the mouth of the Mackenzie River, about 100 mi. from Alaska. Imperial was close-mouthed about details, claiming it would be some time before the size of the discovery could be measured. Carl Nickle, president of the Canadian Petroleum Assn., hailed it as the most important oil event in Canada since the discovery of crude in Alberta 20 years ago.

Environmental politics

Democratic leaders in Congress brought committee chairmen together at midweek to set up a Joint Committee on the Environment (page 116). Patterned after the Joint Economic Committee, it will not draft legislation but will give Congress a forum for coordinating on problems now scattered through many committees. ■



Surveying one of his clients' plants, Levitt can stay in contact with his office thanks to phone-equipped Rolls.

Manpower— Job Creation

CITIES

Business-government middleman makes jobs

Los Angeles investment banker Harold Levitt has brought Labor Dept. contracts—and job commitments—to ghetto companies by cutting through government red tape

Shortly after lunch on most weekdays, Los Angeles investment banker Harold Levitt can be found slowly driving his beige-colored Rolls-Royce through the Watts district of Los Angeles, looking every bit the part of a modern-day plantation owner surveying his holdings. But Levitt's purpose is only indirectly related to property: His tours through Watts or Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section have resulted in job commitments for the hard-core unemployed.

A vice-president and senior partner at Dempsey-Tegeler & Co., Levitt has emerged as private industry's unofficial interlocutor for Special Impact, the Labor Dept.'s job opportunity program. The program, which was first funded in 1967 with Office of Economic Opportunity money, subsidizes companies willing to build new plants in low-income areas and to staff them with workers recruited from the ranks of the hard-core unemployed.

Since he began using his afternoons and weekends last winter for cutting government red tape and giving fast answers to businessmen interested in Impact, Levitt has brought Labor Dept. contracts to five small companies in Los Angeles and three in Bedford-Stuyvesant. In the process, he has interviewed nearly 70 companies that have approached him with plans for a ghetto

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Checking on progress of East Los Angeles plant of A&E Plastik Pak Corp., Levitt talks over plans with Yehochai Schneider, president.

Reviewing construction plans with Schneider provides double-check for Levitt.

plant, a product to manufacture, or a job skills training proposal.

Screening. A self-appointed referee for the federal program, Levitt has eliminated about half the applicants he has screened. The others have been recommended for approval to Stanley H. Ruttenberg, assistant secretary of the Labor Dept.

Among the eight companies already awarded grants are:

- A&E Plastik Pak Corp., a producer of transparent meat trays. It is building a $6.5-million plant, $1-million of it federally subsidized. It will hire 335 hard-core unemployed.
- Torite Enterprises, Inc., a maker of aircraft and automotive filters. Its new plant will cost $7.5-million, $1-million of it to be supplied by the Labor Dept. It also will hire 335 hard-core unemployed.
- Udico Corp., a producer of electrical appliances and toweling. It is building an $8-million plant, more than $1-million of which will be paid by the government. It will hire 360 hard-core unemployed.
- Bubble-Up Corp., a soft drink producer, is building a $6.5-million plant, $1-million of it through a Labor Dept. grant. Construction began June 1, and ultimately, 275 hard-core unemployed will have jobs.
- Sahagen Industries, Inc., is investing $8-million in a new plant, $1-million of it granted to the company by the Labor Dept. An electronics manufacturer, Sahagen will hire 250 hard-core unemployed.

So far, Levitt's one-man attack on ghetto unemployment has resulted in 2,500 firmly committed jobs. Thus, the federal government's investment is about $3,200 per new employee.

Levitt discovered the little-known Impact program last year while scouting government assistance for clients interested in aiding the city's ghetto poor, primarily in Watts and predominantly Mexican-American East Los Angeles. "Here was a program that was going nowhere," he recalls. "Government didn't know how to talk to business and business didn't know how to talk to government." An official of one Impact company in Los Angeles agrees. He concedes that Washington could not articulate the program's ground rules and praises Levitt for clarifying them.

Benefits. Under the Impact program, the Labor Dept. will subsidize up to 15% of each company's investment in new plants in low-income areas. To qualify for a grant, a company must be willing to train a specified number of hard-core unemployed for manual skills jobs and pay wages above minimum scales. Trainees at Torite Enterprises, for example, will be paid $2.25 an hour after 90 days on the job. A company is also required to maintain in-plant training programs and to promote qualified employees to supervisory levels. In some cases, companies must offer profit-sharing or stock options.

Levitt flatly takes credit for setting up program guidelines that satisfied both Washington and industry. As one Labor Dept. official explains: "Levitt's big contribution has been to crystallize participation by certain companies and to accommodate their needs as well as federal requirements."

Participating companies are committed to rigid construction schedules, hiring practices, and training. The penalty for failing to meet specifications can result in canceled federal funds. For instance, all contracts in Impact require companies to have a majority of hard-core-background employees on the payroll within 15 months of the Labor Dept. award.

Perhaps the stiffest regulation imposed by the federal agency concerns length of service. The incentive to succeed is that a company must pay a penalty for trainees who do not complete 15 months of training—but gets a bonus of $2,500 for every employee who completes 21 months.

Justice first. However stringent the requirements, Levitt believes Impact companies will have more success retaining employees than

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those participating in comparable hard-core employment programs. (In the National Alliance of Businessmen drive, some hard-core drop-out rates have been as high as 40%.) "If a member of a minority group sees that he is working at a job with the same wages and benefits as other workers," Levitt believes, "he is likely to stick around longer than a guy who is commuting crosstown to work alongside men with different backgrounds."

Although Levitt's involvement began as a service to Dempsey-Tegeler's Los Angeles clients, non-clients soon sought him out as word of available funds for Impact projects spread among small and medium-sized companies. Now, he is beseiged daily with phone calls from all over the country, even though federal funding for the program has dried up temporarily.

Working for nothing, Levitt conducts his own special brand of survey work for interested clients, prior to either rejecting or recommending them to the Labor Dept. He surveys plant sites, determines whether or not the company can effectively employ unskilled labor, and appraises the product itself.

Time saving. He generally spends 30 spare-time days analyzing a company, then sends his recommendation to the Labor Dept., which will make the award about a month later. This procedure, the Labor Dept. and Levitt agree, speeds up the grant considerably since the government need not bother with its own lengthy appraisal.

Occasionally, of course, Levitt is approached by prospective clients seeking little more than a federal grubstake for a new product idea. Recently, for example, a dentist came to him with plans for a new type of dentist's chair. The 52-year-old investment banker dismissed the notion as folly.

Other well-intentioned entrepreneurs, says Levitt, simply do not possess the manufacturing experience or a product profitable enough to sustain a permanent plant in the ghetto. Still others cannot afford inner-city sites where property often is two or three times as expensive as land in other parts of town.

Although Levitt is not employed by the Labor Dept., his rejections are usually final. The federal agency knows of no other private parties acting on behalf of the Impact program. And, says Levitt, only one of the companies he rejected has gone directly to the Labor Dept., and it didn't get a grant.

Despite his enthusiasm for Impact, Levitt admits that it took the

1965 Watts riots to motivate him. Since then, he has been involved in numerous city projects and panels, including Mayor Sam Yorty's Fire & Policemen's Pension Fund Committee. More recently, he has co-chaired the city's Urban Coalition.

Such involvements have helped Levitt as self-appointed middleman in the Impact program. As head of the Urban Coalition's task force committee designed to bring industry into Los Angeles' ghettos, he has easy access to scores of leads.

Levitt admits to enlightened self-interest in aiding companies seeking Labor Dept. grants. He figures that if he helps a privately-held firm over the rough spots in its dealings with the government, the company may come to Dempsey-Tegeler for an underwriting when it decides to go public.

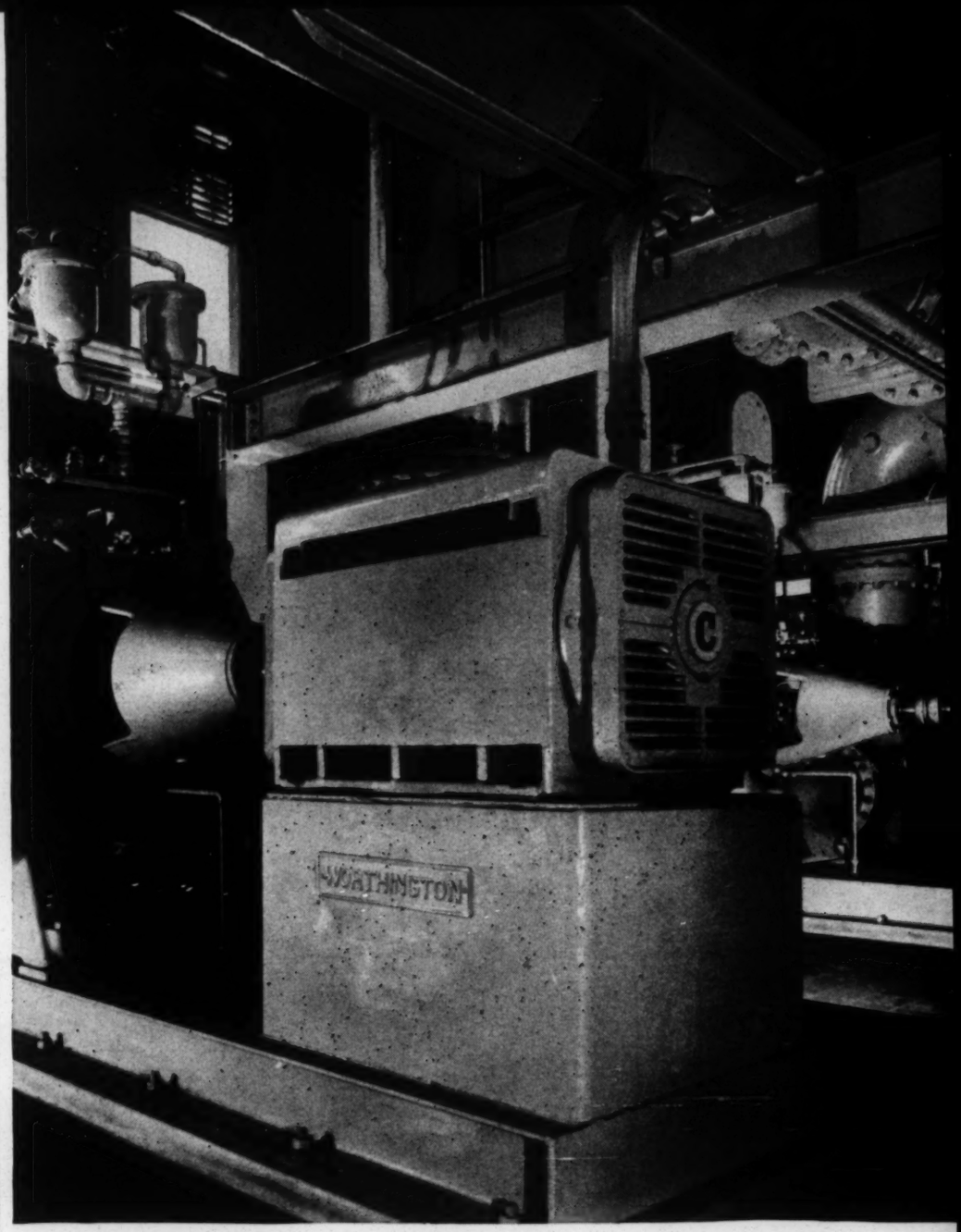
Far-ranging. Levitt feels his efforts on behalf of Impact are more meaningful than his other interests, however. He wants federal assistance not only for blacks and Mexican-Americans in the inner-city, but is seeking Washington support for a plywood mill near a New Mexico Indian reservation, and for a furniture plant in rural Georgia.

He recognizes that even with federal funding, small businesses take a big chance participating in programs like Impact. "It's going to be a losing proposition the first year," he says, "when you consider breakage costs, absenteeism and other add-on expenses." But he has helped his clients secure financing at standard rates, as well as insurance coverage for the high-risk ghetto areas where Impact companies usually locate.

For the government's part, Levitt estimates that it will realize a heady 20% to 30% return per investment the first year. "What nobody realizes —not even Washington," he explains, "is that this means smaller relief rolls and, because of new jobs and new businesses, new tax revenue."

The Impact program has not been without its detractors, however. A few hard-line black militants in Los Angeles consider it merely another form of white plantationism. But H. C. "Chad" McClellan, president of Los Angeles' Management Council for Merit Employment, stresses that the stock option and profit sharing aspects of the program mean that "everybody will have a chance to own a part of (a company)."

Impact is one of the best designed training programs, "if it is operated well," McClellan believes. And he credits Levitt for the push that has made it work. **End**



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Saturday Review
January 11, 1969

M— Job Creation

Jeanne R. Lowe

Race, Jobs, and Cities: What Business Can Do

Business can use its influence to open up housing and job markets outside central cities and thereby encourage the movement of ghetto residents into promising economic and social environments.

THE new Republican Administration will be asking business to lend a bigger hand than ever in initiating and carrying out private-sector, community-level "solutions" to America's urban-racial crisis. During the past year, two sets of private-sector approaches have already gained currency. One, now fashionable with some corporation executives and Black Power leaders, focuses on strengthening the ghetto: building up its fragile economic power through private training and employment of residents, locating new plants there, assisting businesses that will be owned by new "black capitalists," and, most recently, forming local development corporations.

The other solution, advocated principally by some builders and real estate developers, calls for decentralizing the ghetto into freshly minted, privately built New Towns: systematically encouraging much of its population to move to new, carefully integrated communities—complete with industry, variously priced housing, and white families—to be built mostly beyond existing metropolitan areas.

Both tacks are worthwhile and should be pursued. Indeed, almost any effort is better than allowing what now exists to continue. Nonetheless, these currently popular courses will produce only limited results in the immediate future. New Towns won't take shape in significant numbers before the 1980s, and not even then unless the Government begins an unprecedented kind of land-use planning right now. In fact, both solutions lean heavily on government assistance, be it to people, property, or corporation. And the former, an agonizingly slow process, is of questionable long-range worth.

Another approach, an intermediate or metropolitan strategy, which has been curiously overlooked by most urban-crisis solvers, appears far more practical and should receive the private sector's most serious consideration. Its objective is to encourage a substantial movement of Negroes into the metropolitan community and the economic mainstream, in the belief that the basic economic, educational, and environmental disadvantages of the Negro can be altered significantly only beyond the ghetto, where economic opportunity lies and where industrial job formation is taking place—in metropolis.

The metropolitan approach is uniquely dependent upon business and industrial initiative; it should appeal to those concerned with business-like methods and sound economic development. It requires minimal cash outlay, little subsidy or risk. Unlike most urban crisis schemes now being considered, it goes with and not against the basic, new technological and economic trends in the country. It appears to have the best chance of benefiting both the Negro and the businessman.

Since most population growth, economic activity, and construction during the next decade will take place in our metropolitan regions—though generally outside the old central cities—we must work within this framework. If this development is to be generally beneficial, instead of intensifying the present artificially maintained and ominous socio-economic-racial divisions, we shall have to put an end to the harmful, omnipresent, and now (under the 1968 Civil Rights Act) illegal discriminatory real estate practices which prevent black people from moving into the residential and economic mainstream, and which keep them isolated, underemployed, or unemployed in inner-city ghettos, far from where the jobs are going.

Manufacturers are uniquely capable of doing this: severing the suburban "white noose" around our core cities, making the metropolitan housing-real estate market work the same for the Negro as for the white, and forcing exclusionist suburbs, exurbs, and smaller cities to accept non-white and lower-income families in significant volume and in a harmonious manner.

THIS is not to ignore the importance of the new federal open-housing statute, which is just now being put into effect. The force of law has had relatively little effect, however, in stemming the ever deepening racial divisions that have grown in cities and states which have had strong laws against housing discrimination on their books for years. What the community wants and is willing to do will make the final difference. Here, business and industrial leadership can be decisive.

For, if industry comes, the home builders won't be far behind. The tract-

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Jeanne R. Lowe, author of *Cities in a Race with Time,* is *SR*'s consultant on urban affairs.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

developers depend on industrial locations, as do realtors, merchants, and other local businessmen in the chambers of commerce. Politicians seek out new industry; planning commissions offer zoning concessions. Bankers, public officials, and other powerful local business and interest groups look to industry for its payroll and tax base, as well as its community leadership. Industry can read them the law—if it wants. Also, of course, industry recruits and hires workers.

But industry, the major force in new urban development, commonly has been a too-willing, if perhaps unwitting, partner to the discriminatory and exclusionist practices which have divided our metropolitan areas and nation into the unequal "two societies" described by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. It has been spending billions of dollars on new plants in communities that not only welcome but seek out its newly landscaped, non-obnoxious factories and laboratories, with their large tax base and bank deposits and loans. These communities even change zoning laws or provide new facilities to accommodate industry, but too often exclude workers, not to mention the black and the poor.

Most manufacturers have not stopped to question the development of these extreme trends—with the accompanying high rate of unemployment or underemployment in ghettos and unfilled jobs in exurbia—or to ask whether it is natural and inevitable, and what might be done to alter it. The more public-spirited among those who have recently discovered the ghetto are concentrating on the ghetto (and its hard-core unemployed) as if all the answers lay there, rather than on looking at the situation closer to home. But it is high time they took a hard look at how the housing market in their area works and at its effect. For the irrational, uneconomic disjuncture we have developed as a result of it is playing havoc with both our metropolitan tax base and labor supply, and is making it necessary for Washington to tax industry nationally to pay for remedies that might be at least partially mitigated locally through private or community-level correctives.

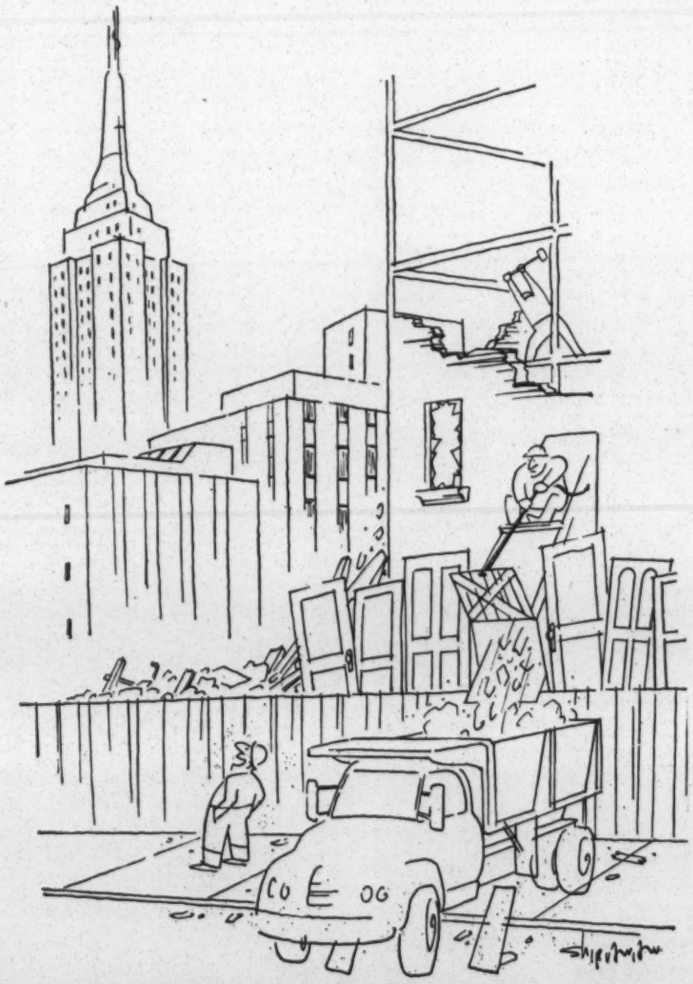
MANUFACTURERS, like other leadership forces in our country, must face up to the causes of the growing concentration of black people in the core cities and their absence in the suburbs, and industry's own responsibility and ability to change the situation. Obviously, many black people face residential problems arising from poverty, different cultures, large families, and lack of education; many want to live with other black people or fear rejection and white hostility. But we do not sufficiently recognize how much of the ghetto problem has been created by the systematic practice of discrimination and denial of residence by realtors, home builders, mortgage bankers, and suburban communities—and is reinforced by unfounded, hard-dying fears of white homeowners over the supposedly adverse effect on property values of racial intrusion. Moreover, under our present crazy-quilt metropolitan system—with free-wheeling fiscal zoning by every tiny suburb, land speculation by private owners, excessive reliance on the property tax, and use of government housing subsidies in effect restricted to older cities—it is extremely difficult to build lower-priced housing in the suburbs.

The fact is that the Negro's housing dollar cannot buy what a white man's can buy. As a rule, realtors simply will not show him a house or apartment in a white neighborhood; owners there are unwilling to sell or rent to him. Those neighborhoods that turn rapidly from white to black do so not for "natural" reasons, but because mortgage-lending and real estate practices encourage it. Bankers believe that only a homogeneous neighborhood offers an economically sound investment, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found; thus, they will not sell to a black in a white neighborhood. But once it starts to turn, they do everything they can to complete the transition, even withholding loans from white purchasers.

Because the Negro's residential choices are so restricted by real estate industry practices, he is crowded into too little space and forced to pay more for the generally poorer housing in the areas where he is allowed to live. Simultaneously, realtors play on white owners' fears of economic loss and inundation by the invidious practice of "block-busting," and force their flight.

In the suburbs tract-developers hold that white persons won't buy if the builder has an open sales policy. (Even the Government-guaranteed FHA and Veterans' Administration housing built during the post-World War II suburban boom was not sold to Negroes.) To keep out interracial developments, suburban towns use a host of subterfuges. And realtors there, as in cities, are reluctant to show a home to a black purchaser outside of a changing or substandard neighborhood. These practices go on in cities and states with the most progressive fair-housing laws and enforcement machinery in the country.

The experience of tract-developers



"One of these days, baby, one of these days."

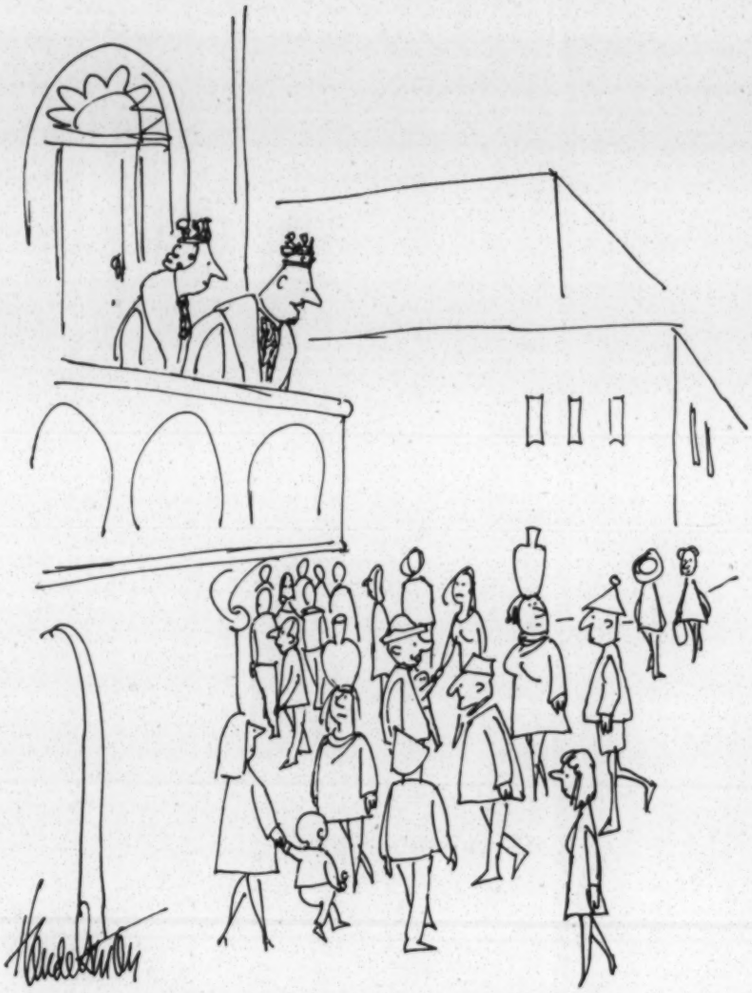
who have rented or sold on an open-occupancy basis has in fact been favorable. And one of the most significant reports by the Ford Foundation-financed Commission on Race and Housing, *Property Values and Race,* the result of a ten-year study by Luigi Laurenti, found that minority purchasers, far from depressing home values, tend to stabilize or even to raise them.

Although industry's new Black Power friends (read: ethnic politicians) cannot be expected to favor the metropolitan approach, the facts are before us, and the logic is hard for even them to refute.

Along with the massive, growing separation of black from white, and poor from middle class, there is also a new and growing separation of places of work from workers. This puts the most severe hardship on the least able and the poorest who are held in the core cities because the jobs that they can best fill are steadily moving away from, or being created far from, the core. "To the extent that there is an unmet demand for the labor of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the metropolitan region, it is likely to be found in the suburbs," is the finding of *Manpower Strategy for the Metropolis,* the result of a study carried out by Eli Ginzberg and the Conservation of Human Resources Staff of Columbia University for the New York City Planning Commission. There, not only manufacturing but also growing retail and other service activities which cater to middle- and upper-income residents offer them the "best hope for meaningful employment, that is employment which is steady, well-paid, and opens up the prospect of advancement."

Almost overnight a complete metamorphosis has taken place in the pattern of America's industrialization—and population distribution: Nationally, between 1954 and 1965, more than 50 per cent of all industrial and mercantile construction took place outside the core cities; from 1950 to 1966, 86 per cent of the total increase of the Negro population in the entire country took place within central cities, 77.8 per cent of the white population increase took place in suburbs. Recently the trend has accelerated.

IN the past, during periods of migration of the unskilled and uneducated to the cities, urbanization of the newcomer and industrialization of the city went hand in hand. Industry then located in the big cities specificially because of the large pool of (cheap) labor, and manufacturers sought the new immigrants, even going abroad to attract them to America's urban-industrial centers. Worker housing was commonly built right next to the plants, since low-paid laborers could not afford to pay for vehicular transportation. As recently as World War II, when labor was scarce in defense plants, production jobs (of necessity) were opened up to Negroes, who migrated from the South by the hundreds of thousands to fill them. The movement of these Negro job-seekers was supported then by extensive recruitment efforts of factories and shipyards, and also paid for by the Government.



"I like our people, too. They're cute."

BUT during the 1950s and 1960s, when the Negro was being pushed off the mechanizing Southern plantations and had no place to go but to cities, newly adopted one-level assembly methods were making inner-city, multi-story factories obsolete and non-competitive. This technological change, plus traffic congestion in cities and truck-highway transportation means in the outer areas, led to the vast and accelerating shift of industrial locations from old manufacturing, rail centers into the suburbs, exurbs, and new-growth regions with their acres of inexpensive open land, access to principal markets, and residential exclusion. The result: the Negro faces an employment handicap experienced by no other worker in our history—the denial of residence reasonably near his job.

Race issues aside, relatively little can be done to stop—much less reverse—the industrial trend, as veterans of urban renewal and industrial redevelopment can testify. The nation's total growth and population spread will make this continually less likely. The handful of widely publicized plants built in ghetto locations by a few pioneering companies are, as one leader of this effort has admitted, "noble experiments." They have scarcely been duplicated by themselves, much less copied by other manufacturers on a statistically meaningful scale. The high cost, problems of assemblage, and limited amount of land in central cities make it all but impossible to accommodate many one-level factories that may require ten times as much ground space as old lofts. Moreover, doing business in the slum-ghetto, with its high crime rate and constant threat of vandalism, is not attractive. Even government agencies are finding it difficult to sign up contractors willing to build publicly financed facilities in these blighted areas without an exorbitant overcharge for the risk.

The inexperience and the credit problems of aspiring Negro entrepreneurs aside, it is not surprising that the Small Business Administration has had such a high rate of failure on loans to those trying to do business in the slum-ghetto.

To concentrate industry's and government's technical assistance efforts, cash, and loans on creating "black capitalists" there, where risks are highest and consumer incomes lowest, suggests a dangerous shortsightedness, racist cynicism, or both.

The white businessmen who are trying to help aspiring black capitalists would do better to assist those entrepreneurs to go where the action and consumer dollars are—in the suburban, growth areas, where they can command conventional insurance, serve a more affluent middle-class market, and compete on equal terms.

Sooner or later, the ghetto-improvers will have to admit what the Kerner Commission emphatically stated in its report's conclusion: "A Negro society largely concentrated within large central cities . . . will be permanently relegated to its current status, possibly even if we expend great amounts of money and effort trying to 'gild' the ghetto." Black Power will not become Green Power in the slums.

Equally important to the businessman concerned with sound economic development is the fact that land uses in many of our old manufacturing cities should change to accommodate growing operations in our emerging post-industrial economy that require face-to-face contacts and meeting places and institutional expansion. The metropolitan cores will be increasingly transformed into office and professional centers—headquarters for business, communications, and government—and will create more and more technical, managerial, and professional jobs—which too few inner-city Negroes can yet fill, and to which suburbanites must commute.

To pursue the present course will only worsen the present metropolitan disjuncture with its inherent inequalities. What can and must be altered are present demographic trends and restrictive real estate practices. For not even improved metropolitan transportation is a satisfactory alternative. A recent study concluded:

> Commutation is not a practical solution for reducing the disparity between job location and the housing location of minorities: It is prohibitively expensive, excessively time-consuming; and the ghetto poor are in no position to maintain the automobile necessary for most commuters. . . . To commute from Hunter's Point in San Francisco to a job in suburban Contra Costa County in the East Bay area would cost $3 per day, consume four to five hours daily in travel time, and would involve three or four transfers.

Data about "reverse commutation" in the Philadelphia region makes the point. There, the central city lost 50,000 manufacturing jobs between 1951 and 1965, and the suburbs gained 215,000—although Philadelphia has the nation's most advanced industrial redevelopment program. Of the work force of 480,000 in the Philadelphia suburbs, only 1.8 per cent are non-white commuters from the city proper, and only 8.6 per cent of the employed non-whites who live in the city commute to suburban jobs.

The implications for industry are grim: since the now-urbanized Negro has been having children at a higher rate than the white, a growing proportion of our prime work force will be non-white. And when 10 per cent of the national population is unable to qualify for or compete equally for jobs (or on-the-job training programs)—partly because of inability to be educated for them, or to move to appropriate jobs and training opportunities or to even hear about them—the free-market process upon which industry depends is not functioning, and industry will pay, directly and indirectly.

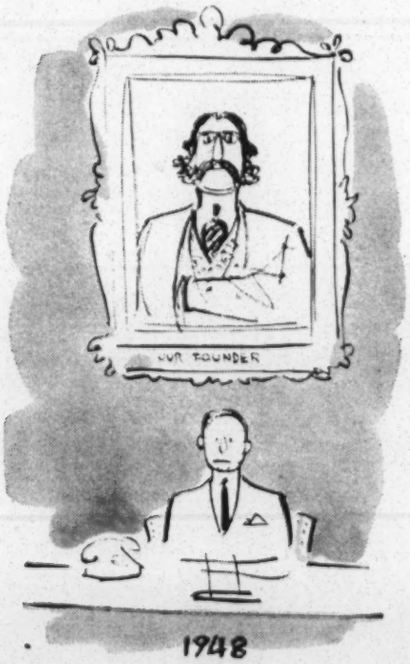
Even "equal opportunity employers"—commonly government defense contractors located in regions or communities with few minority residents—have failed to address themselves to the effect of residential exclusion on the chances of black persons for equal employment. This has been vividly documented in hearings of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

SOME companies have begun to recognize the connection between housing and job opportunities and have started to exercise their exceptional influence to eliminate residential barriers. The following examples show what can be done:

1) When IBM located its huge new typewriter plant in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1958, it was the first manufacturing facility of significance in the area. Lexingtonians' main concern then was whether the factory would frighten off the horses. Recently, IBM, an outstanding equal opportunity employer, began a new national policy of recruiting black employees for jobs at various levels—white collar, technical, managerial. In Lexington, however, the incoming recruits had trouble. Despite the state's open-housing statute, realtors were not showing them homes.

Last spring the chairman of the Lexington-Fayette County Commission on Human Rights pointed out to IBM's local plant manager that the company—which, with a work force of over 5,000,

(*Continued on page* 91)



Race, Jobs, Cities

Continued from page 30

is the largest employer in the area—was not using the influence it could exert to stop discrimination in housing. IBM has a plan under which it guarantees the sale of employees' homes when they transfer to another location. In 1967, it guaranteed the sale of homes worth $4,000,000 in the Lexington area; realtor commissions on these sales amounted to some $240,000. Although this involved only some 200 homes, it affected the entire local real estate market, as each local realtor handled a number of sales.

IN June, IBM's vice president for manufacturing in Lexington sent a short letter to the president of Lexington's First Security National Bank, which acts as the company's agency in listing homes for IBM under the guarantee plan. The letter reiterated a verbal agreement with the banker:

> In the listing of such properties, First Security will communicate to such realtors that IBM's policy is to utilize only those realtors who provide their services to prospective purchasers without discrimination against such individuals because of race, color, religion, or national origin.
>
> If you discover this policy is not being followed, please advise me.

The bank president sent the letter to the Real Estate Board, which sent a copy of it with an accompanying memo to participants in the local Multiple Listing Service stating that IBM Guarantee Plan Properties "will only be assigned to realtors who agree to observe the IBM policy."

Within two days after the IBM letter went out, one black IBM employee who had made no progress in finding housing after two weeks of effort received nine phone calls from real estate dealers. A local realtor stated that IBM's stand would carry more weight than either Kentucky's open-housing law or the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision banning discrimination in all housing. Galen Martin, executive director of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, points out: "Real estate people want someone else to give them the lead."

2) In 1964, Armour and Company moved its Kansas City plant operations to all-white Worthington, Minnesota, a town of 10,000 in the heart of rural America. Among the several hundred workers who were planning to transfer with Armour to Worthington were forty-five Negroes and several Puerto Ricans.

To facilitate employee relocation and retraining for the new plant, Armour's management in Kansas City formed a committee with the unions involved. This committee worked with community leaders in Worthington—bankers, realtors, and public officials—and asked their assistance in finding housing for incoming workers "without discrimination against minority members." They received this cooperation, and, in addition, the local churches, press, and business and fraternal clubs developed and carried out a community relations program which was effective in creating a favorable climate. They also established a Housing Information Bureau to help the newcomers secure homes at a fair price and throughout the community. The result was the peaceful and harmonious settlement of Negro and other minority families in Worthington.

3) In labor-tight Dallas, LTV Aerospace Corporation, a major employer in the metropolitan area, found itself unable to fill assembly-line jobs at its aeronautics plant. To overcome this problem, it worked out a program with the State of Texas Employment Commission through which 750 industrially unskilled Mexican-Americans living 500 miles away in the Rio Grande Valley were trained for work in the Dallas plant. The commission paid the trainees' salaries with funds from the U.S. Department of Labor; LTV set up the training center and provided instruction. When the workers were ready to move to their new

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jobs in Dallas, the commission—working closely with LTV—paid their relocation expenses and acted as liaison in finding them housing. Both the company and the state agency prepared the community to welcome the new workers.

They have fitted well into both jobs and community, have had superior records of staying on the job, and have not encountered the many problems experienced by most unskilled newcomers to the city.

These examples and others make clear that when progressive industry understands the facts and implications of a seemingly insoluble "social" problem, it can do much to bring about necessary changes. Industry can have a major impact in breaking rigid residential patterns—making the real estate market function without discrimination and assuring the peaceful accommodation of minority families in new communities.

But if more working and lower-income families are to be enabled to live outside the central cities and ghettos, industry will also have to use its local community influence to facilitate the necessary construction of more moderate-priced housing in suburbs and new-growth areas. It can get more suburban land rezoned for small lots and multiple dwellings; lend its prestige to the establishment of nonprofit corporations that will develop residential land banks, and use low-interest government housing programs in suburbia; and encourage formation of county-wide public agencies to use the rent-supplement program. Business leaders can urge states to assume a larger share of local education costs, which lead to exclusionist suburban zoning, and can discourage the establishment of new plants in communities that practice residential exclusion.

Such corporate measures do not, of course, preclude business support for other necessary kinds of action by both government and private institutions, within ghetto areas and beyond. But it is urgent for the modern corporation, particularly major industrial concerns, to recognize that their practices in communities where they are located, or plan to locate, can make a major difference in altering the racial divisions and inequities in America.

State of Affairs

Continued from page 16

not brought into focus—whether it was the fault of the conference's holding only plenary sessions, or that the Old Left was in preponderance and the New Left only haphazardly represented. There was a lot of talk about the surface manifestations of these conflicts, but no real, searching analysis. The fight of the young against the "unbending institutions," as Congressman-elect Allard Lowenstein said, is one of the most striking events of our day. True, youth has rebelled before, but it has never quite unleashed the same shockwaves around the world. This rebellion is not based on any coherent ideology; it is not operating within a party's discipline, as Anthony Hartley, the editor of *Interplay*, remarked regretfully; it is not based on a rebellion of the poor, but on a revulsion mostly among the middle- and upper-middle-class young. It is, in short, a puzzling, fascinating, and thought-provoking phenomenon worth a special conference of its own.

What struck the Europeans most was that the American liberals had lost touch with their own society and the world generally, except perhaps Europe. Some Americans consoled themselves with the conclusion that "nothing fails like success," some condemned the rebels, some were too arrogantly rational to have a real understanding of the depth of the stirrings against the American way of life.

The good old days of conformity in American society are obviously gone, its traditional pillars shaken by the activist youth which is without leadership. Michael Crozier, the French sociologist, blamed the "elite-kind of thinking" of the liberal Establishment and its over-extended aims for its loss of influence. There was no impressive evidence that the American liberals present, nostalgic for the past glories, had many answers for the present or a vision of the future. Nor did Sam Brown, the radical student, offer much enlightenment beyond the passionate exasperation with the liberals. It left many of the foreign intellectuals wondering who in the future would inspire American leadership.

When Pierre Emmanuel, the French poet, sought to raise the debate to a more humanistic level, saying that he refuses to surrender to the technological age and to the ability of science to organize the individual, Sam Brown was elated; Emmanuel, he said, had spoken from Brown's heart. Harold Cruse, the Negro writer, dismissed the Frenchman's *cri de coeur* with a shrug of the shoulder. "All it means," he said to me, "is that he is against progress."

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WALL STREET JOURNAL
FEB 26

Nonpartisan — Job Creation

White House Sees Hope for Ghettoes In Industrial Parks

• • •

Watts Picked for Initial One In 'Unique' U.S. Program; Lockheed to Be First Tenant

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The Nixon Administration announced what it termed a "unique" approach to solving urban ghetto problems—the creation of Federally aided industrial complexes to provide job and ownership opportunities for minority-group members.

Commerce Secretary Stans, in a statement, declined to describe the new approach as an example of Nixon-style "black capitalism." But Mr. Stans did say he hoped that an industrial park announced for the Watts area of Los Angeles, scene of the 1965 riots, would serve "as a model for other communities . . . in our country's determined effort to restore decency and hope and opportunity in the ghettoes of America."

For the Watts project, the Government pledged $7.6 million in loans and grants to stimulate private investment in the neighborhood, including development of the industrial park where it's hoped 2,400 jobs eventually will be created for the hard-core unemployed.

This approach, Mr. Stans said, "is unique because it is based on the concept of an industrial complex, instead of just a single industrial plant, and this community industrial park is to serve as the economic base for substantial new commercial activity, civic improvements and residential developments in the surrounding areas."

Lockhed Aircraft Corp. will be the park's first tenant, investing $2 million in a parts production plant, the Commerce Department said. Negotiations are under way with other companies to locate in the park, the department said, but no other names were disclosed. Ultimately, the department said, private investment in the park may total seven times the Lockheed figure.

The Watts industrial park concept is the brainchild of Economy Resources Corp. of Los Angeles, a nonprofit organization of Negro and white businessmen that has launched a major program to find jobs for Watts residents.

Richard Allen, president of Economic Resources, said the plan was worked out with the Johnson Administration and ratified by the Nixon Administration. The Negro businessman said the Watts project would provide opportunities for supervisory positions and business ownership as well as jobs.

"I am thoroughly convinced," Mr. Allen declared, "that what we are doing in the Watts community is what should be done in every ghetto in America."

The Watts project eventually will produce payrolls of about $43 million and products valued at $60 million a year, Mr. Allen estimated. Moreover, he said, it will produce about $9 mil-

Continued on Page 3

EV - M - Job Creation

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Cities

Parking place for industry

New York and other big cities borrow suburban idea of industrial parks to halt the exodus of manufacturers

"We shall solve the city problem by leaving the city," Henry Ford once said, and promptly provided the means to do so. True to Ford's dictum, industry in the past two decades has flocked to outlying areas, following a population seeking serenity in suburbia. For the cities, though, problems got much worse.

The industrial exodus has left cities with eroded tax bases and ghetto areas filled with unskilled minorities without the resources to get to suburban jobs. The cities have become desperate for the revenue—needed to finance increasing demand for services—that industry took with it to the suburbs.

While most urbanologists and economists agree that this trend is too deeply entrenched to be reversed, several financially strapped cities are trying anyway. Among other things, they are using the industrial park, a concept perfected in the very suburbs that industry has found so spacious and attractive. In New York, Chicago, and elsewhere, local officials are bent on developing well-planned park-like settings where companies can place large facilities at prices they can afford.

In Brooklyn, for example, the 96-acre Flatlands Urban Industrial Park has signed on five companies so far this year to occupy half of its 2-million sq. ft. of rentable space. Job rolls are in flux right now since the plants are just opening, but ultimately the park, New York City's first, is expected to employ about 7,000 people, chiefly in light to medium industry. The first tenants: APL Plastics Corp., Decitron Communications Systems, Inc., Times Square Stores, Duralab Equipment Corp., and Morse Electro-Products. In all, the city has a dozen or so parks in various stages of planning or development.

Groundbreaking. New York's industrial park program, initiated in 1958 but nearly dormant until 1965, is the country's most dramatic, but so are the city's problems. The flight to the suburbs reached epidemic proportions in the 1950s and early 1960s, when New York lost an average of 15,000 jobs a year, as plants moved out to northern New Jersey, Long Island, and nearby counties upstate.

"Companies wanted to stay, but we couldn't provide them with room for expansion," says D. Kenneth Patton, 38, appointed late last year by Mayor John V. Lindsay to head the city's Commerce & Industrial Development Dept. The lack of space made land prices zoom, and the city grew even more unattractive for new industry.

In the late 1950s, former Mayor Robert F. Wagner's administration began to acquire land in every borough except Manhattan, where population density of 80,000 people per sq. mi. and heavy commercial construction preclude accumulation of large tracts for industrial use. Land was already vacant in some areas; in others, the city exercised its power of eminent domain to acquire decayed or underutilized property.

Lure of the city. "We can assemble sites the market just hasn't made available," Patton explains. "This is our biggest inducement of all." The idea is to build a small industrial land bank; the city currently gathers about 200 acres a year.

Once it gets its hands on enough land to form an industrial park, Patton's office begins to market its product, using several financial and administrative lures to snag prospective developers and companies. Most often, developers lease the land from the city at a fixed price for 50 years, with taxes, improvements, and debt service included. Developers are taxed only on the factories and buildings they construct and on improvements they make once the lease is signed. This ties up practically no money in nondepreciable investments.

Says Arthur Ratner, president of Rentar Development Corp., which handles the Flatlands project: "We wanted 21 streets demapped, and the city took care of it. They also sunk in $2.5-million for new sewers, lights, water lines, roads." Before Rentar even began leasing to the park's occupants, the city poured $12-million into land acquisition and improvements.

Expediters. In New York, at least, such inducements would hardly be enough. The city's enormous bureaucracy nor-

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mally requires approval of large projects by as many as 15 agencies, a tedious process that can take years and that frustrates even the most patient developers. Patton claims to have cut the wait sharply, though it still may take several months, especially when public hearings are involved.

"The job of handling this red tape diplomacy with the city is best handled by city people," chuckles Patton. For that reason, he established a site services group to reduce detail work for developers working with the city. Made up mostly of planners and architects, the group becomes, in effect, the developer's advocate to the city, handling zoning ordinance and building code problems, making presentations to the Board of Estimate, and dealing with other agencies whose approvals are needed.

For the city's part, it collects rental income and tax revenues on buildings, income, and sales. At Flatlands, where the developer's rental alone is $400,000 a year, the city expects to recoup its investment in about five years. But the real plum for New York's treasury is long-term: At the end of the 50-year lease with the developer, all land and improvements revert to the city.

Ghetto bonus. The park program also will generate income by hiring formerly unemployed workers since most of the light-industry jobs call for unskilled or semiskilled labor. Most parks either adjoin or are within 3 mi. of New York's three Model Cities areas—Harlem-East Harlem, the South Bronx, and Central Brooklyn, which includes the Bedford-Stuyvesant section. Explains Patton: "Whenever possible, we bracket the ghettos. It is not our idea to go into them. The facilities aren't available, and we don't want to get into the business of displacing large numbers of people."

Patton, who took a master's degree in economics at Northwestern University and has completed course work on a doctorate in public administration, uses a self-designed "bump-shift" model—a technique that trades off priorities—for evaluating companies expressing interest in industrial park sites. His criteria: the wages a company would create and its comparative job density; tax revenues produced; impact on the community through manpower training programs and open apprenticeship programs at involved unions; and the possible multiplier effects of any economic and social gains. Patton cites a hypothetical trade-off: "In the case of an automobile shredder, we might be willing to sacrifice something else for ridding the city of, say, 100 acres of junkyards."

Midwest efforts. While New York's program is the most ambitious, other cities also are using industrial parks to halt industry's flight to the suburbs. In Chicago, which lost 75,000 jobs between 1955 and 1965, Mayor Richard J. Daley's Committee for Economic & Cultural Development functions as the city's staff agency handling industrial parks. Its biggest project is the redevelopment of the 300-acre Stockyards area south of the Loop into a park for 40 companies, due to employ 15,000 people by 1975. In Detroit, the city is working on two parks, containing 192 acres, on urban renewal sites in ghetto areas near downtown.

Cleveland is converting the 60-acre Gladstone Renewal Area into a park for light industry. The land, with site improvements made by the city, still is slightly less expensive than suburban industrial tracts, says Fred Pizzedaz, commissioner of redevelopment. "A lot of people want that suburban identity—lots of grass, rolling hills, trees. We can't offer that. And we're also up against the trauma

D. Kenneth Patton heads New York effort to expedite industrial park development.

that dealing with city hall induces. So my department actually acts as the developer's representative to the city and the council."

In St. Louis, 1,000 acres of industrial parks, virtually completed, have helped reverse a 10-year loss of 85,000 jobs through 1963. The city has gained about 30,000 jobs in the last five years. Like New York City, the focus is on light to medium industry.

Renewal. Even New York's mammoth job loss has leveled off. Recent figures indicate that the city is losing only about 1,000 manufacturing jobs per year now, but Patton stresses that the city must expand its work force by 20,000 each year just to keep pace with productivity gains.

"We also should be turning over about 2.5% of our industrial land each year, so we modernize every 40 years or so," says Patton. "Abandonment of land has become a natural characteristic, analagous to the city itself, which is worn out, used up. We must keep renewing it."

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M — Job Location (Creation)

WALL STREET JOURNAL OCT 22 1969

Jobs: Bringing the Plant to the Slums

By TIMOTHY D. SCHELLHARDT

MINNEAPOLIS — You are a personnel manager for a giant computer firm and you are interviewing Annie Brown. She is black, 42 years old, with only a sixth grade education, and no previous skilled work experience. Her last job was packing butter at a nearby dairy. Do you hire her to build those intricate, complex instruments?

At Control Data Corp.'s North Side manufacturing plant here, that answer, quite simply, is yes. And you hire 434 more employes like her, including welfare mothers, ex-convicts, and high school dropouts. You employ them in a modern, two-story plant in their neighborhood of crumbling residences, boarded-up stores and rut-filled roads. You offer a unique blend of training programs, employe benefits, personal aid and add the flexibility to revamp the entire package if the usual slum plant woes set in. Most importantly, you show the new employes you are sincere and that they are vitally needed.

A Nationwide Interest

The result—for Control Data at least—is a solution to the problems besetting companies operating factories in the slums, with labor from these poverty pinched areas. That solution is attracting the attention of U.S. Department of Labor officials and manpower training experts across the country.

Manpower officials gauge a slum plant's success upon plant productivity, absentee and turnover rates, employe morale, and profits. One Washington, D.C., slum plant, for instance, is considered a "disappointment" and "operating below expectations" by Labor Department officials, even though it has operated at a small profit the past three months. The plant, Fairmicco Inc. (a joint venture between Fairchild Hiller and Washington's Model Inner City Community Organization) has experienced excessively high turnover rates and poor employe morale, Labor officials say. Until July the company had been operating deeply in the red for almost two years and employment, once expected to be 200 by now, still numbers only 85.

Control Data's North Side plant, however, has a relatively low absentee and turnover rate of 6% monthly, production is on schedule and orders for computer units are being completed on time. (Keeping on schedule is important since the plant is the sole supplier of information-transmitting controller units for the company's medium-sized computers.) A recently completed Labor Department evaluation of the Control Data project and 26 other slum training programs cites the North Side plant as a successful model for other companies to follow. "There are hundreds of job training programs, each different, but if you wanted to place a plant in a slum area, Control Data's procedures and methods would be among the best to follow," a Labor Department official says.

Control Data's conscious move to the slum was an important factor in its success, says one Labor official. The plant represents a vital link to untapped manpower resources for the burgeoning computer maker. "We needed these people to survive competitively," declares Norbert Berg, vice president for personnel services, responsible for filling 32,000 jobs in the past 12 years for the company. Manpower supplies were ebbing in the traditional suburban areas—where most of the company's 27 plants are located—so employment officials looked toward slum unemployed.

"We hired slum residents to work in our suburban plants but they found difficulties getting to the plants. Subsequently, our absentee rates skyrocketed," says Mr. Berg. Confides one employe: "We finally opened our eyes and discovered the answer was to build in the slums." The company gained support from slum neighborhood leaders by seeking their assistance, and by emphasizing the plant would not just become the company's slum showcase.

Yet altruism doesn't spell instant success, especially when Control Data's president, William Norris, insisted the company could not lower job standards. "We can't afford to turn out faulty computers," he asserted. That stipulation led to the company's development of an employe training program and benefits package that is aimed at boosting employe motivation and morale. North Side officials term it a "total involvement" approach that offers an employe programs suited to solve those problems that might lead to absenteeism, production errors and failure.

To a casual observer, the aids might seem insignificant: A counseling program, day-care facilities, liberal dress rules, legal aid assistance, an intensive on-the-job training program, monthly "communications" meetings, regular employe evaluations, medical assistance and a variety of semi-skilled and skilled jobs from which to choose. But consider Miss Brown's experiences. When she first gazed at the thousands of tiny colored wires she would have to entwine to make a computer chassis unit, she developed a sudden headache and quit her training class. She returned the next day after an employe counselor phoned her at home, discovered Miss Brown's fears, and set up a training program especially for her—in a job away from wiring the complex chassis. She is now adeptly soldering 54 small resistors firmly on postcard-sized printed circuits. "I haven't missed a day since that foolish decision to quit," she proudly declares.

Learning by Doing

This personal approach is evident in the plant's 22-week training program. While most slum plants include at least two weeks of classroom training, the North Side plant has cut its in-class sessions to a week, with only 28 hours spent on skills training. New employes are introduced to basic handtools and then slowly advanced through the more intricate controller operations. In a two-and-a-half hour session the first day, trainees learn an eight-color code for wiring more than 6,000 feet of power wiring in a controller chassis. By the fourth day, they are wiring tiny resistors onto logic plates.

Another seven hours of classroom instruction are hour-long motivation sessions, developed by training director James Rance, a Negro and ex-Detroit school teacher. Trainees probe job-related topics ranging from gossiping ("These women were always gossiping" says a foreman), to the importance of being on time. Several of the motivation sessions become race sensitivity exercises where employes—65% of them black, 30% white, and 5% American Indian—probe their own racial prejudices. On-the-job assistance occupies most of the training program with foremen and two on-the-job instructors aiding the 15 new trainees each week.

The assistance continues. Corporate attorneys are holding legal advice classes and financial counseling for more than 50 employes after workers requested help with rent contracts, credit and accident suits. Minneapolis school officials conduct night-school classes at the plant for employes like Miss Brown, who expects to complete work for her high school diploma. Employes also are urged to air gripes at regular communications meetings with top plant officials, and an employe suggestion box gets close attention. "Our parking lot lights were installed faster because of the concern from night-shift employes about possible muggings," says one official.

One woman employe, warned about her excessive absences, has not missed a workday since counselors discovered she was staying home to care for a small son who has an acute bronchial lung ailment. The counselors quickly found a community agency only two blocks from her home which provided 24-hour-a-day assistance for her son.

Perhaps one of the most important factors for success is the company's flexibility to change programs at the plant. Six months ago the company discovered the plant was suffering from the usual slum plant woes. There were substantial production problems, absenteeism and turnover were hitting 10% a month, and employe morale was low. One employe relates the account of a fellow worker who became so disgusted with a chassis he took scissors and snipped the wires right up the middle. And inspectors complained they were finding more than 50 errors in one controller.

Officials revamped the training program, new employe services were provided and employes were given a larger voice in plant affairs. The counseling staff was expanded from one part-time and one full-time staff member to five full-time employes. "We're getting to really know each employe and his needs now," says personnel manager Glover Martin, a Negro, who sports an Afro-American haircut and spends much of his day chatting informally with employes.

The plant now offers more than simply assembly-type jobs. The highest skilled positions are those of checkout technicians, who inspect and test the completed controller units. At the North Side plant, brothers Ralph and Stephen Seals and 13 other employes are inspectors after only nine months or less of classroom instruction. The usual requirement is at least two years of technical school training. At previous jobs, one technician had reached a top salary level of a "couple bucks an hour" as a baker and another had been a laundry presser. More than one are ex-convicts turned down at several other area companies. They are now earning over $5 an hour.

Evaluations of employes for promotions and salary raises are made at least quarterly. Of the six trainees left from the first class of 10, three are now plant foremen and all six have had at least two raises. And Steve Seals, 28, with a year's experience at the plant, completed a nine-month-long institute program to prepare him for checking out a $40,000 controller. He is now earning $5.15 an hour, which helps support five brothers and sisters, and he has been named as one of two foremen to help oversee Control Data's second Twin Cities poverty plant in St. Paul.

New Building Plans

Control Data considers the North Side project so successful it has built a similar plant, now employing 150, on Washington, D.C.'s depressed northwest side. Plans have been announced for a 150-employe plant in the impoverished Appalachian community of Campton, Ky., and the company is considering building another facility on an Indian reservation. The St. Paul plant will be located in the depressed Summit-University area and will be manned by 100 part-time employes, most of them disadvantaged, including mothers with school-age children, high school students and technical school and college students.

Critics contend that Control Data's undertakings are too expensive and they point to the company's admission it will spend more than $6 million by 1971 on the North Side plant. However, the company estimates it spends only $2,500 per trainee, a figure still below the $3,000 average for trainees in the Federal jobs program.

Despite criticisms, the Control Data experience seems the most promising answer to problems plaguing businesses in the nation's poverty belts. It looms as one of the brightest possibilities for the Nixon Administration's ambitious manpower development plans. The experiences of the 800 employes at Control Data's five poverty plants may well encourage other companies to establish similar facilities—and to hire more Annie Browns.

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Jobless Bosses

Self-Help Group Aids Unemployed Executives Seeking a Fresh Start

Men of 'Forty Plus' Search For Jobs for Each Other; Some End Up in High Posts

Awkward Moments at Parties

By STEVEN M. LOVELADY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LOS ANGELES—What's it like to be an executive out of work?

"At cocktail parties, I'd see people looking at me as if I had leprosy," says Irv Horn, former manager of the plastics division of a New York Stock Exchange corporation.

"You sit at home and in a very few days you begin crawling right up and down the walls," recalls Ed Grazda, former editor of a trade magazine.

"How do you explain it to your three teenage kids? How do you tell them?" asks Bill Potter, former shipping manager for a major cosmetics firm.

"You begin to doubt whether you'll ever make it back. You begin to know a little bit what it must be like for a Negro in this country," says Don LeBlanc, former owner of a school for computer programmers.

That's what it's like. And Messrs. Horn, Grazda, Potter and LeBlanc also learned another lesson when, for various reasons, each of them was bounced from the executive suite out onto the sidewalk: In these affluent times, few people sympathize with, or even believe, a veteran of the executive suite who says he can't find a job. So, finally, each of them turned to Forty Plus, a self-help volunteer group of men like themselves.

"In Shell-Shock"

To join Forty Plus, a man must be past 40 and have earned at least $12,000 a year for the past five years—though most have made much more than that. "The men who come here are in shell-shock," says 49-year-old Dan Foster, a former toy store owner and until recently the president of the group here. "They're the guys who have succeeded, who have made it and who suddenly, for one reason or another, usually for the first time in their lives, find themselves out on the street one day."

The idea of unemployed executives pooling their efforts to find each other jobs was born here 22 years ago in the mind of Henry Simler, a retired businessman. Mr. Simler, now dead, was appalled at the great number of middle-aged executives he saw cast adrift during the Depression.

The Depression is gone, but the problem remains. Since then, the group here has found jobs for over 5,000 men, and Forty Plus groups modeled on the Los Angeles organization have sprung up in most major U.S. cities.

The organization here is representative of Forty Plus groups elsewhere. It exists solely to find its members jobs and thus to make them ex-members. Two assumptions guide Forty Plus: That at any given time, a lot of highly talented executives are jobless, the victims of mergers, bankruptcies, firings, personality conflicts, layoffs (executives get laid off, too) or unwanted transfers; and that a jobless man over 40 is often shunned by industry because of his age, no matter how brilliant his record or how extensive his talent.

Moral Support

Once a man qualifies for Forty Plus (by presenting evidence of his age and background), he pays a $75 initiation fee, $8.50 a month dues and agrees to put in at least 16 hours a week working for the group until he finds employment; Forty Plus has no full-time staff. A member may be assigned to keeping records up to date, or to calling companies to match job openings with the skills of his fellow members, or to operating a duplicating machine. Forty Plus issues a monthly "Manpower Bulletin," containing thumbnail profiles of each of its members and mails it to over 5,000 employers in Southern California. It arranges interviews for members, counsels them on the writing of resumes and gives them the moral support of being surrounded by men in the same boat.

All that may not seem like much. But it works. The four executives who talked about the traumatic shock of abrupt unemployment made their comments a few weeks ago. Today, through Forty Plus, three of the four have found jobs, and the fourth has several offers to choose from.

"Only 5% of the members quit the organization before finding jobs," says Joe Belvedere, a former secretary of the Los Angeles group. That's particularly impressive in light of the fact that most men come to Forty Plus only as a last resort, after failing to find a job by themselves. "I looked for a job for four months before I came to Forty Plus," says Bary Cool Jr., an aerospace engineer. "It's an extremely trying experience. The standard employment agency is a cold, impersonal operation. It becomes hard to lick your defeat, to regain your drive."

A Step Up

It took Mr. Cool two months to find a job once he joined Forty Plus—a job "with better pay and more responsibility than my former one."

That's a better record than most members chalk up. Mr. Foster, the former president here, says the "average member"—who is 47 years old and was earning around $22,000 a year—is with Forty Plus three months before he's placed. And usually he takes a salary 5% to 10% less than his old one. Membership here is usually 60 to 70 at any one time.

Forty Plus members say that for a man out job-hunting on his own, age discrimination strikes time and again. "There's a feeling that if you're over 40, you're a deadbeat, you're not with it, you're a relic out of the past," says Arnold Pike, a former member who's now a radio-TV producer. "But these are men who do have something younger men don't—instant experience, deliverable from the first day they're on the job."

Says Bill Klee, a former Navy admiral who is now, thanks to Forty Plus, an aerospace executive: "There's a subtle psychological barrier when a 32-year-old corporate vice president interviews a 50-year-old job applicant. There's an attitude that a man past 50 who hasn't made it to the top must be on the way down. But a 50-year-old man has 15 or 20 years of valuable time left. Look at President Nixon—he's 56 years old."

Forty Plus claims it is skilled in finding openings and matching men to them because it is in regular contact by mail and phone with thousands of companies. Furthermore, it says its success feeds on itself—each former member placed becomes one more missionary in one more company. Those employers who hire from Forty Plus and are pleased with the results are likely to come back.

A number of former Forty Plus members have moved into high-level jobs. Among them: Charles F. Horne, president of General Dynamics Corp.'s Pomona division; Edward J. Crowley, director of West Coast Development for Sheraton Corp.; Robert L. Gordon, executive vice president of Bank of America; Ernest J. Loebbecke, chairman and president of TI Corp.; Philip F. Walsh, president of Southern California Water Co.; John B. Lawson, vice president, Philco-Ford Corp.; Fred M. Rusk, partner, Price, Waterhouse & Co.

A good part of Forty Plus' success obviously stems from its role in bolstering members' morale. Executives who have been out of work agree that such support is badly needed. Don LeBlanc, the former Forty Plus member whose own small business went under, tells of his jobless experience:

"I'd go to the supermarket at 2 p.m. on a weekday with my wife, and I'd see the eyebrows shoot up like venetian blinds. You know, there's no way you can spend eight hours a day, five days a week, job-hunting. The time comes when you just sit and wait. If I'm sitting there at 10 a.m. and my wife's friends come in for coffee, I want to get the hell out of there. How do we explain this indolent bum sitting around the house week after week?"

Failure by a man who has been thought of as a success disconcerts others. Says Mr. LeBlanc, who's now a sales manager for a ballpoint pen company: "I'd go to parties, and people would ask me what I did for a living. I'd say, 'I'm unemployed. I'm looking for a job. I just had a business failure.' They would recoil as if I had spit on them."

Another Forty Plus member says: "You discover your associates aren't used to people out of success. Your relations with them become strained and uncomfortable. So you stop seeing them, for their sake and yours."

Though Forty Plus can't entirely eliminate the shock of a job loss, it can help. "I was scared to death when I first came in," recalls Dan Foster. "I was whipped, beaten. But the first week I was here, I took a look around and saw a former vice president manning the Mimeograph machine and a former admiral taking out the trash. You start thinking, 'By God, I'm not a deadbeat. A lot of other men, good men, are in the same fix.' That's a tremendously uplifting thing to know."

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M — Job Corps

Week of July 24, 1972

JOB CORPS OPENS 7 NEW RESIDENTIAL MANPOWER CENTERS IN 6 MONTHS

WASHINGTON -- Seven new Job Corps residential manpower centers were opened in the first six months of 1972 with a Federal investment of $8.4 million, Assistant Secretary of Labor Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., has announced.

There have been 22 inner-city or near-city centers opened since July 1, 1969. Capacity for the new centers is 3,753 youths at a time. The Labor Department is now operating 72 Job Corps centers with a total capacity of 23,800.

Four of the new facilities are large residential manpower centers -- Pittsburgh, with accommodations for 200 enrollees; Woodstock, Md., 275; San Jose, Calif., 215, and Simpsonville, Ky., 200.

The remaining three are residential mini-centers (with 30-bed capacities) in Hartford, Conn., Wilmington, Del., and Davenport, Iowa. They provide special counseling and tutorial services for highly disadvantaged youths and utilize existing training programs in the communities they serve.

The seven new centers will serve about 2,300 enrollees a year, based on a five-month average length of stay.

The 72 operating Job Corps centers of all types include the 22 inner-city or near-city centers with a residential capacity of 3,735; 32 conservation centers, capacity, 6,457; four urban centers for men, capacity, 7,945; 11 urban centers for women, capacity, 5,340; two centers operated by the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, capacity, 300, and a contract with the YWCA for women's residences in 17 cities.

Job Corps trains young men and women who are out of work, out of school, and cannot get a decent job because they lack marketable skills. They are provided with a basic education, including help in completing their high school requirements, job training, health care, necessary legal services, and assistance in finding a job. Their length of stay at the center varies with individual needs.

Youths selected for Job Corps are those living in adverse social and physical environments which are retarding their potential for employment and education.

(MORE)

The 72 operating centers have a current enrollment of 23,600 and are sending about 50,000 young men and women through the program each year. More than 325,000 youths have gone through the program since Job Corps was established in 1965.

The 22 inner-city or near-city centers have been opened since the Labor Department took over the direction of Job Corps from the Office of Economic Opportunity in July, 1969. The new centers are designed to serve local populations, tied into local needs and local job requirements.

The 50 other centers draw disadvantaged youths from all parts of the country. Job Corps age limits are 16 through 21.

# # #

M— Legislative

Statement of Mitchell Sviridoff, Vice President, Division of National Affairs, The Ford Foundation, concerning pending legislation on Manpower (H. R. 10908, H. R. 11620, and H. R. 13472) before the House Select Subcommittee on Labor, March 11, 1970.

I am Mitchell Sviridoff, Vice President for Division of National Affairs of the Ford Foundation. This Division is responsible for the bulk of the Foundation's domestic programming apart from the arts and apart from education as provided by established educational institutions. The Foundation's grants in manpower are part of our responsibilities and they have averaged approximately $4 million per year in the last several years.

By way of personal background, I have been involved with labor and manpower activities for over 30 years. Immediately prior to assuming my post at the Foundation, I spent two years in New York City first designing and then administering that City's Human Resources Administration, the first major attempt to combine a big city Mayor's manpower, welfare, community action, and educational responsibilities in one agency. And for 4 years before that I was Executive Director of New Haven's Community Progress, Incorporated. CPI was one of the Ford Foundation's "Grey Areas" projects, which, with the activities of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, served as one of the early--and, I think, most successful--models for the poverty program.

I am accompanied this morning by Mr. Basil Whiting, the Foundation's Program Officer handling the bulk of our manpower efforts, and by Mr. Robert Schrank, formerly a Deputy Commissioner of Manpower for the City of New York and before that Director of the Urban Youth Work Corps of the Lower East Side's Mobilization for Youth, one of New York City's and the nation's most consistently innovative and competent experimental and demonstration agencies. Mr. Schrank

is now a consultant to the Foundation.

I am happy this morning, Mr. Chairman, to be able to respond to your request to assist the Committee in its consideration of the proposed manpower legislation. I am convinced that in domestic affairs this legislation is second in importance only to the pending welfare reforms. It will not only reorganize the nation's manpower efforts but, perhaps, also establish a pattern for productive programmatic relationships between Federal, state, and local governments in a variety of fields.

We have just completed a decade of social ferment and change. I will not dwell at length on a history with which I think we are all familiar, but I do think it is useful to point out certain developments in manpower during the last eight years that provide insights of possible value to this Committee in considering the very complex bills before it.

It is fair to say that until 1962 this nation did not have a manpower policy. It did have an unemployment insurance system and an employment referral system designed, essentially, to ensure that those drawing unemployment benefits stopped doing so as soon as possible. The agencies administering these programs, the Federal-State Employment Services, did not see themselves as having special responsibilities for providing services for the hard-to-employ.

In 1962, the Congress passed the Manpower Development and Training Act, clearly a landmark in the formation of a national manpower policy and the most important piece of manpower legislation since the Full Employment Act of 1946. The MDTA was aimed at the mature, skilled worker who was displaced by automation or left behind when industry moved out of what became "depressed areas." Not surprisingly, then, early MDTA programs were devoted mainly to retraining such workers and were often operated through existing school systems.

Almost immediately, however, the nation became abruptly aware--and concerned about--two words seldom previously heard in public discourse but now already and unfortunately accorded the status of cliches: "poverty" and "affluence." The poor, the unemployed, the subemployed, the underemployed, the drop-outs, the minorities crushed into central city slums, and the minorities and the whites "left behind" in rural slums-all became major concerns of public policy.

In terms of legislation affecting manpower programs, we saw the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, the tax cut of 1964, and subsequent significant amendments to MDTA, EOA, and the Social Security Act.

In programmatic terms, we found that the existing institutions--primarily the Employment Services and the educational systems--were not able to adapt quickly or adequately to the needs of the disadvantaged for a variety of remedial and other services. We, therefore, began to experiment with new structures and new techniques, first with the Labor Department's experimental and demonstration programs, with the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, and with the Ford Foundation's Grey Areas programs, and later with the Office of Economic Opportunity's national emphasis and experimental programs and its locally sponsored community action agencies.

Many of the earliest of these experiments took place in New Haven at CPI. It was there that many of the techniques that are now accepted parts of comprehensive manpower programs were initiated, tested, or demonstrated. These include:

- New outreach techniques, using store-fronts in inner-city neighborhoods manned by indigenous non-professionals. The technique was designed to seek out those needing manpower services and overcome the suspicion

and distrust with which established bureaucracies were viewed. It took manpower services out of "downtown" and placed them into the neighborhood where they were needed.

- New counseling techniques, again relying on non-professionals to provide rapport and models of success.
- New training institutions, such as neighborhood-based skill centers using new curricula instead of the traditional, rigid patterns of vocational education.
- New types of training, such as heavy reliance on on-the-job training.
- New forms of remedial basic education tied to job training and to jobs.
- New approaches to dealing with youths who had dropped out or were thinking of dropping out of school.

Most important was the attempt--not always or even often successful--to provide a comprehensive array of manpower and supportive services tailored to the needs of each individual.

Similar experimentation, with varying success under varying sponsorship, was carried on in other communities around the country. Additional techniques and services were developed. And over the years the Federal government understandably evolved a multitude of categorical manpower programs often supporting a specific technique and often aimed at a particular population.

This decade of rapid growth and experimentation in manpower programs yields, it seems to me, some important lessons and conclusions for the future and especially for the bill this committee will recommend:

- First, it is clear that the existing Federal categorical manpower programs

must be consolidated. The great number, variety, and type of such programs is unnecessarily confusing and an administrative nightmare for state and local agencies through which most are operated. In such circumstances rigid, inflexible, competing bureaucratic fiefdoms thrive at Federal, state, and local levels. Entrance requirements and training allowances unnecessarily vary and conflict. And some services are duplicated while others are lacking altogether. Both funds and staff energy are wasted in coping with problems that have little to do with the actual provision of services to those who need them.

- Second, we must move from a program oriented approach to a client centered one, modelled largely on Vocational Rehabilitation efforts. Consolidating categorical programs will help on this front as well; it should allow agencies to respond flexibly to the needs of each individual, working out with him an "employability plan" or similar comprehensive scheme calling for and making available all the services needed by a client.

- Third, there is a need in manpower, as in other public policy areas, to realign the distribution of funds, of responsibility, and of authority between the various levels of the Federal system. In manpower, where services must be closely attuned to local needs, this means that Federal programs should be decentralized to states and, especially, to local governments and agencies. This must be done in a manner designed to enhance and preserve state and local flexibility, initiative, authority, and responsibility. At the same time, however, some of the dangers frequently associated with a purely block grant approach should be avoided by providing for Federal guidelines, rules, and regulations relating largely to performance objectives and standards and enforceable by

Federal officers on the basis of thorough monitoring and evaluation.

- Fourth, while it is important to decentralize manpower programs, it is abundantly clear from the experience of the past decade that the capacity of state and local governments and other local agencies effectively to plan for and administer such programs is severely limited. Archaic governmental structures, rigid and restrictive civil service requirements, and the sheer absence of adequate numbers of competent experienced manpower personnel (especially among minority groups) will drastically impede the progress of such decentralized programs. This means that a major concern of any new legislation must be the upgrading of state and local manpower capacities.

- Fifth, the past decade has also confirmed the strength of the tensions existing between state and city governments. The hostility that frequently breaks to the surface between these elements of our Federal system is certainly non-productive and often counter-productive. I am afraid, however, that these tensions will not be easily dissipated in the near future. They are built into the existing political and socio-economic systems, and no single piece of legislation, even one as important as the pending manpower legislation, will change that situation. This requires great care on the part of those who would decentralize Federal programs. Ignoring these tensions will not do; rather, legislation must explicitly lay out and protect the powers and responsibilities of both levels of government in hopes of ensuring effective state <u>and</u> local roles and of minimizing conflict between the two. At the same time incentives for voluntary cooperation should be provided. I will come back to this point later.

- Sixth, the pressures for participation by program client groups in both planning and operations are important and not to be denied. They are important because the success of programs aimed at the disadvantaged and the poor depends heavily upon the rapport between program and client. They are not to be denied because the economic and social forces causing client groups to seek participation in decisions affecting their lives are growing. We have all become aware during this decade that substantial numbers of citizens--not just the poor and not just radical college youth--are becoming more and more disenchanted with our increasingly larger, more remote and unresponsive institutions. There is a growing feeling that the "system" is not up to the demands of the times, and making the system adapt may be the greatest challenge facing us in the Seventies. Participation, messy and disruptive though it often is, may be part of the antidote needed for such ennui, alienation, and aggression. It should be pointed out, of course, that participation may take various forms. It does not necessarily mean control. The hiring of responsible non-professionals from the community, the inclusion of community representatives on planning and advisory mechanisms, and the use of community groups to provide needed services where such groups have established their competence are all relevant and appropriate forms of participation.

- Seventh, programmatic and institutional diversity is of utmost importance. We have learned during the past decade that "large bureaucratic organizations almost never make major changes in established behavior patterns unless strongly pressured by outside forces"-- to quote economist and political scientist Anthony Downs. Nevertheless, (again quoting Downs) "even a small dose of competition in certain forms could produce important--even radical--changes in the nature and quality" of the services produced by large bureaucracies. This we

have seen time and time again in the last few years. New ideas have been generated and school systems, Employment Services, and other state and local public and private agencies have been stirred from a stagnant status quo by the challenge of Head Start programs, Labor Department experimental and demonstration projects, and the many programs of local community action agencies. The most effective of these "change agents," it seems to me, were those that designed their operations to feed into and have an effect on established institutions. This means that those designing decentralized Federal programs must take pains to build-in institutional diversity at state and local levels. Large, rigid, monolithic and unchallenged state and local bureaucracies are really not much of an improvement over Federal level bureaucracies and "red tape." And, even though I am in favor of strict Federal standards of local program performance, I am sure that variety, diversity, and competition will have a greater effect on program quality.

- Eighth, it should be clear to us all by now that manpower policies, important as they are, are peripheral in comparison to the effect of national monetary and fiscal policy on the course of the economy. Barring a major public service employment program, it is fair to say that manpower programs "create" relatively few jobs. Manpower programs are designed to put people into jobs and most jobs are still in the private sector. There is serious question now over whether even an economy in inflation can provide enough jobs for all those potentially able to work, and a recession could easily render most manpower programs rather superfluous. Hence, it is of utmost importance to maintain a full employment economy and to explore more fully the issues surrounding a major public job creation program.

- And ninth, one of the most vexing problems encountered by most social programs is the uncertainty of funding inherent in the appropriations process. It is conceivable that more improvement in local programming would result from the continuity and confidence resulting from long-term funding than from most of the reorganization proposals now in the legislative hopper.

I would like now, Mr. Chairman, to turn more directly to the legislation before the Committee. The Committee has the unenviable but unavoidable task, it seems to me, of striking a balance between a number of competing and conflicting considerations:

- Efficiency and professionalism of operation balanced with participation by clients in planning and administration.
- Flexibility and responsiveness balanced with national performance standards.
- Change and innovation balanced with stability and continuity.
- The authority and responsibility of elected officials balanced with the relevance and passion of representatives of the poor.
- Mayoral priorities and prerogatives balanced with those of the Governor.
- Inner-city neighborhoods versus cities versus metropolitan areas.

Each of the three Bills before the Committee is a thoughtful and generally well-conceived attempt to balance these factors and to strengthen the foundations of a true national manpower policy (even though none fully copes with the long-term need to include vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, and such related programs as the Work Incentive Program). Each Bill:

- Consolidates the bulk of the existing manpower categorical programs.
- Mandates provision of truly comprehensive services on a recipient-oriented basis.
- Allows for the establishment of national standards, rules, regulations, and guidelines and retains a strong role for the Secretary of Labor.

In addition the O'Hara Bill emphasizes the clear need for a public job creation program and provides for appropriations one year in advance (as does the Administration's Bill). The Steiger Bill, on the other hand, establishes explicit and long-term funding authorizations, and it and the Administration's Bill both appropriately concentrate services on the disadvantaged.

It seems to me, however, that the thrust of this legislation should be to develop state and (especially) local capabilities in the manpower field. And on balance, the Administration's Bill appears to address itself most directly to this end. The proposed Manpower Training Act:

- Decentralizes planning and operation to state governments, with a pass-through to local governments.
- Emphasizes the gradual development of planning and operating capacities at both the state and local levels.
- Establishes a national computerized job bank.
- Establishes an automatic trigger mechanism to increase appropriations when unemployment rises (although the amount of such increase is probably inadequate).

These are very important and desirable characteristics and in combination with the best features of the other two Bills, the proposed Manpower Training

Act should serve as the basis for the Committee's deliberations. The remainder of my own comments will concentrate on the MTA.

Despite its advantages, the proposed Manpower Training Act not unexpectedly raises a number of questions. In part these questions derive from the lack of specificity of many of the Act's provisions and the considerable authority it provides the Secretary of Labor. In part, too, the questions relate to the apparent need to strengthen the pass-through mechanisms and other provisions relating to the role of local governments.

Even though the proposed Manpower Training Act is vague in many respects and allows a very substantial amount of discretion to the Secretary, it is probably unwise to limit flexibility by making the Act itself more detailed. On the other hand, the Committee would be well advised to obtain from the Secretary at least a preliminary indication of how he intends to exercise his authority on at least the following matters and to make its own desires clear in the legislative history of the Act:

- First, the Act would do away with existing program categories, which, for all their faults, at least provided some guidance to local programmers. What will the nature of the Secretary's planning guidelines be? Will they mandate a wide variety of programs, taking note of the special needs of youth, of present New Careerists, of apprentices, of blue collar workers needing upgrading? Will they permit the lattitude necessary for the development of plans relevant to diverse and varied states and localities?
- Second, there are a number of indications that the Secretary intends to stipulate in his regulations that the State Employment Services be

considered the presumptive supplier of manpower services regardless of of the nature of the local prime sponsor. Is this so? If so, would it not be wiser for the Secretary to limit his standards to performance objectives and information and report requirements, allowing services to be provided by a variety of local agencies (including, as the case may be, the Employment Services) depending upon their abilities and competence as determined by the local prime sponsor in accordance with Federal criteria?

- Third, how does the Secretary intend to specify the formula allocating a minimum share of a state's allocation to a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area? What figures shall be used for labor force and disadvantaged populations? Who shall make this determination? How will such funds be allocated within an SMSA between suburb and central city?
- Fourth, the success of the programs conducted under this Act will depend very largely upon the quality and nature of the monitoring and evaluation conducted by the Secretary and the training and technical assistance provided to state and local personnel administering programs and staffing state and area planning bodies. How does the Secretary plan to implement Sections 304 and 305 of Title III? How much of the appropriations available will he allocate to these functions?
- Fifth, given the tensions between rural and suburban dominated state governments and urban areas, does the Secretary plan to require that

central cities be represented on state and area planning mechanisms in proportion to their share of the state's or the area's labor force and disadvantaged population?

The models for the State Comprehensive Manpower Agency and for the state planning process outlined in the Administration Bill may be too specific. Some states have already created or are in the process of creating comprehensive manpower agencies that combine the planning and operational functions and that therefore do not fit the MTA model. These states might not be eligible for their full share of Federal funds under the requirements of the proposed Act. And while there are some states in which the model might work adequately, it may not fit any state perfectly. In its subsequent hearings around the country, then, the Committee might well attempt to determine whether and how this provision might best be modified.

Section 102 of the proposed Act states that area plans will be included in the state plan if the Governor finds them to be consistent with the Secretary's guidelines. But local needs are often best discerned by local people; and in order to provide a proper balance between state and local requirements, local area plans ought to be assured of inclusion in the state plan unless the Governor finds them significantly inconsistent with the requirements of the Secretary. Such exclusion should be subject to the approval of the Secretary.

The legislation states that the Governor will designate a local prime sponsor in SMSA's unless heads of government representing 75% of the population of the SMSA agree on a sponsor, in which case the Governor shall designate that nominee. But, as I understand it only two of the top 50 SMSA's in the nation have

75% of their population in the central city. Indeed, more than that number have 75% or close to that in the suburbs! It is very useful, indeed, to foster metropolitan cooperation in manpower planning and programming, especially since many jobs are in the suburbs. But the central cities are where the manpower problems are, and it would thus seem appropriate for the highest elected official of the largest central city in each SMSA to be the presumptive local prime sponsor, and to be otherwise only at the request of the Governor as approved by the Secretary. Other units of government in the SMSA should, of course, be represented on the local area comprehensive manpower advisory bodies that advise the local prime sponsor. Regulations should, of course, stipulate that a fair share of the SMSA's funds under the Act be allocated to communities within the SMSA but outside the central city, and plans for the use of such funds should be subject to the approval of the area comprehensive manpower advisory body. (Plans for the use of funds within the central city should not require such approval.)

As noted earlier, neither the legislation nor the Secretary's standards, criteria, rules, or regulations should establish a presumptive supplier of manpower services. To make such a stipulation is to deny the local prime sponsor the legitimate authority he needs to be fully responsible for the provision of services in his area. Ideally, then, we should see a considerable variety of local agencies involved in the provision of manpower services. In one community the School Board might provide the bulk of such services, in another the Employment Service, in another the community action agency or a model cities agency, and

in still another a city human resources agency. (Regulations should provide that local prime sponsors take note of the special characteristics of community action agencies and their special relationship with disadvantaged communities in selecting the suppliers of manpower services.)

The modifications mentioned above should do much to assure a fairer balance between the Mayor of central cities and other elements in the state. With the interests on both sides protected, there remains the question of fostering cooperation. I would suggest that the 5% of appropriations that are now allocated in the Act for incentive payments be increased to 10% (and that the proportion of appropriations allocated for basic payments to states be reduced to 70% of the total). Further, the incentive should not be designed, as in the present proposal, to spur state and local governments to greater contributions of their own resources to manpower programming. As presently designed the incentive does not seem particularly attractive anyway (a state would receive $9 of its basic Federal MTA allocation for each $1 of its own; as an "incentive" payment it would receive only two Federal dollars for each one additional dollar of its own).

Rather, the incentive should be paid on a 10% or even further reduced matching basis to those cities meeting exemplary standards of integrating their manpower efforts with those of surrounding communities, to those states and cities meeting exemplary standards of integrating their manpower programs with those of each other, and to those states and cities meeting exemplary standards of cooperating with other states in labor market areas crossing state

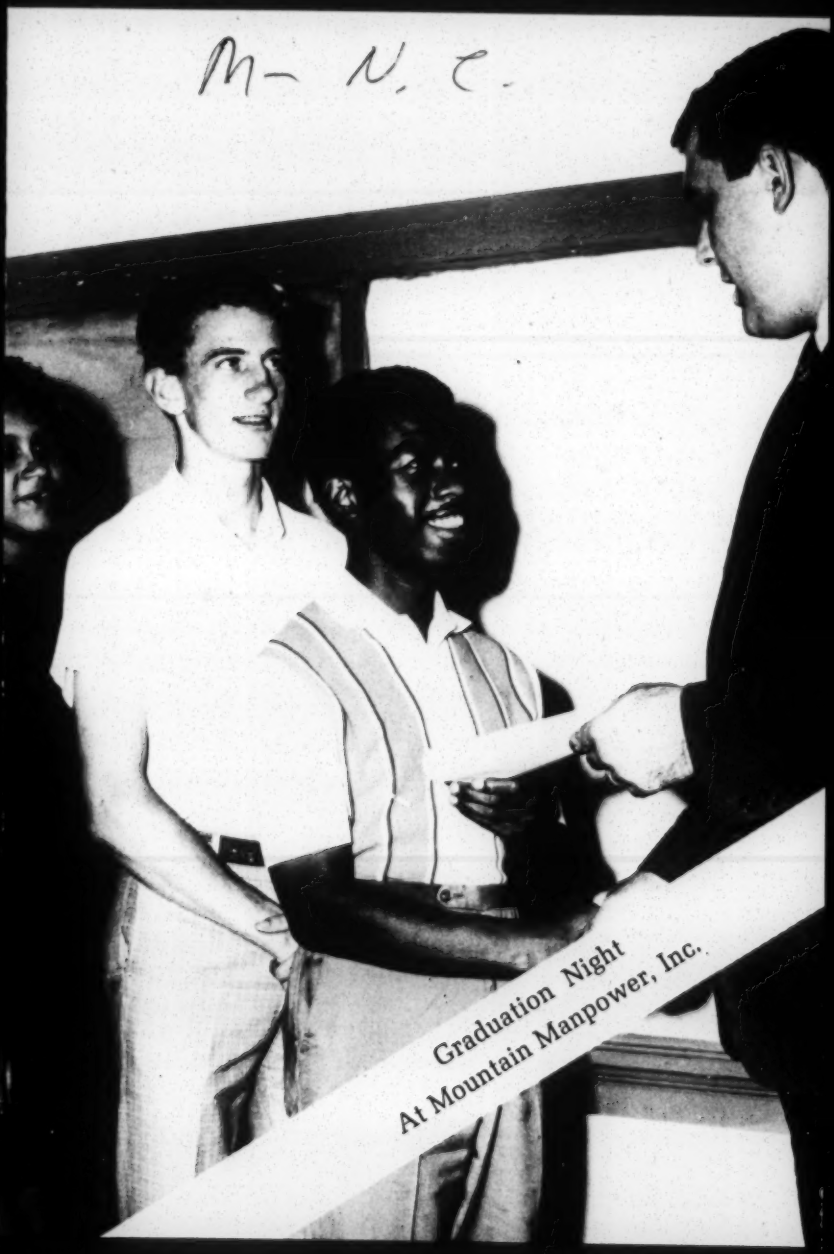
lines.

Although the proposed Act's statement of findings and purpose mentions a public service employment program, it may be wise to place a greater emphasis on this as the single most important missing element in present manpower programming. The O'Hara Bill does this, but it seems to me inadvisable at present to stipulate the creation of a sizable public employment program. The recent statement of the National Manpower Policy Task Force is persuasive in this respect. That statement notes that we simply do not know enough now to mount a public employment program without running the risk of a disasterous failure that might discredit the whole notion. The Task Force goes on to suggest that a number of sizable and carefully designed experiments be carried out to determine the most appropriate policies and administrative procedures for carrying out such a program. The Committee might well consider stipulating such experiments clearly in Title III, Section 301b.

Thank you for the opportunity to present these views to you Mr. Chairman. I will be happy to try to answer any questions the Committee might have.

MANPOWER

M- N. C.



Graduation Night
At Mountain Manpower, Inc.

DIGEST

MANPOWER

DIGEST

North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation
M—
N.C.

File

North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation

LUTHER H. HODGES, JR., *Chairman*
GEORGE B. AUTRY, *Executive Director*

919 — 942-5796

August 31, 1970

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I want to thank you for your time and efforts on our behalf last week. We feel we gained a great deal from the session.

Come see us.

Best regards,

Terry

Terry G. Pridgen
Director of Evaluation
and Research

TGP/ash

P. O. BOX 1057, 137 E. ROSEMARY STREET, CHAPEL HILL, N. C. 27514

Summary, Major Publicly-Funded Manpower and
Manpower-Related Activities, N. C., F. Y. 1970

	Agency	Program	Funding	Program Level
I.	Community Colleges	1. Vocational-Technical	Est. $ 18,164,410 (Fed., St. & Local)	32,610
		2. ABE	1,662,101	Est. 23,000
		3. Adult H. S.	Est. 1,474,000	Est. 19,000
		4. Occupational Extension	Est. 6,000,000	Est. 92,000
		5. Prevocational (1 Prog.-Lenoir)	Est. 30,000	60
II.	Dept. of Public Instruction	Secondary School Voc. Ed.	23,243,002	216,020
III.	CAA	1. Operation Mainstream (6 projects)	1,557,955	206
		2. New Careers	2,815,811	507
		3. NYC		
		A. In-School	4,848,649	3,490
		B. Out-of-School	8,229,167	1,127
		C. Summer	4,508,893	11,272
IV.	N. C. Dept. of Labor—USDL	Apprenticeship Program	Est. 17,500,000	7,268
V.	Vocational Rehab.	Overall	13,500,000	28,811
VI.	ESC	1. Employment Services	Est. 6,170,110 1/	
		A. Employment Applications		A. 244,297
		B. Counseling		B. 48,107
		C. Testing		C. 59,823
		D. Employer Visits		D. 47,179
		E. Agric. Job Placements		E. 369,304
		F. Non-Ag. Job Placements		F. 89,179
		2. Unemployment Insurance	Est. 5,471,607 1/ ($23.5 million in UI claims disbursed, calendar 1969)	84,811 received first payments 2/

1/ Estimated split, total appropriation of $11.6 million, using same percentages as in 1970 U.S. appropriation.

2/ Calendar 1969.

	Agency	Program	Funding	Program Level
VII.	ESC - Community Colleges	MDTA-Institutional	$ 3,776,888	1,803
	ESC-CEP	MDTA-Institutional	Est. 2,377,213	Est. 1,600
VIII.	ESC-CAA	Concentrated Employment Program	Est. 6,025,000	Est. 3,340
IX.	N. C. Commission for the Blind	Rehabilitation	3,750,000	2,500
X.	NAB	JOBS '70	2,180,700	1,234 (13 contracts, 25 companies)
XI.	Dept. Soc. Services-ESC	WIN	1,683,032 (approved)	505 (out of 1,680 slots planned)
XII.	Dept. of Conserv. and Development	Industry & Commerce Division	777,436	-
XIII.	Dept. of Local Affairs-CAAs	MDTA-OJT	515,000	1,388

Total $:	$ 136,039,974
Total, Individuals Receiving Training:	416,430 1/
Total, Individuals Receiving Training Outside the Regular Schools: 2/	167,800
Total, Individuals Receiving Training Outside the Regular Schools, Excluding Youth Programs:	151,911

1/ Excludes V.R. and Blind Commission.

2/ I.e., excluding Secondary Voc. Ed. and Voc-Tech portion of Community College enrollments.

Potential Effect, New Fed. Legislation[1/]

A. Items I, II, IV, V, VI, IX, XI, XII - No effect.

B. Item III - Effect, but unknown; Sec. will establish criteria for grants; can expect N.C. share to remain about the same.

C. Item VII (MDT - instl.); VIII (CEP); X (NAB -?); and XIII (MDT-OJT) - Out.
Total $ - $14,874,801.

D. New Legislation - Under T.I, for comprehensive programs, N.C. can expect about $14,000,000. - thus offsetting loss under C, above.

Under T. II, Public Service Jobs, N.C. can expect about $12.8 million in new funds.

1/ S. 3867, the Nelson bill, as reported by Subcomm.

Total Population	4, 967, 000
Total Civilian Labor Force	2, 343, 200
Employed	2, 229, 800
Unemployed	113, 400
Rate of Unemployment	4.8%

Population - Preliminary 1970 census data. Other figures - ES, for June, 1970. Because of youth seeking summer jobs and high agriculture employment (up 71,000 over previous month), June is a "high" month. Good 1970 base figures are perhaps on this order:

Total CLF - 2,200,000
Total E - 2,100,500

RTI uses latter figure as base for its community college planning study.

Age and Sex, Total Population, 1970

Age	Male, No.	Pct.	Female, No.	Pct.
0-15	808,000	16.3	780,000	15.7
16-24	388,900	7.8	423,700	8.5
25 & over	1,189,300	24.0	1,375,800	27.7
	2,386,200	48.1%	2,579,500	51.9%

Total: 4,965,700

Total 16 and over: 3,377,700, 68% of total population.

RTI projections, adjusted to prelim. Census data.

Res. Tri. Inst.

Total C.L.F. by Sex

Male	1,448,098	
Female	895,102	
		2,343,200

Total Employed by Sex

Male	1,384,706	
Female	845,094	
		2,229,800

Total Unemployed by Sex

Male	63,277	
Female	50,123	
		113,400

Terry thinks actual fig. is higher —

National percentages applied to N.C. data.

AGE - TOTAL C.L.F.

Age	Percentage of Total	No.
16 - 19	8.0	187,456
20 - 24	12.4	290,557
25 - 34	20.8	487,386
35 - 44	20.2	473,326
45 - 54	20.6	482,700
55 - 64	13.9	325,705
65 & over	4.0	93,728
		2,340,858

N.C.'s fig. may be higher or lower - What effect of migration -

National percentages applied to N.C. data.

N. C. est. Recruitable Labor, 6-70

Exper. Mfg. Workers	28,959	(Includes some employed who are underutilized)
Other Exper. Workers	34,624	
Inexper., but Referable	52,480	116,063
H.S. grads Entering Labor Force	26,909	
	142,972	

ESC

Tabulated by times lyd.

E.S. Surveys firms(?)

State CAMPS, "Universe of Need," F. Y. 1971

Category			No.	
1. USDL Methodology				
	A. Unemployed Poor:		27,040	
	B. Unemployed Near Poor	67,600	40,560	
	C. ~~Unemployed Non Poor~~		~~98,528~~	~~166,128~~
	D. Underutilized Poor		283,036	
	E. Underutilized Near Poor	387,476	104,440	
	F. ~~Underutilized Non Poor~~		~~46,305~~	~~433,781~~
		455,076		~~599,909~~
2. Sec. School Voc. Ed.				~~261,000~~
				~~860,909~~
3. ABE Underestimate (Needy Literacy Trg)		555,076	100,000	
				~~960,909~~
4. Ag., F.ish, & F.ory (closing occupations)		615,076	60,000	
				~~1,020,909~~
5. New entrants, reentrants		640,076	25,000	
				~~1,045,909~~
		640,076		

W/i 33% of Stall

Those needing m-p. services

modifying USDL methodology

Certainly not high

640,076
- 108,000 - from 1, D&E, above - Not in Labor Force
532,076 - In Labor Force

[Thus, excluding non-poor, 24.2% of entire C.L.F. need manpower services. Or, using CAMPS total (including non-poor, and those not in C.L.F.), 31% of entire 16-and-over population need manpower services.]

MDC a part of CAMPS

guestimates & committee decisions to determine some of the figures

N. C., Current Employment, by Broad Industrial Groupings

	Group	No.	Pct.
Goods 995,000 49.1%	Agric., Fish, For.	135,700	6.69
	Mining	3,200	1.57
	Constrn.	125,700	6.19
	Mfg.	730,400	36.02
Services 1,032,600 50.9%	Transptn., Commun., and Publ. Util.	88,100	4.34
	Trade	338,500	16.69
	Finan., R. Est., Insur.	60,600	2.98
	Services	468,100	23.08
	Publ. Admin.	77,300	3.81
		2,027,600	100%

RTI

RTI can probably break out by Industry group (32) based on Coastal Plain —

Does not have a particular m-p. vs. group'

But have been working on K for months.

Coastal Plain planning fencing

NPA projections available but may be est. just as these & BLS & Maddox

R.M. has rural proje by race to 1980

State Average Hourly Rates, Experienced Production Workers, Selected Occupations

Assembler, elect.	$1.80	Pairer	$2.09
Battery loader	1.83	Presser, hand	1.85
Boarding machine op.	2.16	Sander, machine	2.15
Circular knitter	2.05	Hosiery knitter	1.99
Cloth examiner, machine	1.98	Sewing op., garment	1.88
Doffer	2.07	Slubber tender	2.14
Furniture assembler	2.16	Spinner, framce	1.97
Furniture finisher	2.03	Stocking inspector	2.10
Garment inspector	1.88	Tool and die maker	3.85
Knitting machine fixer	2.53	Upholsterer	3.67
Loom fixer	2.81	Weaver	2.48
Machine fixer	2.36	Welder, arc	2.63
Maintenance mechanic II	2.99	Yarn winder	2.07

Average, these occupations:	$ 2.29
Current N. C. average, all mfg.:	2.44
Current National average, all mfg:	3.21

ESC, figures for May, 1969.

State Average Weekly Earnings, Selected Nonproduction Occupations

Biller, machine	$83.50
Clerk, acctg.	94.00
Keypunch op., cl. A	88.00
Stenographer, genl.	85.00
Switchboard operator	82.50
Typist	78.50
Draftsman, cl. A	146.50
Office manager	171.50
Programmer, business	177.00
Clerk, shppg. & recvg.	101.00
Janitor, porter	74.00
Packer	83.00
Forklift driver	90.00
Carpenter, maint.	111.00
Helper, maint. trades	86.50

ESC, figures for May 1969.

Average Hourly Wages, N. C. & U. S., 3-70

	N. C.	U. S.
All Mfg.	$2.44	$3.19
Lumber & Wood Prods.	2.13	2.72
Furniture	2.38	2.63
Stone, Clay, Glass	2.62	3.16
Primary Metals	3.02	3.71
Fab. Metals	2.98	3.33
Machinery, exc. Elect.	2.76	3.57
Elect. Machinery	2.59	3.14
Transptn. Equip.	2.70	3.90
Food and Kindred	2.23	2.97
Tobacco	3.34	2.87
Textiles	2.34	2.32
Apparel	2.01	2.33
Paper, etc.	3.20	3.17
Prtg. and Publ.	3.01	N/A
Chemicals	2.95	3.46
Mining	2.66	3.78
Construction	N/A	5.07
W. and R. Trade	2.48	2.68
F, I, and RE.	N/A	3.04

N. C. Dept. Labor and USDL/BLS

N. C., Projected Employment, 1980, by Broad Industrial Groupings

	Occ.	No.	Pct.
Goods 1,127,600 46.5%	Agric., Fish, For.	105.700	4.35
	Mining	3,100	1.27
	Constrn.	146,800	6.04
	Mfg.	872,000	35.93
Services 1,299,200 53.5%	Transptn., Commun., and Publ. Util.	97,300	4.00
	Trade	404,200	16.65
	Finan., R. Est., Insur.	78,000	3.21
	Services	617,700	25.45
	Pub. Admin.	102,000	4.20
		2,426,800	100%

Changes from '70: Ag, F,F down 2 + %, 30,000 jobs
Constrn. down .15%, up 21,000 jobs
Mfg. down .09%, up 141,600 jobs
Trade up 65,700 jobs
Services up 2 + %, 149,600 jobs
Pub. Admin. up 24,700 jobs

RTI

N. C. Occupational Distribution, 1970

Occ.	No.	Pct. of Total Emplt.
Operatives, Kindred	557,507	27.5
Craftsmen, foremen, kind.	271,658	13.4
Clerical, kindred	237,194	11.7
Service	231,112	11.4
Laborers, Farmers	223,003	11.0
Prof., Tech., Kindred	218,948	10.8
Sales	143,938	7.1
Mgrs., Officials, Props.	143,938	7.1
	2,027,298	100%

RTI

New Workers Needed in N. C., 1970-80

Occ.	Added Jobs	Attrition	Total	Pct.
Prof., Tech., Kindred	90,100	68,300	158,400	17.1
MOP	24,100	38,000	62,100	6.7
Clerical, Kindred	82,500	90,600	173,100	18.7
Sales	30,700	38,400	69,100	7.5
Craftsmen, foremen	67,000	44,900	111,900	12.1
Ops. & Kindred	94,200	115,700	209,900	22.7
Service	50,000	80,600	130,600	14.1
Laborers, exc. farm & mine	-3,300	12,600	9,300	1.0
Farmers, farm workers	-35,200	34,700	-500	-0.1
	400,100	523,800	923,900	100%

It is projected that ca. 4% of the need will be met by trained workers moving into the State, leaving a need of 888,100.

RTI

Ed. Attainment, N. C. Popn. Aged 16 and Over, 1970

Years	No.	Pct.
0-7	817,900	24.2
8	255,000	7.6
1-3 yrs. h.s.	758,400	22.4
4 yrs. h. s.	941,300	27.9
1-3 yrs. college	326,200	9.6
4 + yrs. college	279,300	8.3
	3,378,100	100%

RTI projections, adjusted to prelim. Census data.

Only people on jobs — not unemployed

N. C. Total Employment by Ed. Levels

Years	Actual 1970 No.	Actual 1970 Pct.	Needed 1970 No.	Needed 1970 Pct.	Difference 1970
0-7	385,400	19.0	214,600	10.6	170,800 too many
8	137,500	6.8	214,700	10.6	77,200 too few
1-3 H. S.	442,000	21.8	434,400	21.4	7,600 too many
4 H. S.	635,800	31.4	744,500	36.7	108,700 too few
1-3 Coll.	210,300	10.4	220,900	10.9	10,600 too few
4 + Coll.	216,200	10.7	198,300	9.8	17,900 too many
	2,027,300	100%	2,027,300	100%	

Based on N.Y. State Study

"If North Carolina workers in 1970 had the national level of educational attainment for the occupations in which they are employed, 1,178,900 or 58.1 percent of the total would have from one to four years of high school, whereas only 1,077,800 or 53.2 percent of the total are estimated to have this level of educational attainment. Conversely, requirements call for 429,300 workers with less than high school training, while it is estimated that 522,900 workers with from zero through eight years of schooling are employed in North Carolina in 1970."

RTI

Est. Ed. Upgrading Needed, 1970, Present Work Force

Kind	No.
Technical	43,700
Vocational	30,000
1-3.H.S. to H. S. grad.	88,100
8 yrs. to 1-3 H.S.	80,500
0-7yrs. to 8 yrs.	157,700
	400,000

RTI

N. C. Total, New Workers Needed, By Ed. Levels, 1970-80

Years	Available, '70-'80 No.	Available, '70-'80 Pct.	Needed, '70-'80 No.	Needed, '70-'80 Pct.	Diff., Avail. and Need
0-7	52,700	5.9	57,700	6.5	5,000 too few
8	42,200	4.8	51,100	5.8	8,900 too few
1-3 H.S.	257,200	29.0	162,600	18.3	94,600 too many
4 H. S.	323,800	36.5	368,900	41.5	45,100 too few
1-3 Coll.	124,200	14.0	131,000	14.8	6,800 too few
4 + Coll.	88,000	9.9	116,700	13.1	28,700 too few
	888,100	100%	888,000	100%	

RTI

Projection of past trends, 20 occupational groups, (not by industry) for 1960-70 / So makes nat'l comparison tricky —

Est. Ed. Upgrading Needed, 1970-80 Decade

Sort	No.	Pct.
Tech.	105,800	19
Voc.	77,700	14
Ad. H. S.	213,300	39
ABE	157,700	28
	554,500	100%

Note: "The training needs as presented above do not include those for persons who are unemployed or not in the labor force. Many of these North Carolina residents have low levels of educational attainment and would benefit from the training offered in the community college system. An educational effort reaching these people would create a better-trained labor pool in North Carolina which should induce an increased rate of employment growth over that projected for the planning decade. It should be pointed out that providing motivation for these unemployed residents to undertake additional training may prove to be an even more difficult task than in the case of employed workers. The North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation experiment now underway in the community college system may be a major step in determining effective procedures for motivation of these underprivileged members of the North Carolina population."

RTI

Ec. Dev. -- New & Expanded Plants, 1965 - 1970

Year	No. Projects	No. New Jobs	Total Payroll Added (millions)	Average Hourly Wage	% Change, # of New Jobs, fr. 1965
1965	538	37,000	$136.9	$1.78	-
1966	589	37,455	141.8	1.82	1.2%
1967	468	24,774	108.7	2.11	- 33%
1968	491	31,297	153.2	2.35	-15.4%
1969	509	31,067	154.1	2.39	-16.0%
1970 1/	N/A	23,160	113.8	2.36	-37.4%
	2,595	184,753	808.5		

Mean No. Jobs Added Per Year: 30,792

C&D

1/ Year totals projected at same rate as first 7 months.

Economic Development, 1965-70, Leading Industry by Number of Projects

Year	Industry	% of Projects	% of New Jobs	% of Payroll
1965	Textiles	27.1	36.8	35.8
1966	Textiles	25.3	1/	1/
1967	Metalworking 2/	22.8	34.8	39.3
1968	Textiles	27.7	30.1	26.8
1969	Textiles	20.8	23.8	22.0

5-year period, Textiles represented 637 of 2595
New-or-Expansion Projects -- 24.5%

C&D

1/ N/A for textiles; in these categories, metalworking was the leader, with 24.5% of new jobs and 26.8% of added payroll.

2/ Textiles second.

Economic Development, 1969-70, by Category of Mfg.

Category	No. Cos.	Percent
Apparel	34	17 %
Textile Mill Prods.	31	15.5
Transptn. Equpt.	19	9.5
Furniture	18	9
Lumber & Wood Prods.	16	8
Rubber & Plastics	14	7
Metal, Fab.	12	6
Chemicals, allied	12	6
Food & kindred	11	5.5
Machinery, exc. elect.	10	5
Paper, allied	6	3
Metal, Primary	3	1.5
Misc.	3	1.5
Profl., Scientific	2	1
Stone, Clay, Glass	2	1
Leather	1	.5
Printing & Pub.	1	.5
	200 1/	100%

C&D

1/ Number of companies identified, not all cos. involved. E.g., 1969, 509 cos. involved, but only 134 identified.

Comparative Average Hourly Mfg. Wages

	Ave. Hrly. Wage, New N.C. Job	Ave. Hrly. Wage, N.C. Mfg.	Ave. Hrly. Wage, U.S. Mfg.
1965	$1.78	$1.82	$2.61
1966	1.82	1.92	2.72
1967	2.11	2.03	2.83
1968	2.35	2.19	3.01
1969	2.39	2.33	3.19
1970	2.36	2.44	3.32

'65 - N.C. new wage = 68.2% of U.S. wage

'69 - N.C. new wage = 74.9% of U.S. wage

'70 - N.C. new wage = 71.0% of U.S. wage

What Do Blacks and Whites Feel About Jobs and Discrimination in North Carolina?

How are the chances for getting ahead in North Carolina, compared with elsewhere?	white	Negro
better or the same	83	70
not as good	13	20

Where you live makes a difference in whether or not you get a good-paying job.	white	Negro
agree	48	53
disagree	48	39
not sure	4	8

Almost anyone who wants can get a job in North Carolina.	white	Negro
agree	89	30
disagree	9	61

How important is job training?	white	Negro
very or quite important	81	95
not very important	12	3
unimportant	6	1

Rating of effort to provide job training for unemployed.	white	Negro
excellent	12	4
pretty good	41	30
only fair	25	35
poor	11	25

North Carolina Negroes have as much chance as whites to get jobs.	white	Negro
agree	64	9
disagree	30	87

How much pay would a Negro get if hired for same job as white?	white	Negro
less than white	13	69
same pay	83	29

Do Negroes in government agencies have as much chance of being promoted as whites?	white	Negro
yes	78	32
no	14	57

NCF

Regional Employment vs. Regional Population

1970

	Population	% of State Total Pop.	Employ-ment	% of State Total Employment
Appalachian reg.	994,554	20.0	423,872	20.9
Piedmont reg.	2,081,091	41.9	958,606	47.3
Coastal Plains reg.	1,886,187	44.1	644,777	31.8
Totals:	4,961,832	100%	2,027,255	100%

1980[1/]

	Population	% of State Total Pop.	Employ-ment	% of State Total Employment
Appalachian reg.	1,052,238	19.4	493,760	20.3
Piedmont reg.	2,384,930	44.1	1,190,741	49.1
Coastal Plains reg.	1,976,724	36.5	742,866	30.6
Totals:	5,413,892	100%	2,427,367	100%

1/ 1980 population projection - based on same regional growth rates as obtained 1960-1970. Employment projection - RTI community college study.

Appalachia - Worker Supply and Demand by Education Level

1966 - 70

-- 48.1% of new non-ag. worker demand for H.S. grads.
-- H.S. grads represent 31.9% of potential supply.

-- 10.2% of new non-ag. worker demand for less-than- H.S. grads.
-- Less-than-H.S. grads represent 24.5% of potential supply.

Hammer, Greene, Siler, 6-68, for State Planning Task Force.

Coastal Plains - Worker Supply and Demand by Education Level

1967 - 75

--50% of non-ag. worker demand for H.S. grads.
--H.S. grads represent 17% of potential supply.

--16% of non-ag. worker demand for less-than-H.S. grads.
--Less-than-H.S. grads represent 36% of potential supply.

N.C. State Planning Division, 3-70.

Est. Welfare Client Load, 1970

Total Clients		180,000
Over 65 yrs. old	39,000	
Disabled	35,000	
AFD Children	82,000	
AFD Mothers	24,000	
		180,000

Dept. Soc. Ser.

North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation

LUTHER H. HODGES, JR., *Chairman*
GEORGE B. AUTRY, *Executive Director*

919 — 942-5796

April 19, 1971

APR 21 1971

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

Enclosed is a copy of the report on manpower needs in North Carolina which was prepared by the North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation at the request of Governor Scott. As you may know, the Governor released the report on Tuesday, April 6, along with a statement pledging his support for the report's recommendation that North Carolina establish a State Manpower Council.

I hope you will find the report interesting and useful. At the same time, I want to thank you again for the help you gave me and other MDC staff members while we were preparing this report last year.

Sincerely,

Bob Smith

Bob Smith
Director of Planning,
Program Development,
and Public Information

BS:h

Enclosure

P. O. BOX 1057, 137 E. ROSEMARY STREET, CHAPEL HILL, N. C. 27514

April 21, 1971

Mr. Bob Smith
North Carolina Manpower Development
Corporation
P.O. Box 1057
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thanks for the report on North Carolina's manpower needs. I look forward to reading it. I am sure that you and the rest of the staff should be congratulated both for the work that went into this and for the final product.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

Worksheets for Quarterly Briefing with Department of Labor

August 9-10, 1972

I. State and Local Manpower Plan

A. Situation in April -- The newly appointed State Manpower Council had held only its third monthly meeting and was engaged in (1) preparing rapidly and under the old CAMPS strictures a "plan" for Fiscal 1973 and (2) setting about real planning for the future. Key staff appointments below the administrative officer remained to be made. An economist under MDC contract with the Council was cranking up efforts to provide a data base for long-term planning. First efforts were beginning to get AMPB's actually functioning in the State's 17 planning regions.

B. Progress Since Then -- The CAMPS plan was completed and approved on schedule in April. At the request of the Council, the administrative officer and MDC's economist undertook a study of how the 17 planning regions have been funded in the past for DOL manpower projects (MDTA and EDA). The study indicated inequities in funding based on comparisons of unemployment and other need factors between the regions. The Council decided to recommend a ceiling on DOL funding for the "overfunded" regions at their present level. Council has been examining the structure of MDTA advisory committees at the regional level with a view toward combining them with AMPB's. MDC has provided extensive technical assistance to the Council's staff in each of these studies and has conducted examinations of the planning structures in four of the State's regions. One region will be chosen for in-depth monitoring and technical assistance in developing its own planning

capabilities, while the other regions will be looked at for purposes of control. The Council agreed at the August meeting that subcommittees would be established to investigate and recommend improvements in various program areas. MDC also has assisted the Council staff in the difficult process of getting qualified manpower personnel cleared through the State's Merit System. To date only two of the six State staff positions under the Council's administrator have been filled.

C. Prospectus for Future -- This is the longest term of long-term activities. Delays in appointing Council members, time needed to acquaint Council members with "the state of the art," and restrictions imposed by law on Council's freedom to act -- all conspire to impede progress on creation of a genuine State and Local Manpower Plan. Nevertheless, we see real progress being made. We have set the latest possible date under the contract, May 31, 1973, for delivery of the monograph, "Creating a State and Local Manpower Plan."

II. Public Service Employment

A. Situation in April -- Having filed in January an extensive "first view" report on how the Emergency Employment Act was working in North Carolina with the National Manpower Policy Task Force (and with ORD/DOL), MDC was ready to make progress in three specific areas of the effort. First, MDC was due to file in May an analytical memorandum citing strengths and weaknesses of EEA legislation and guidelines. Next, MDC wanted to create several demonstrations of creative uses of EEA in North Carolina. And third, we were interested in helping the State Manpower Council take over the operation of EEA in the State and in preparing staff for this task.

B. Progress Since Then -- The memorandum ("An Eight-Month Assessment of EEA in North Carolina") was completed and sent to NMPTF and ORD/DOL. It called for expansion of EEA but with changes in the national formula for allocation to the states and with incentives to try to break down traditional barriers to employment and achieve other objectives of the Act. After a good deal of field work, proposals for demonstrations of EEA programs were written for two rural North Carolina areas (a third proposal, from a North Carolina city, was stimulated by MDC interest in the subject). As no funds are available for these proposals nationally, MDC is setting about to get State funding to get the programs under way. Finally, at the request of the State Manpower Council, MDC assigned one staff member familiar with EEA to the SMC staff for several weeks to do an analysis

of the effectiveness of the staff and report recommendations. MDC is attempting to assist the Council's administrative officer get approval from Regional DOL/Atlanta to combine the EEA and regular manpower staffs.

C. Prospectus for Future -- MDC is following the schedule laid down by the NMPTF for its monitoring reports. At present, this schedule calls for a draft of a final report by October 31, to be reviewed for a final report January 1. MDC plans to prepare a monograph ("Beyond EEA in Public Service Employment") based on its involvement in monitoring EEA statewide and its experience providing developmental assistance both to the State and to local EEA sponsors. The monograph is ticketed for delivery May 31, 1973.

III. Developmental Assistance to ESC

A. Situation in April -- MDC was involved in work with the North Carolina Employment Security Commission on four major fronts. Frist, MDC was concluding two years of operating an experimental rural Concentrated Employment Program in Southeastern North Carolina by helping ES get ready to take over on an ongoing basis. Second, MDC was involved with ES officials in conducting employer relations training for local ES staff statewide. Third, MDC was developing an awareness curriculum based on its Management Awareness Program for use by a client-oriented organization like ES. And finally, MDC was assisting Employment Service officials in bringing together industrialists and businessmen in order to improve agency-industry relations and to increase ES organizational effectiveness.

B. Progress Since Then -- (1) The transfer of the operations of the CEP from MDC to ES was approved by the State Manpower Council in May. ES assumed sponsorship July 15, including full takeover of the MDC-ES job bank computer system. MDC provided staff assistance in writing the new CEP proposal and presently is writing a final report. Perhaps more importantly, MDC top-level staff worked with ES to establish a hiring system and salary scale outside the State Merit System. This enabled ES to hire most of MDC's heavily integrated staff and established a precedent for going outside the State Merit System's hiring strictures on education and experience. In part as a result of involvement in assistance in

writing the final report, MDC's monograph on its two-year involvement with a CEP is running slightly behind schedule. Originally scheduled for delivery in draft form July 15, it is now planned for August 15.

(2) MDC has participated with ES in the planning and implementation of employer relations training in six of the eight ES regions in North Carolina. When all eight regions are finished in early September, 1972, ES with assistance from MDC will have trained approximately 140 employer relations personnel.

MDC's Experimental Center is assisting the ES Raleigh local office in a employer relations demonstration project involving a "blue ribbon" employer council and a local office task force to further improvements in relations between Raleigh area employers and the local office. With the desired results this demonstration could become a pilot effort to be followed by ES local offices as a part of the ES statewide program of Employer Services Development.

(3) Work on development of an awareness curriculum for client-oriented public agencies such as ES was finished in July. ES and MDC have scheduled six to eight sessions during Fiscal 1973, beginning with the director of ES for the State and his key staff people in Raleigh. These sessions will fall far short of reaching all ES personnel who deal with the public, but it is hoped that MDC can assist in the development of a permanent training team to come under ES employ during the year who will be able to carry on the work in the future. This team also can continue to do employer relations training as it is needed

(4) The ES Director and his staff are being assisted by MDC in planning for a management development program to build on the awareness curriculum experienced by ES supervisory personnel.

(5) Another innovative ES program of interest to MDC is the outstationing of job-placement personnel in two technical institutes. The success of this effort could become a productive demonstration of community resource coordination.

C. Prospectus for Future -- (1) Completion of the CEP monograph by August 15; (2) completion of employer relations training; (3) creation of an in-house ES training team capable of continuing awareness training and employer relations training; and (4) further involvement of ES in appropriate community college programs.

A progress report on developmental assistance to ES is due December 31. It is possible that a final monograph on this work will emerge for planning purposes at that time.

IV. Development Assistance to Community Colleges

A. Situation in April -- In April the community college system had just absorbed MDC's training centers in Asheville and Craven County. A week-long training session for personnel of the three new participating community college institutions (following the Lenoir demonstration) had been conducted and programs at these institutions were just getting under way. Additionally, Holding Tech -- the community college institution in Raleigh -- had signified its interest in tying into the work of the Experimental Center in Raleigh.

B. Progress Since Then -- After a long and somewhat frustrating effort involving MDC with the community college's research people, we succeeded in getting a simple data form accepted by all participating agencies to insure compatible follow-up information. While much of the data gathered thus far has not yet been processed, we do know that the new institutions are into their fourth or fifth cycle (graduating a total of approximately 300 new trainees) and that the programs are going, for the most part, smoothly. (We were heartened by a one-year follow-up of trainee-graduates from the Lenoir program in the years 1970 and 1971 which showed that 79 per cent of those originally placed were still employed).

One of the byproducts of the spread of the Lenoir program has been the efforts of institutions not funded by the State specifically for the manpower program. Invited to a major meeting of participating community college leadership in Charlotte July 13-14 were heads of five institutions which have activated the manpower program, to one degree or another, using flexible funds of their own with developmental assistance from MDC.

Another byproduct has been the use of the HRD curriculum in one community college as a standard teaching tool for all students. "We don't have anybody who isn't just a little disadvantaged," said the president of Roanoke-Chowan Community College in northeastern North Carolina. MDC hopes that the program initiated by the college's staff will prove to be a forerunner of wider use of HRD throughout the system, whether these students are in training for jobs or for further study at the collegiate level.

The July 13-14 meeting also saw the president of the community college system put out a call for all participating institutions to host regional meetings over the next few months to prepare other institutions for the program. Present plans call for an effort to get considerable additional funding for the program from the 1973 General Assembly, to be apportioned to institutions in the system according to their desire and ability to become involved. It is thought that the regional meetings will determine which institutions are "ready" for the program. The Community College Advisory Council has requested approximately two million dollars in Priority I for the next biennium for this purpose. An additional 2.6 million dollars is in Priority VI.

C. Prospectus for Future -- The monograph on institutionalization of manpower training in the community college system can not be presented in final form by August 21, 1972, as called for in the present schedule. A progress report can be done by that date, however, looking toward a final monograph by the end of the present contract, after the 1973 General Assembly has met and taken its action. MDC hopes to move along the spread of the Lenoir demonstration in the meantime and also to begin actual institutionalization of MAP in the community college system (See VI. Management Awareness Program).

V. Industry Involvement in Training

A. Situation in April -- After a long series of meetings with industrial and business leaders in Raleigh -- the city chosen as the site of MDC's Experimental Center -- three main program thrusts had been identified: First, there were efforts to establish through "brainstorming" sessions, a system enabling industry to share information of common value, as, for instance, programs designed to reduce worker dissatisfaction. Secondly, there was an effort to involve public agencies in Raleigh in creation of a manpower delivery system. Third, there was a cooperative program between MDC and the Department of Public Instruction to add an additional dimension to a new "career awareness" curriculum being installed from kindergarten through high school.

B. Progress Since Then -- "Think tank" meetings of industrial and business leadership in Raleigh have continued with some considerable exchange of mutually beneficial information between participants. At least one major industry in Raleigh is presently interesting itself in the general problem of worker dissatisfaction as a result of MDC's having presented a paper detailing some of the efforts of industry in this field nationally.

The involvement of public agencies in a manpower delivery system has occupied a major portion of the Experimental Center's efforts over the past several months. Agency heads and city representatives were present at a kickoff meeting at the Center May 17. At that time, seven subgroups were established, each to concern itself with one phase of the manpower delivery process -- recruiting, assessment, etc. During June each subgroup met at least once and efforts have begun in July to tie together their findings. We expect a delivery system to emerge at least in outline prior to involving industry representatives. MDC will then involve the delivery system, including industrial input, in a training cycle at the Center in August. The training will involve personnel at Holding Tech in a learning-teaching capacity. The goal is an advanced version of the old MDC training center, utilizing full community resources for the first time.

The cooperative program between MDC and the Department of Public Instruction has suffered innumerable delays in getting under way. The original program design called for involving teachers of an experimental "career awareness" public school system in Apex, North Carolina, in summer employment, with seminars built in to involve industrial representatives with the educators. Learnings were to be utilized back in the schools this Fall. Despite school official's predictions otherwise, the teachers did not prove enthusiastic about doing entry level work during the Summer weeks to improve their "career awareness." Since MDC had developed only jobs of the sort that the teachers' pupils might get, only two teachers of an original group of 16 candidates actually were placed. However, at MDC's request, a coordinator has been hired under the Department of Public Instruction's budget to broaden the scope of the program to the entire

Wake County school system to involve other teachers and workers, and to prepare a proposal for the Fall. The Department has set aside approximately $60,000 for the cooperative program.

C. Prospectus for Future -- The contract calls for two monographs under the general heading of Industrial Involvement in Training. The first, "Industry Development in Training," is scheduled for delivery September 15. This monograph was conceived as dealing with the cooperative program between industry and the public schools, and probably should be rescheduled for January 1, 1973, to allow time for the Fall program in Wake County to take effect. The second monograph, "Creative Urban Manpower Delivery System," is scheduled for May 1, 1973. It may be that a progress report prior to this date would be useful and in order. It is too early to predict what form learnings from MDC's involvement in industry "brainstorming" should take.

VI. Management Awareness Program

A. Situation in April -- MDC training staff was working on the monograph on MAP, scheduled for completion July 31. At the same time, staff was concerned with efforts to begin institutionalizing MAP in the community college system and to use MAP as a tool in the development of industrial involvement in the Raleigh Experimental Center.

B. Progress Since Then -- Industrial contacts advised MDC to develop a two-hour MAP demonstration to attract participation by reaching top management. Accordingly, training staff set about to develop the two-hour MAP and a demonstration was presented to several representatives of industry and top staff of Holding Tech in June. Based on results of this meeting and on continuing follow-up by MDC staff, we are projecting a regular three-day session for Raleigh middle management in August. At present we have 11 firm commitments and two possible commitments to this session. Hopefully, this MAP will lead to more extensive programs with the individual industries.

Several approaches to institutionalization have been tried. At first it was thought that community college officials in Raleigh could designate three institutions (one from each section of the State) to take on the program. This approach did not prove sufficiently interesting to the

institutions approached. Some of the institutions pleaded money problems -- money for MAP must come from Extension Service funds which in some cases are tied down by previous programming. Finally, MDC decided to work with two institutions which were willing to find money for the program -- Holding Tech in Raleigh and Lenoir Community College. The president of the community college system has indicated his confidence that money for the program can be found from regular institution budgets in Fiscal 1973.

The MAP monograph has been completed on schedule. A draft version has been sent to DOL/ORD for comment.

C. Prospectus for Future -- MDC hopes to develop MAP programs in the two participating community college institutions by the time the General Assembly meets in January, 1973. At that time a further decision on spreading the program can be made. In the meantime, MAP will be done with industry in Raleigh.

VII. Ad Hoc and Other Programs

A. Indian Program -- MDC has developed a plan for surveying Indian manpower needs across the State, combining house-to-house survey work in a concentrated section with individual observation statewide. The product hopefully will be a monograph to be ready by May 31.

B. Tobacco Program -- MDC has been placed on stand-by to assist ORD/DOL in the completion of a study to be done at North Carolina State University on the "migration" of tobacco workers from farms in the State.

C. Final Centers Report -- MDC is finishing work on a monograph resulting from the last year of its experience with the manpower training centers in Asheville and Craven County. The monograph will focus on learnings from the Family Development Unit approach tried out in Craven County. It should be ready by August 15.

D. Intern Program -- Two students from North Carolina A&T University participated in the joint MDC-A&T Intern Program during their spring semester. They worked out of the Raleigh Experimental Center and also with the Planning and Information Department of MDC. Both the interns and MDC agreed the program had been successful in giving the interns a comprehensive experience in the manpower field. However, it was suggested by the interns that the internship period should be longer and orientation more intensive. MDC is

in the process of developing plans for next year's program, incorporating these suggestions.

E. Mobility Project -- Work under the current contract is proceeding on schedule. It is hoped that the increased emphasis on research will provide useful information on the potential of a larger project. Industrial demand for relocatees is increasing; however, our current budget precludes meeting this demand. The corporate aim is still to institutionalize the Mobility capability in the Employment Security Commission.

F. Soul City -- MDC has continued to provide, on request, technical assistance to Soul City on manpower planning for the future. Actual manpower programs in the area would not appear to be in order for the immediate future.

G. Career Education -- The MDC staff continues its formal and informal interest in career education as evidenced by the Apex Project. We have also monitored programs in Caldwell and New Hanover counties. Some preliminary thought is being given to refining HRD techniques to meet the needs of under-motivated students and MAP techniques to improve the effectiveness of teachers and counselors.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Via, Harris, Bowie, Watkins DATE:

FROM: SL COPIES:

SUBJECT:

Please note the enclosed progress reports from N. C. Manpower Development Corporation. Some strengths, some weaknesses, but still rated the best of its kind in the country. At some stage we might feature an article on its innovations.

North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation

LUTHER H. HODGES, JR., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE B. AUTRY, PRESIDENT
DEWITT SULLIVAN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

919 - 942-5796

September 7, 1972

Mr. Robert Schrank
Project Specialist
Division of National Affairs
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Bob:

In view of your interest and your help in our informal musings over "humanization of work," I thought we might bring you up to date on where we are. For obvious reasons, we are not getting into another study of the dimensions of worker dissatisfaction or inventing our own solutions. We remain interested, however; and the enclosed two in-house memos should bring you up to date.

Under separate cover, I'm sending you a copy of our notes to Seymour for our most recent quarterly meeting. If you will glance through here, it may be that there are other areas on which you would like more information.

At our Board meeting a couple of weeks ago, the staff was instructed to keep MDC in business beyond the expiration of our current funding in June of next year. At some point, I would very much like to have your thoughts on the future of MDC. (I would like to have your money, but I'm serious when I say I would appreciate your thoughts.)

Let me know when we might talk.

Sincerely,

George B. Autry

GBA:h

Enclosures

bc: Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.

P. O. BOX 1087, 137 E. ROSEMARY STREET, CHAPEL HILL, N. C. 27514

File N.C. Manpower Development Corp.

Synthesis of Memos on State Plan Meetings

(over 30 agency heads and others interviewed in July)

Interviewing Subcommittee: Bob Smith, Ed Stewart
Terry Pridgen, Jeanie Rausch

Givens: (Ideas relating to the creation of statewide manpower planning and policy-making machinery that everyone seemed to accept as true)

1. As presently constituted, CAMPS is virtually useless as a planning and policy making body.

2. To succeed, any planning and policy-making body would have to have as its membership first-line folks -- agency heads or substantial private citizens serving at the Governor's request.

3. Manpower planning on the State level should be coordinated with manpower planning on the level of the new 17 planning regions in the State.

Alternatives:

1. A Department of Manpower, consolidating all agenices now working broadly in the manpower field. (This would be a variation on the tentative new department structure suggested by Senator Henley's committee).

Pluses: Total coordination; full authority vested in a single agency head.

Minuses: Extremely difficult to achieve both politically and practically; would community colleges be regarded as a "manpower" agency? (if so, its educational role would suffer; if not the new department would lose a vital constituent).

2. State Manpower Planning Council, composed of heads of agencies affected and vested with power to recommend to Governor a State plan including amount of disbursement to each manpower-related agency.

Pluses: More practical; good coordination; opportunity for reform of existing manpower related agencies.

Minuses: Might encourage inter-agency squabbling; hard to divvy pot; agency heads not likely to be innovative*

3. Governor's Manpower Council, composed of private, independent citizens from all walks of life, vested with power to recommend to Governor State plan including amount of disbursement to each manpower-related agency.

Pluses: Best chance for independent, creative planning; highest degree of industry and poverty-sector involvement.

Minuses: Either would mix private folks with agency heads (which could restrict innovation), or would leave agency heads out of policy-making.*

* In this alternative, a staff capacity to assist the planning body is assumed. That capacity could be achieved -- most of those we talked with agreed -- by use of the State Planning Division of the Department of Administration.

North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation

P. O. BOX 1057, 137 E. ROSEMARY STREET, CHAPEL HILL, N. C. 27514

919 — 942-5796

MEMORANDUM

TO: George Autry, Jim Godwin

FROM: Bob Smith

DATE: September 5, 1972

SUBJ: Conference on Worker Satisfaction (Or the Lack Thereof)

I met this morning with Frank Krieger, Jerry Hart, and Bill Kemp of Kemp Furniture Company of Goldsboro. Purpose of the meeting was to discuss the possibility of an industry conference to trade ideas on the subject of developing management skills in the area of worker satisfaction.

The meeting stemmed from an earlier one involving Jim G. and me with Kemp, a furniture manufacturer of Goldsboro who has done some interesting things in this general field (see my memo of August 25). Jim and I had talked earlier with Jerry Hart, president of Stackpole and found him highly receptive to the idea of a conference. Krieger was invited as the head of the industrial association covering Raleigh and the East, and as a member of our think-tank group.

Those present agreed that a conference with perhaps 20 participants would be useful. The idea would be for us to arrange several fairly brief demonstrations on what's being done in the state in the field (Kemp, for instance, would discuss his various incentive plans; somebody else might talk about problems he hasn't been able to solve, and so on). Then workshops could be set up to feed back to both sides -- reaction to Kemp's things, possible solution to the problems, etc.

It was agreed that the conference should be a short one. Kemp suggested Quail Roost on a Sunday evening and a Monday morning, adjourning sometime in the afternoon. He stated that his involvement in politics would make it difficult for him to meet on a Friday or Saturday. Krieger and Hart seemed to think that the somewhat unusual meeting time might work to our advantage by screening out individuals with only a marginal interest in the subject. After some consultation with calendars, Sunday-Monday (October 15-16) was chosen as a possible target date, depending upon the availability of Quail Roost. It might be necessary to move to November, or find another meeting place, if this doesn't pan out. Krieger agreed to serve with Jim G. as a committee to determine who should be invited to this first meeting. Kemp said he'd like to bring two others from Goldsboro. Raleigh names suggested included Jim Peden, Jr., Ben Kilgore, Gregory Poole, Harry Richter, and Paul DelaCourt. One big question this first conference will have to answer is

what the next step will be. Should the group attempt to persuade others in industry to adopt this or that technique, or should it see itself strictly as an idea trading organization? And what permanent organization should the group seek to develop?

In view of Seymour's interest in industry sharing information, Schrank's interest in "humanization of work," and Bill McGehee's general concern, I think we should proceed along the lines suggested in this memo.

I also think that somewhere down the road -- and not far down the road -- we will want to break the news to the industrial types that we'd like to involve workers in their meetings and deliberations.

ash

North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation

P. O. BOX 1057, 137 E. ROSEMARY STREET, CHAPEL HILL, N. C. 27514

919 — 942-5796

MEMORANDUM

TO: George Autry, Dewitt Sullivan

FROM: Bob Smith

DATE: August 25, 1972 (August 17, 1972)

SUBJ: Work Environment-Job Alienation

Jim Godwin and I visited Wednesday with Bill Kemp, Jr., of Kemp Furniture Company in Goldsboro. He had been described to us as one of the more progressive employers in the State and we were interested to learn what he is doing in the general field of work humanization -- or, as Luther put it in the board meeting -- "work environment or job alienation." (Pretty good; better than h-o-w.) Kemp is a second term member of the North Carolina House of Representatives and as you know was friendly to our efforts to get money for the Lenoir spread in the General Assembly.

After some years of exposure to the industrialist who is all sweetness and humanity on the subject of "his" workers, I've become somewhat cynical. I'll admit, though, I had a hard time restraining our enthusiasm for this guy. He sounds almost too good to be true -- even down to candid admissions of his own and his company's shortcomings.

I'm going to list a few -- and I mean a few; there are others -- of his policies as they appear in the company handbook:

1. "A 1 percent bonus will be paid to all employees who own their own homes. Any time an employee becomes a homeowner he becomes eligible to collect retroactively for the last 20 quarters."

2. "For each one-half day of outside training each year, a .2 percent bonus will be paid during the following year up to a total of 2 percent." (The training can be in a wide variety of generally job-connected activities. In response to a question I asked, he said he is seriously considering allowing bonuses for "any kind of training that the individual thinks improves him." That would include, he said, art, ceramics, etc.)

3. "A 1 percent bonus shall be paid if employee is an active member of an organization such as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Supervisors' Club, etc."

4. "A 1 percent bonus shall be paid if employee purchases an amount of stock equal to 3 percent of employee's previous W-2 earnings."

There are additionally bonuses for production, attendance, meeting deadlines, holding down double time, safety, etc. A particularly interesting one is a bonus of 15 percent each time a foreman has an employee enter the Supervisory Training Program (which is done on company time to move the likely looking entry level people up the ladder.) Each time an employee is promoted to another department, the foreman gets a 7.5 percent bonus, which then goes up to 15 percent if the individual goes into training there. The higher up you get in the organization, the more liberal this system is. The executives get extra free time for various community and civic activities. An interesting twist is a rule that women with children under 16 can't work more than 35 hours a week. This is the result of Kemp's conviction that mothers need to spend more time with their families, particularly developing children.

Kemp is quick to admit that his programs have not met with universal success. Some women resisted the 35-hour cutoff, although he says that those he persuaded to do it now say that they like it. He hasn't gotten as much response as he'd like from the stock ownership bit. The company has moved from family owned in a few years to 15 percent employee owned. He says he'd like to see it 75 percent employee owned "or more."

He doesn't think he's created a Garden of Eden for furniture workers either. But he does say that in an industry with an approximately 85 percent annual worker turnover, he's got one of approximately 25 percent. And "nobody" leaves from office or executive jobs. He also thinks that his policies actually pay off in cold, economic terms, although he hasn't tried to prove this.

He said he'd be more than willing to help MDC convene a meeting of industrialists who would like to share their learnings in the work environment area. His purpose, he said, would be to learn from others. He'd bring three or four more "interested" businessmen from Goldsboro, if that would help.

Jim and I suggested convening a small planning meeting involving a few industrial folk in Raleigh soon. The meeting would look to a larger meeting of industry people at Quail Roost -- a day of idea and problem sharing.

It seems to me that this is something worth following through with. It comports with Seymour's desire for MDC to help industry share its learnings in this area. And it seems in line with what Bill McGehee was suggesting in the board meeting Thursday. What do you think?

ash

cc: Policy Committee
P&I Staff

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LOCAL DEVELOPMENT COMPANY PROGRAM

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WARREN W. WIGGINS, PRESIDENT

July 22, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you so much for seeing me in Atlanta. I am sorry it was such a hit and run occasion.

My meeting with J. P. Stevens went well. There are obviously many discussions within Stevens which have to take place before any firm agreement is reached. I am waiting to hear from them, and will keep you informed on the progress we make.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Blair Butterworth
Vice President for Program Development

JBB/kl

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BREAKING THE SUCCESS BARRIER

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August 12, 1969

Mrs. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is some information on Success Motivation Institute Programs and Services.

I will be calling you within the very near future.

Sincerely,

James K. Polk
Director of Marketing
Management and Manpower Division
(Former Executive Director, Charlotte Bureau on Employment Learning and Placement, Charlotte, North Carolina)

JR:rb

Enclosures

Priority
Consultants

M—

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF
SUCCESS MOTIVATION INSTITUTE, INC.
2400044

October 17, 1969

Mr. Gerald T. Horton
The Research Group, Inc.
2342 National Bank of Georgia Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Horton:

Sometime ago, while I was on vacation, you wrote asking me to submit biographical data to be considered in connection with your Technical Assistance Panel.

I feel certain that by now you have completed your panel. Although I greatly appreciate being considered for this role in your organization, after some deliberation I have decided that I will be unable to undertake such work.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

August 8, 1969

Mr. Gerald T. Horton
The Research Group, Inc.
2342 National Bank of Georgia Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Horton:

Your letter of August 5th addressed to Mr. Emory Via has been received.

Mr. Via will be away from the office for the month of August. When he returns this will be brought to his attention.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Kathy Martin
Secretary
Labor Program

km

THE RESEARCH GROUP, INC.
2342 NATIONAL BANK OF GEORGIA BLDG.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

TELEPHONE (404) 577-1241

August 5, 1969

Dear Mr. Ulà —

May I again urge you to return to us your Biographical Data form for consideration as a member of our Technical Assistance Panel. Because you were recommended by someone whom we respect quite highly, we certainly hope to have the opportunity to consider you at our meeting next week.

Yours truly,

Gerald T. Horton

Yes you were nominated by Mario Wall. I certainly hope you will serve.

J.

THE RESEARCH GROUP, INC.
2342 NATIONAL BANK OF GEORGIA BLDG.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

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Mr. Emory Via
Labor Educational Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE RESEARCH GROUP, INC.
2542 NATIONAL BANK OF GEORGIA BLDG.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

TELEPHONE (404) 577-1241

October 21, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for your letter of October 17 regarding your consideration for membership on our Technical Assistance Panel. We have completed our selection for this year, but perhaps we will have an opportunity of working with you at a future date.

Thank you for your interest in The Research Group.

With best wishes,

Yours truly,

Gerald T. Horton

GTH:ml

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SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

File

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

November 4, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Yes, the Erie, Pennsylvania project conducted by Success Motivation Institute was supported by the Ford Foundation in part -- but out of another shop. Unfortunately, I've fallen heir to the monitoring of this project, which has had numerous difficulties both in its administration and execution. The project was conducted by the ERIE OIC with SMI under contract to it. The bulk of support was provided by the State of Pennsylvania with us providing some central administration and evaluation support aimed at developing a work study program for OIC students.

Attach this letter to materials of this company in our Pat. Bus. Consultants folder

I'm asking Bob Schrank, our monitor on this project, to share with you some of his reports. From what they've told me SMI's program is a bit hilarious but does seem to psyche the kids up.

Sincerely yours,

Basil Whiting

Basil Whiting
Program Officer

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SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
AN AGENCY OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

-SAMPLE-

Savannah Neighborhood Council
Economic Development Workshop

AGENDA

February 21, 1970

9:30-10:00 Assemble and Receive Materials

10:00-11:00 Background

Why is the Model Cities Area depressed? What factors have created poverty? What causes must be attacked to eliminate poverty?

11:00-12:30 Purposes of Community Development Corporations

General Purposes

1. Create more jobs for community people.

2. Assist and/or create black-owned retail and service businesses both within and outside the community.

3. Create and/or encourage the establishment of new industry in the community.

What Should Be the Goals in the Savannah Model Neighborhood?

--If jobs, what kind of jobs? Jobs for women, jobs for men? Part-time, full-time? High skill, low skill? White collar, blue collar?

--If neighborhood-owned businesses, what kind of businesses? What kind of stores--liquor stores, hardware, drug, beer and wine, supermarket, variety? What kinds of services--shoe shops, TV repair, taxis, dry cleaning, janitorial, automotive?

--If new industry, what kind should it be--sewing, electrical wiring, chemical, hand assembly, plastics?

12:30-1:30 Lunch

1:30-3:00 Types of Programs of Community Development Corporations

Small Business Expansion & Stabilization

1. Counseling Services

   a) one-to-one on-going advice
   b) seminars or group counseling
   c) informal, college taught management courses

2. Neighborhood Businessmen's Association

   a) to influence zoning ordinance, parking regulations, etc.
   b) to assist each other with banking and finance problems.
   c) act as Chamber of Commerce.

Industrial and Commercial Development

1. Joint-venture new plants

2. Create SBA 502 corporations

3. Establish loan pool

4. Carry out economic planning

5. Prepare feasibility studies, cash-flow projections, market analyses, etc.

Considering the goals discussed in the previous session, what type of program should the Model Neighborhood have? What specific kinds of things need to be done?

3:00-3:15 Break

3:15-4:30 Legal Types of Community Development Corporations

Profit Motivated Corporations

--Selling shares in the neighborhood
--Selling shares in the downtown business community
--Using a credit union base
--SBA 502 corporations

Non-profit Corporations

--Getting foundation money
--Hustling local "fat cats"
--Federal Programs

What type or combination of types would serve best in the Model Neighborhood?

4:30-5:00 Summary of Workshop

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

"Economic Development" has become an important part of the programs aimed at improving the lot of America's poor people. Phrases like "Black Capitalism", "Green Power", "getting a piece of the action" and "doing your own thing" are watch words as communities seek not only to improve their housing, health and social services, but also their pocketbooks.

This increased attention to improving the economic well-being of the poor has brought with it numerous new programs, considerable financial and technical assistance and the opportunity to join in the competitive and complex world of American business and industry.

The road to economic success is a hazardous one and requires careful planning. Perhaps one of the most crucial steps on this road is the first one. The one that decides "where we are going" and "how we will get there". The Economic Development Workshop is designed to assure that this first step is carefully planned and representative of the goals and aspirations of the people by and for whom the program is being developed.

THE WORKSHOP

The Economic Development Workshop has three basic purposes. These are:

1. to acquaint representatives with development programs that are being undertaken in communities across the country;
2. to assist the community to define its own problems and goals;
3. to chart a course for accomplishing these goals.

The "AGENDA" included in this kit is illustrative of the format and content of a typical workshop. Certain portions of each workshop are tailored to the individual community after a preliminary meeting between the consultant and sponsors of the workshop.

WHO WILL PARTICIPATE?

A successful workshop can be conducted with both large and small groups. The ideal size, however, is about 20 community participants. The selection of the participants is entirely at the discretion of the sponsors of the workshop. The following are suggested guidelines for determining who should participate.

1. Participants should be residents of the community that the development program will assist.

2. Participants should represent the entire community, i.e., all social groups, all organizations and churches, all age groups, etc.

3. Participants should be knowledgeable of their community and be able to relate their feelings and experiences.

4. Participants should be potential leaders in the economic development effort.

HOW LONG DOES THE WORKSHOP LAST?

An effective Economic Development Workshop will normally run for six hours plus time for breaks. Workshop sessions are normally scheduled for one full day. Sponsors may, however, prefer to split the workshop into two evening sessions to run on consecutive days.

Since most of the people who can benefit from these workshops must work during the week days and often on Saturday, it is recommended that the workshop be scheduled either for a Sunday or consecutive week nights.

HOW MUCH WILL THE WORKSHOP COST?

The cost of the Economic Development Workshop is $600. This covers the cost of materials (this sample kit contains much of the materials that are given to each participant) and the expenses of the consultant.

HOW DO I ARRANGE TO HOLD AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP?

For further information about the workshop contact:

Bron Cleveland
Bron Cleveland Associates
Suite111
805 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

or call: 404/876-0725

ENCLOSED MATERIALS

The materials included in this kit are representative of the information that will be reviewed and left with each participant. These materials are continually updated as new programs are established and new booklets published.

Making capitalism work in the ghettos

Louis L. Allen

Reprinted from

Harvard
Business Review

May-June 1969

Harvard
Business Review

May-June 1969

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Louis L. Allen

Making capitalism work in the ghettos

The need is to adapt the old-fashioned, no-nonsense approach that has always been used by successful capitalists

Foreword

The term "black capitalism" is misleading and confusing, the author believes. Capitalism does not vary according to the color of its practitioners. Whether in Watts or on Wall Street, capitalism develops according to certain time-honored rules and principles. It is created out of know-how, hard work, and intelligent risk taking—and it cannot be given ready-made to anyone, nor can it be legislated. At the same time, though, would-be capitalists in the ghettos urgently need the help of experienced white businessmen; they need financial assistance as well as managerial guidance. Some valuable lessons that have been learned about how (and how not) to give this help are outlined here.

Mr. Allen is President of Chase Manhattan Capital Corporation, which has invested about one third of its portfolio in ghetto enterprises. In 1968 he received a special award from the Small Business Administration for his pioneering work in helping entrepreneurs from disadvantaged minority groups start and succeed with their own companies. He has been the proprietor of his own business, an officer in several small manufacturing companies, and a partner and consultant in several other small business ventures. His writings include *Starting and Succeeding in Your Own Small Business* (New York, Grosset & Dunlap, Inc., 1968).

During a recent month, at least two dozen meetings, conferences, seminars, and orientation sessions were held in New York City on the subject of entrepreneurship and small business in the ghetto areas. Despite my interest in the subject, I did not attend a single one of the meetings. This was not because I knew all about the problem (I did not) but because I knew I would see the same faces, hear the same questions, and listen to the same answers that had long since become familiar to me from earlier meetings. Also, I was convinced that the ballroom of a plush midtown hotel was not the place to study or work on the problems of new business in disadvantaged areas.

In trying to help the ghettos, we have followed the time-honored approach to business problem solving that was started 50 years ago with time and motion study—breaking a task down into its smallest, irreducible parts in order to analyze them further. This approach has led us to:

- Make an already difficult task much more complex by trying to "engineer" a magical, quick solution.
- Adopt labels for the problem and solution that direct our attention along false and misleading lines.
- Look in the wrong places for someone or something to blame for the problem.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

○ Fail to talk with the people actually involved in ghetto business problems, while consulting with those who, though not directly involved, consider themselves spokesmen for the disadvantaged.

○ Forget what are known to be the basic rules of capitalism.

The purpose of this article is to clear away the logjam in thinking about the economic development of slum areas. I shall elaborate on the points just mentioned, recount some experiences I have had with ghetto entrepreneurs, and summarize some of the practical lessons I have learned about investing in ghetto businesses. I call for a moratorium on conferences and meetings until we in management have something *new* and relevant to talk about. Such methods as decision trees, PERT, and planning models are not applicable to the problems at hand. What we are testing is the entrepreneurial spirit, which means that successful capitalists must go one at a time into the ghetto, find entrepreneurs, and work with them one at a time in the small businesses they seek to build.

Epiphany of capitalism

We are a jingle-writing and "sloganeering" people, we Americans. We like to tag everything with an acronym or a label, and this frequently gets us thinking along lines that we did not intend. Worse, with our aptness for phrasemaking, we sometimes mesmerize ourselves into assuming that since we have cleverly labeled something, we have somehow magically solved the problem it presents.

On occasions, the problem *does* go away. For example, as long as one fish product was called "horse mackerel," it could not be given away; now that it is called "tunafish," it's a very big seller. But the reverse can happen; the problem can be aggravated. For example, consider the label, "black capitalism." Although it is in current use, it is not appropriate to the circumstances, and its continued use will be dangerous. For "capitalism" is a word which describes a concept, a complex concept of many interwoven threads. Capitalism is an economic system in pretty much the same way that Christianity, Judaism, or Mohammedanism are religious schools of thought; that is, its basic appeal is that it can be universally applied, and the truths can withstand the closest scrutiny.

Capitalism can no more be adequately described by stating the color, racial origin, or religion of its practitioners than it can be described by the locality of its implementation—for example, Ohio capitalism as compared with New York capitalism. Its greatest strength is that it is, or should be, available to anyone, anywhere, anytime as a means to participate in an economic system, in the same way that Christianity, Judaism, or Mohammedanism can be practiced by all who want to believe in them. To use the term "black capitalism" is to demean those of its practitioners who are black.

It is true that there are many who have been and still are deprived of the opportunity to practice capitalism. But those who believe in this system, who have practiced it, and who have prospered from it must remember that there is no exclusivity in it. Exclusivity will change it—drastically and unfavorably.

The Epiphany is an annual feast celebrating the coming of the Magi with news for the Gentiles. What capitalism needs now is an "epiphany" of its own—many wise men who will bring its principles to those who need to know about them and who will remain with the initiates to make the principles work.

Illusion of quick solutions

Basic to a working understanding of capitalism is that it is built one step at a time by practitioners—not handed to them fully constructed. To talk about quick solutions is a terrible mistake because there are none.

An article in the March-April 1969 issue of HBR [1] proposes that the government take over selected large corporations by eminent domain and give control of them to the black man. The author goes to some lengths to outline the ways in which this approach could be implemented, how payment could be made, how transition to black control could be effected, and so on. All of this explanation misses the point. My six-year-old son learned how to swim last winter at the local YMCA. But this summer I will still insist on his wearing a life jacket when he goes in a small boat. I will bet Richard F. America would do the same. Of course, the child may say he knows how to swim and does not need the life jacket.

Exactly the same principle holds in running a big business. No one can know how to manage a large corporation without experience in doing

1. Richard F. America, Jr., " 'What Do You People Want?' " p. 103.

just that. Certainly experience in small company management is no substitute. America has outlined plans for an orderly transition of a few months time. I doubt how "orderly" the transition will be under the circumstances, and, in any case, the best of men could not learn to manage a big company in less than two years.

But the greatest oversight America has made is to give no thought to the customer. How many Ford customers would be lost if that company were turned over to blacks to own and manage? How many Maxwell House buyers would switch to other brands if that organization were one of the ones selected for black control? The problem with being a dictator and arranging things by decree, as America suggests, is that the decrees must cover all ramifications. America's proposals, I take it, ambitious as they may be, stop short of decreeing how many people are required to buy Fords and no other make, or to purchase only Maxwell House coffee.

Like a religion, capitalism can be practiced only on an individual basis. It is a matter of one man working at his task or working with a few or many others at an assigned or a selected task. If their work is to be successful, it must be done according to the rules. Capitalism cannot be legislated as suggested by America, nor does it offer any easy answers or comfortable compromises. To suggest that blacks take over a large corporation on a ready-made basis is very much akin to suggesting that the fox be placed in charge of the henhouse.

Capitalism can be made to work for the economically disadvantaged in our urban centers; it is working there now in many instances. But it requires new approaches, new commitments, and new efforts by everyone who has been a recipient of its great promises.

Getting started

What are the requirements of making capitalism work in a depressed urban area? My experience in financing new and small businesses for the economically disadvantaged has led me to conclude that we have been asking the wrong questions of the wrong people. The people who want to know about small business and capitalism in the ghetto are the people who live there and are trying to make decent lives for themselves and their families there. They do not attend the meetings at the Waldorf; they probably never have talked to anyone who has. Hence the first mistake we have been making is not listening to the right people. We have been listening instead to banquet table speakers.

And the questions we have been asking are wrong—for example, questions such as "What needs to be done?" If one has to ask that question, he will not understand the answer, which is simply that the knowledgeable businessman must go into a ghetto area and begin to work with a person there who aspires to something better than what he has.

The making of a precedent

To illustrate that the need is to get on with the job, not discuss it further, let me tell you about the first investment in a ghetto business we made at Chase Manhattan Capital Corporation. While other businessmen may choose to make the jump into ghetto investing in a different way, they will have to be just as resolute as we were in this case:

□ As of several years ago, we had not yet begun a program of investing in small businesses in New York City. We had been going to all the conferences, reading all the articles and books, and getting very discouraged. It seemed to me hopeless to continue the meetings and conferences. I decided that the next applicant who walked into my office would get his financing.

I thought of an analogy about swimming. A man could learn all about the theories of bodies in a fluid medium, he could understand completely the skeletal and muscular functions of the human body, he could know all about the motor nerves, and everything else. But he could be dropped in the middle of a lake, and his knowledge would be of little comfort to him if he sank to the bottom. What we needed was "swimmers"—not men who knew how and why a person could swim. We needed men who would invest a portion of their substance and their time, and generally assist those who could not get started without such help.

The next applicant at my office was a man in his late forties. He was from Jamaica. For 10 years he had been a furniture polisher and repairman for a large New York City hotel. And he wanted to be in business for himself. Over a period of two years he had saved about $10 per month until he had $250. With this he had bought some hand tools and made a payment on a very small store. It had been burglarized the very first night; all he possessed had been stolen.

When he had gone home that evening, his

wife and ten-year-old daughter had prepared a dinner to celebrate the beginning of his business. They had no telephone, so he could not have called to let them know of the disaster. He told his wife and daughter what had happened. His daughter had got up and run to her room, he told me. He had started after her to comfort her when she came running back with an old brown envelope in her hands. She had thrown her arms around his neck, hugged him, and said, "That's all right, Daddy, I've saved some money and I want you to have it to start again." It was 12 cents in pennies.

The man in my office looked at me and said that he was not going to let his little girl down. We agreed to finance him. (Since then he has been struggling along; his business has not yet prospered by normal standards, but for him it has been a chance to be on his own and he is full of hope and enthusiasm.

Once we had set a precedent of action for ourselves and broken the paralysis of discussion and inaction, we began to move in a serious way. That entrepreneur's firm was the first of many we have financed.

Breaking an old rule

In the case just described, we put up all the money for the business. The man could not have saved enough in any case. That was the first way we changed our thinking about the problems associated with getting a business started in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The tragedy of our citizens that live in the ghetto is that they have no chance to save. The society in which they live does not permit saving, either implicitly or explicitly. They barely subsist on their low incomes and pay high prices for what they get. Because of the expense and lack of mobility, they are effectively denied the opportunity of going elsewhere. Since saving is the basis for accumulating capital, they simply cannot be expected to be in a position to provide any but the smallest part of the financial resources needed to get into business.

Would-be backers must make up their minds that they will have to relax or waive entirely the traditional requirement that an entrepreneur contribute part of the equity himself. If anyone wants to foster the start of capitalism in the economically disadvantaged areas, he must be ready and willing to put up all the money himself. There are no substitutes for this approach, in my experience. A lot of time is wasted and needless involvement undertaken looking around for "front money" to protect the investor's interest. That money is never there.

Bear in mind, too, that while the entrepreneur has no funds to get started, he has always faced very great odds. The level of his aspiration is high; yet he recognizes his prospects for achievement as low. If there is to be any chance for the success of such a venture, it must be constructed at the outset so he and any other principals will be the largest beneficiaries of any profits.

Fallacy of the give-away

Yet what we are discussing here is not a give-away program. This is one of the points where I disagree most vigorously with America's proposal. As I stated earlier, if the game is capitalism, it has to follow the rules. The only change is that here, because of the special circumstances, the investor must recognize the essential requirement of putting up all the money.

The investment should be made in capitalist terms. For instance, our typical financing at Chase Manhattan Capital Corporation is a ten-year loan with a five-year to seven-year moratorium on principal repayments. We form a corporation, issue *all* outstanding stock to the client, and take a detachable stock warrant for between 10% to 15% of the total capitalization.

At the same time we enter into a "put and call" arrangement with the founders according to which, after our original investment has been fully paid and discharged, they can "call" our warrant back for the pro-rated percentage of post-tax profits earned during the period of time the warrant has been outstanding. In other words, we will sell our right to, say 10% of the stock, for that amount of the company's net earnings. Under other circumstances we can "put" the warrant back to the founders at one half the rate of the "call"; or if there should be an underwriting, merger, or sale of the business, we can exercise the warrant and go along for the ride.

This is fair to all parties, it is businesslike, and it puts the founders in the driver's seat with respect to how the profits will be taken.

An investor's commitment

If we drop the requirement that the principals "come to the party" with some assets of their

own to contribute, we must face some hard questions. One such question is inextricably involved with the general nature of business, especially small business. I regard it is an inalienable right of a businessman to be wrong—not stupid or careless, but just plain wrong. The uncertainties of business are such that the best plans can be laid waste regardless of the competence of the men who made the decisions.

Normally, however, the investor can protect himself. If he sees a decision going sour, he will turn to second lines of defense and commence working on them. But in the case of the typical small business in the ghetto, there is not going to be any second line of defense. To aggravate the matter, there will be no capital base which might absorb some of the trouble. All losses are going to come out of the funds provided by the investors. In this respect, a ghetto firm is a glaring example of a rule which impresses me more and more: the largest disadvantage of small size in business is the inability to absorb error.

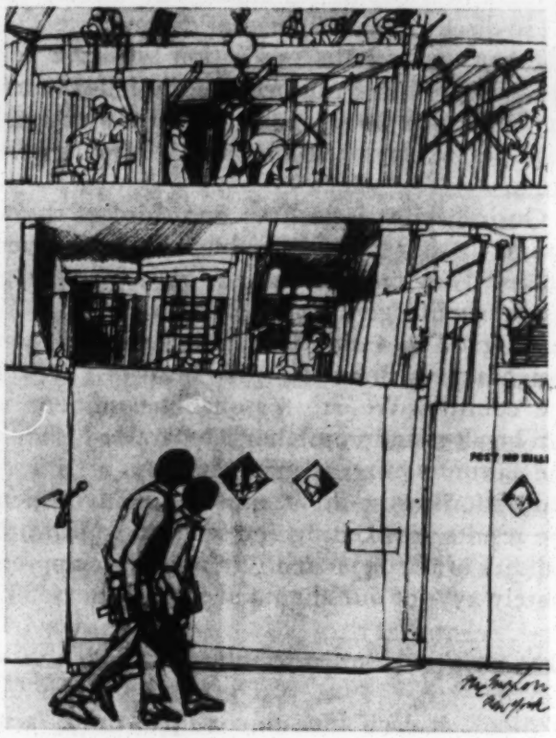
This means that the investor must be willing, before he makes his original investment, to support the venture through at least one and probably many periods of crisis when all losses are in effect taken against funds provided by himself. All the deficits will come "out of his hide." It is a very discomforting thought!

How can anyone make a commitment like this? What must be considered, what weaknesses overlooked, what questions asked during the investigation and analysis of a loan or investment request? Indeed, what type of organization should even think about becoming involved?

Need for a broad base

It seems to me that any organization formed for the exclusive purpose of assisting the establishment of capitalism in the major urban centers and in other economically disadvantaged areas of our country is doomed to failure from the start. It will certainly fail economically, and this in turn will cause it to fail in its objectives. The usual rule is that an investor should "go hunting where the ducks are," and, take it from me, there are no "ducks" in the ghetto. There are enough problems in running a business profitably if it is located in the best of places. When you add the additional problems found in the ghetto, the compound effect is often devastating.

This fact suggests the basic weakness of Senate Bill 3876—the proposed Community Development Corporation (CDC) Act. It would have an isolating effect. It will virtually eliminate participation by groups not centered in the areas (in other words, it will keep "whitey" out). This bill is a manifestation of the gap between aspiration and achievement that its backers are trying



to fill. In their frustration the blacks think they need only money to bridge the gap—but in truth money is only part of their need. Those who would assist with financial aid cannot let the matter rest at that. They must not merely put up the cash and, then, in the manner of Pilate, "wash their hands" of these people. Ongoing counsel and direct assistance are cardinal to success.

To whom, then, should they be able to turn for help? I suggest that those who can help the disadvantaged gain a measure of self-control over their affairs by assisting them in starting businesses of their own are precisely those who have already had some success in doing this—that is, the "swimmers" of the capitalist world. Such help is the best possible way for the "swimmers" to direct some of their surplus profits and energies. My greatest fear is that if adequate help comes too late, or if we do not follow through with all our resources other than cash, those of us who did not take time to work on these matters may become like Barabbas and wander from place to place always wondering what will be

the ultimate price of our oversight and how it will be exacted.

Companies that have a broader base of operations and are making profits in more fertile ground are the ones that can and should devote their energy, skill, and understanding to developing a new capitalism among the worthy people in disadvantaged areas. For example, at Chase Manhattan Capital Corporation we have gone ahead as we have, not because the fellow across the street was doing it—he was not—but simply because we have felt that the work has to be done.

Our objective is to have one third of the accounts in our portfolio vested in ghetto businesses. That may not be the right percentage, but it should give us a workable balance. We make good to very good profits in our general assignment of financing small businesses around the country. We are reasonably confident we can break even in our ghetto program. Although the latter requires a great amount of time in proportion to the dollar amount of investment, the results are exciting and seem to confirm the validity of our approach. We now have approximately 25% of our clients in this category.

One company's approach

We look at each investment opportunity with the hope that we can correctly identify and appraise the following:

1. The individual—his resourcefulness, his self-discipline, and his technical expertise.
2. The proposed business—its appropriateness to small size, the activities it will undertake to add value to its costs, its trading area, and its usefulness and social value to the neighborhood where it will be located.
3. The ability of our organization to give support in all areas, particularly during hard times, regardless of the size of investment.

There is no importance to the order of the list. Each category is part of the whole and adds either strength or weakness as the case may be. The list represents what we have found to be the important aspects of the failures and successes we have seen.

Our experience has been that when we find a person or group that meets the individual tests, has a proposition that meets the tests for the business, and leads us to feel reasonably confident that we will not lose faith, then we should go ahead with the support we can give in the way of capital and direct assistance; we believe we will not fail. We can provide the business with the resources needed to get over any periods of crisis or slowdown.

Lessons & guidelines

Now let me try to generalize from my company's experience and single out some of the things we have learned about backing a ghetto enterprise. These lessons may be useful to other investors who are new to this area.

Don't overlook the obvious

We have been surprised at how little can be taken for granted concerning an entrepreneur's business know-how. The following story will illustrate:

□ One man we financed seemed to meet all the tests. He was working very hard, and his receipts were right on target. Yet after several months there were nothing but losses for his business. We could not understand.

Since the young man on our staff who was working with this small businessman was as puzzled as we, it was decided that we would work up a complete audit of the business. As the work progressed, we continued to be perplexed because we could not pinpoint anything of sufficient magnitude to account for the poor results. After some more digging, we finally discovered the cause: our client was not adding anything to his costs to cover overhead!

You might think this such a simple error that it would be immediately apparent. But we had blinders on. On several occasions since then I have wondered how many other blinders we are wearing—how many other established concepts of business are so basic and routine that we are overlooking them. Why should we presume that our client will know these things as intimately and instinctively as we do?

Seek to be trusted

The next problem is extremely difficult in some cases. I have no easy answers for it—I know only that the investor or consultant must be alert to the danger of not being trusted.

It is easy for us to explain the theory of business practices to our clients. We can help them in planning a sales campaign, in record keeping,

in determining plant or office location, and in almost any technical aspect they may encounter. We have these services available either on our own staff or elsewhere.

Sometimes, however, our clients *do not believe us.* They doubt whether we are really interested in seeing them succeed even though we go to such great lengths to arrange the financing satisfactorily. We tell them that we want them to be successful because that is the only way we can make a profit. Yet cases like the following happen:

□ One black entrepreneur established a service business in a good community in central Long Island. He was experienced in the operations of the business from previous employment and was well recommended. We financed his operation and located the shop in a new shopping center. All the signals read "go."

After a couple of months, however, we began to have some serious questions about this client. The company's account was almost always overdrawn, although by small amounts. There was a series of meetings and phone calls when these matters were discussed in depth. Men from our staff balanced his checkbook and drew up an income-and-expense statement for him. On two occasions, when he clearly was not going to be able to cover his overdraft, we advanced temporary funds to cover it. At each meeting we emphasized that our interest was in helping him establish his business. We certainly gave evidence of this by continuing our support in the face of the irregularities.

Finally, at one of the meetings, we explained that the overdrafts had to stop. We suggested that a man from our staff visit the shop one night a week to issue checks. New checks would require two signatures including that of one of our men. This seemed acceptable to our client. But the next day, before the new procedures could be implemented, new checks were drawn. And within 10 days the overdraft was at a new high point.

Earlier, when we had made our own examination of his accounts, we found that some funds had been drawn for noncorporate purposes. The man had used some money to pay for an operation for his mother-in-law. Some other money had been used to pay personal bills that predated the establishment of his business. Normally, the development of such evidence would have been sufficient for us to have called our loan. But in discussing these matters with us, he said that since it was his business he felt he should be able to use the funds as he saw fit. When we pointed out that this was not so, he said he understood and would conform to accepted business practice. We reconfirmed our desire to work with him. We reiterated our original belief that he had the makings of a good, small businessman, and told him he still had our support.

Now, with the new overdraft, our confidence was severely shaken. We found that he had drawn the checks immediately after our meeting and before the new check-signing procedures could be established, probably to get some last amounts out and paid while he alone could write a check. We called to say that the overdraft would not be covered by us, and we stated that we were sending the checks back because of insufficient funds. He promised to have a deposit made to cover the overdraft in the bank that afternoon.

A deposit was made that was more than sufficient to cover the overdraft. The checks were paid. But in five days the deposited check was returned because it had been drawn on a nonexistent account at another bank. The deposited check was a complete fraud!

Now we went after the man in earnest. Again, a new deposit was made, large enough to cover all the old balance with some extra left over. And again, the same result; he had drawn the second check on a second bank against a second nonexistent account.

We finally arranged a meeting and told our client that we were calling our loan. He was contrite, apologetic, and full of remorse; he freely admitted all that he had done. But, and this is the point, he said he had done it because *he did not believe that we really were interested. He did not trust us!* He said no one had ever tried to help him before, so why would we be any different? He cited our suggestion of having two people sign checks; this proved to him that we wanted to take a good business away from him.

I have no idea how anyone can assure himself that he will be believed, that his partner will trust him. Yet this trust is cardinal to success; without it, no positive results can be predicted, and very probably the project will end in failure. It can be most difficult to gain the entrepreneur's trust if he comes from a background that will have conditioned him to expect the opposite. Such difficulties notwithstanding, a number of our clients have voluntarily told us that while they first approached us with dis-

trust, they became convinced later that we were interested in their progress because they got help when they stubbed their toes. They realized that what we had told them was true—we could not prosper unless they first prospered. They saw that the way we constructed our financings effectively put the initiative in their hands and prevented us from making any real profits until *after* they had made profits for themselves.

Deal in two worlds

Related to the problem just described is the matter of appearances. The world of tall office buildings may affect the black entrepreneur from the ghetto in an unexpected way. For example:

□ One young man was highly recommended to us by several of the businessmen who had taught the first sessions of the local Workshop in Business Opportunities. I called him, and we set a date. It was not kept. We set another date and still another. Finally I reported all this to one of the business executives who had recommended the young man. The executive made several phone calls which did not give him the answers he wanted. Finally, he paid a visit to the young man's mother. He found out that the young man had only an old pair of blue jeans and a torn jacket. Each time he rode down on the subway and walked up to our building, he could not make himself go in. My executive friend helped the family get some new clothes for the young man, who then kept his appointment. We are working with him now, and I hope we will be able to help him get started.

The lesson is that those who of us who have "made it" are far removed from the world these applicants know. We must expect that as simple and obvious a fact as our physical surroundings will get a response (even though it may not be as pronounced as the one I have recounted). I think, on balance, that it is better to know this and be prepared to deal with it than to rent a shabby store and wear work clothes. It is essential that we be believed, and one cannot expect much belief if we start off with theatrics designed to put the client at ease.

Give direct, personal help

Some problems lend themselves to all-encompassing solutions. For instance, mass programs have dealt effectively with such things as polio, chicken pox, anthrax, social security, and housing. But other problems must be solved on a one-to-one basis; that is, one problem solver working with one client. A cardiac patient needs this kind of attention; so does a small company president. When he runs into problems, his need is for direct help, usually of a consultative nature. He needs *individual* advice and guidance, not a management course.

A man who has gone into business for himself has in effect picked the president of his company. The chances of this selection being made according to any of the established precepts of personnel policy are remote. The selection has been made completely subjectively, by a man who is usually not qualified in executive selection and personnel practices. Yet it is the most fateful of all decisions that will affect the future of his small business.

Insist on realism

We decline some applications for help on the basis of inadequate preparation by the principals. Sometimes an applicant says he has heard we are helping men to get into business. We tell him that is correct. But when we ask what type of operation he is going to start, he replies that he does not care what it is, he just wants to be in business. Instead of rejecting such an applicant at the outset, we invite him in for a talk. Usually the meeting is not productive, but every now and then we can suggest something constructive. For example:

□ We once talked to a man who had been a mechanic and filling station attendant. He had gone to work at the age of 12 in the South to help support his mother. Later, he moved to New York and found similar employment. At our suggestion he attended a school run by a major oil company and also joined the Workshop in Business Opportunities. Now, after nearly a year, he is ready to try something on his own.

We also turn down proposed enterprises that do not seem to lend themselves to small size. For example, we have had a number of inquiries about starting businesses such as garment manufacturing companies. In this day and age, a competitor in such an industry has little chance if he lacks a well-trained labor force and top-notch facilities. Of particular importance, the investor should insist that the entrepreneur "*start small.*" The aspiring black businessman may want to go all the way in one jump (as

Richard F. America proposes). He may think he can build a large market all at once. I feel that the investor should resist such tendencies. Let me illustrate:

□ In one case we considered, the principals of the new business had a potentially fine program, but they would not agree to start small; they insisted on forming a company that would immediately employ 50 people. Moreover, the market potential, in our view, was limited. The type of high fashion clothing the blacks proposed to make was a risky venture. The projected sales were far above what we considered attainable goals. Therefore we turned down the application.

The men went elsewhere and got their financing. The results were predictable. Overhead "ate them up," and the results were so poor that the investors refused to go further. The enterprise collapsed.

The failure of this business, in my view, did more harm than if it had never started. It will unquestionably hinder those investors from going ahead again soon, and it put a lot of people back on welfare after building up their hopes for something better. All the parties in the transaction were either unaware of, or chose to overlook, one of the most basic rules of the game of capitalism: one can have the most capable management, the best possible plant and equipment, the finest products, and adequate financing, but unless there is a customer there is no business. This is true with our largest and most successful corporations, and it is true with the small business in the ghetto.

Trade outside the ghetto

We encourage small businesses to trade outside the area where they are located. A case in point is a furniture and carpentry business we financed. It is located in the poorest section of Brooklyn near Flatbush Avenue. The few men who work at this business live within a block or two of the small shop from which they operate. Yet most of their jobs are done for homeowners and industry located in the well-to-do areas of Long Island. It is a struggling small business, but it brings fresh money to the ghetto area.

As long as the businesses located in the ghetto have their customers, or a majority of them, also located in the ghetto, capitalism will never reach its fullest potential. Could Detroit be so prosperous if most of the cars and trucks made there were sold only in Detroit? In this connection, it is worth noting that the Community Development Corporation legislation would very effectively eliminate any chance of trading outside the ghetto. This is one of the most urgent

reasons why the whole program should be reevaluated. The history of industrial development has always shown a heavy incidence of "foreign" investment as the basic capital on which a country has built its economy. It is going to be just as true with our urban ghettos.

Of course, exceptions should occasionally be made to this rule, as the following case indicates:

□ A group of about 30 mothers who were on welfare in the Fort Greene area of Brooklyn determined that they wanted to be free of welfare payments (on which they had been depending). The mothers formed a family day-care center where they and other mothers could leave their children and try to find work.

Seven were employed by the day-care center, which was funded by the appropriate state and local agencies. Eight found other work. Then the mothers at the day-care center and others who had not found work started to cook food for take-out orders. These take-out foods were an immediate success; the demand was greater than the supply. At this point the mothers came to see us.

There was a vacant luncheonette for rent in their neighborhood. We put up all the funds required to start the restaurant proposed by the women. It specialized in "soul food," which was

especially popular with the people who live in that area. The mothers working at the restaurant remained on relief and drew no pay until the business was doing a volume sufficient to support them. We forecasted a period of about eight weeks for this volume to materialize. But business was so good that within three weeks the receipts were running nearly three times those expected. The business continues to thrive.

What an appropriate way for small capitalists to get started. In a case like this the investors know their funds will be used to establish the business, but not to support an overhead of payroll until the firm can make it on its own. The welfare authorities, on the other hand, continue to support the would-be entrepreneurs during the time they are building something that will eliminate the need for public support. I hope we can duplicate this procedure many times over.

Education is crucial

Much of the frustration that undoubtedly results in the militancy and revolutionary fervor of many educated blacks can be traced to their inability to achieve anything meaningful despite their aspirations. After the Civil War and after World War I their hopes rose but their achievements did not. Again today, after the passage over the last eight years of sweeping civil rights legislation, the blacks have had their hopes built up only to find that they are still excluded from decision making at important levels. They still do not have the means for exercising an entrepreneurial spirit.

Indeed, with industry turning more and more to automation, with the widespread use of computers, and with the development of sophisticated techniques, the disadvantaged of our urban centers find it more and more difficult to prepare themselves for any kind of satisfying participation in significant affairs. We seem to have failed to develop adequate public schools in our urban centers. Up to about 15 years ago, the working class could sell its muscle with only a low degree of skill or specialized training being required. Now employment of this kind is growing less and less available. But we have taken only a few of the necessary steps to provide the required schooling facilities.

If members of the disadvantaged class are to be given the chance to work toward better positions, schooling must be considered an absolute essential of the process. A negative income tax and massive direct support would undoubtedly be very helpful. However, they would not provide for the acquisition of capital or help directly to establish a climate conducive to it. Know-how is required for that—and know-how requires education.

Conclusion

There have been enough conferences and meetings. We know right now all we need to know about the problem of developing entrepreneurship in the economically disadvantaged areas of our urban centers. Now there is just one great big pile of work to get on with.

Helping small businesses in these areas to get started and to prosper is no cure-all. It will not directly improve health standards, schooling, or housing. What it can and will do, if practiced broadly, will be to provide a significant number of deserving and aspiring individuals with the opportunity to try their hands at the capitalist game.

Those who would practice giving this help as investors and advisors should be the very ones who have themselves prospered as players in the capitalist game. It is true they will have to bend some of the rules a bit to fit special circumstances. But not very much bending is necessary. Moreover, the ghetto entrepreneurs themselves will be stronger and better qualified to "go it alone" if they are coached soundly and realistically.

Any program that would isolate small business in the ghetto or separate it from the mainstream of business affairs will fail. Any effort to donate capitalism ready-made must also fail. The best economic tool we have ever had is good, old-fashioned, no-nonsense capitalism. It is up to those of us who have learned it and prospered from it to pass it on to those who would use it if they could but learn how. Repeatedly, in the past, people succeeded and prospered if help was available when they needed it. It is time now for all of us to extend helping hands to our disadvantaged citizens.

STARTING A SMALL BUSINESS
AN INTRODUCTION

Going into business is a very important step. While the opportunity to increase your income and to be your own boss can be extremely attractive, the risk of losing all your savings and investments or incurring debts requiring years to pay off is real. The importance of realistically appraising your chances of success cannot be overemphasized. Having a sound, creative idea for a new business simply is not enough--it is a good beginning, but it by no means guarantees success. Do not get carried away with the potential of an idea. The market place has a way of destroying creative ideas or taking them away from their creators.

The vast majority (over 80%) of new businesses begun in America every year fail within twelve months. Most of these businesses are started by people who are well acquainted with the businesses they go into, but they cannot make it. Generally, they fail due to competition, under-capitalization and/or poor management.

Competition. American business today is largely big business. Conglomerates--large diversified corporations --make it extremely difficult for new small businesses to succeed. Retailers not only own a number of stores, but also own warehouses, wholesale outlets and, often, trans-

portation companies and manufacturing sources. They can squeeze out competition from the "little man" by reducing prices and taking losses at the consumer end that he cannot. They can undercut him by paying less for wholesale goods or transportation. Further, they have money to spend on advertising that he does not and can "out market" him. There are many types of businesses that are bent on keeping out the smallest competition.

Undercapitalization. Some business advisors recommend that a person going into a new business should figure out the total he will need and double it in order to have enough. Others recommend simply assuming no income for twelve months when figuring the total need. Neither rule-of-thumb is accurate, but their point is that one seldom foresees all the costs which will be incurred. Tax laws are so complicated Internal Revenue Service strongly suggests no businessman try to run his business and keep his own books. Anyone going into business needs the services of a reputable accountant or economist to help him plan his capital requirements.

Poor Management. The two ingredients most important to a bank or lender are capital and management capabilities.

Generally, the new businessman is expected to have had previous management experience in the business he is entering. The less experience, the more money of his own he is often required to put up. The reason for this is the difficulty of successfully competing with those already in business.

WHERE TO BEGIN

There is no one-stop service center for new businesses, unfortunately. At a minimum, you can expect to need to go to three sources for help: financial, legal and for want of a better word, managerial. The financial resources should almost always be the last place to go. Virtually all lenders require business projections of some type and personal financial statements of the loan applicants. The best beginning point, then, is likely to be managerial resources. While money can be obtained for a new business without all the bother and delays of the paperwork, only a loan shark will extend such credit, and his money will carry with it interest rates and hidden costs that could well wreck an otherwise sound business venture. The exception to this is for those who have established credit ratings or personal relationships with reputable lenders.

Bank interest rate maximums are set by law. Many appli-

cants, then, are competing for loans none of which can be more profitable to the bank. Loans which require an effort to get people to pay or loans which are never paid cost the bank money to service. It is in the bank's interest, then, to find out certain things of applicants and to expect certain things of them.

Banks (and other lenders) look for four things in the applicant prior to extending a business loan:

1) Experience - While not absolutely essential, it is important that the applicant have worked in the same or a similar type of business he intends to establish. Managerial experience is very helpful.

2) Cash - Lenders expect applicants for business loans to put up money of their own. Banks normally require business loan applicants to invest one-half the capital needed for a new business. Minority entrepreneurs can get loans with no cash investment (equity); however, 15% of the total amount needed is usually required.

3) Credit record - Any man who is going into business for himself is expected to have paid his bills in the past unless there were good reasons for not having done so. A poor credit record --or even bankruptcy--due to circumstances beyond the applicant's control will not prevent most lenders

from advancing the loan. Past efforts to repay debts under adverse conditions are looked upon with favor.

4) Character - Lenders expect applicants to possess a basic honesty in their dealings with others. A criminal record does not hinder the loan if offenses were not too serious or were relatively long ago. If the applicant is straight forward about himself and past difficulties, most lenders will not hesitate to loan him money for a sound business venture.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

U. S. Government Agency

Prospective Enterprises

Small Marketers Aids

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CHECKLIST FOR GOING INTO BUSINESS

By Staff Members of the Small Business Administration, Washington, D.C.

SUMMARY

People sometimes go into business for themselves without being fully aware of what is involved. Sometimes they're lucky and succeed. More often, they fail because they do not consider one or more of the ingredients needed for business success.

This checklist is designed to help you decide whether you are qualified or have considered the various phases of going into business for yourself. Careful thought now may help you to prevent mistakes and to avoid losing your savings and time later. Use this list as a starter. Consider each question as it applies to your situation. Check off each question only after you've made an effort to answer it honestly. Before you omit a question, satisfy yourself that it does not apply to your particular situation.

After each section, you will find a few references. If you have uncovered doubtful areas or weaknesses in your preparation, it is strongly recommended that you obtain these publications and study them. You will find it time well spent. Most of the references are available, free, on request from any SBA field office or the Small Business Administration, Washington, D.C. 20416. However, the notation "Supt. Docs." means that the item is for sale at the price indicated by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402 (not from SBA).

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

Are You the Type?

	Yes	No
1. Have you rated your personal traits such as leadership, organizing ability, perseverance, and physical energy?	_____	_____
2. Have you had some friends rate you on them?	_____	_____
3. Have you considered getting an associate whose strong points will compensate for your weak traits?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: Starting and Managing a Small Business of Your Own (25¢ Supt. Docs.); SM 39, Balances Skills; Measure of Effective Managers, in *Marketers Aids Annual* 4 (35¢ Supt. Docs.); SM 46, Essential Personal Qualities for Small Store Managers in *Marketers Aids: Annual* 5 (45¢ Supt. Docs.); SM 114, Pleasing Your Boss The Customer.

What Are Your Chances for Success?

4. Have you had any actual business experience?	_____	_____
5. Do you have special technical skills, such as those needed by a plumber, electrician, mechanic, or radio repairman?	_____	_____
6. Have you obtained some basic management experience working for someone else?	_____	_____
7. Have you analyzed the recent trend of business conditions (good or bad)?	_____	_____
8. Have you analyzed business conditions in the city and neighborhood where you want to locate?	_____	_____
9. Have you analyzed conditions in the line of business you are planning?	_____	_____
10. Have you determined what size business you plan to establish (dollar sales per year)?	_____	_____
11. Have you built up a detailed set of figures on how much capital you will need to launch the business?	_____	_____
12. Have you figured how much time you will need until the business income equals the expenses?	_____	_____
13. Have you planned what net profit you believe you should make?	_____	_____

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	Yes	No
14. Will the net profit divided by the investment result in a rate of return which compares favorably with the rate you can obtain from other investment opportunities?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: Appraise Your Competitive Position to Improve Company Planning, in Management Aids Annual No. 2 (55¢ Supt. Docs.); Appraising the Market for the Services You Offer, in Marketers Aids Annual No. 2 (40¢ Supt. Docs.); Practical Business Use of Government Statistics (20¢ Supt. Docs.)

How Much Capital Will You Need?

15. Have you worked out what income from sales or services you can reasonably expect in the first 6 months? The first year? The second year?	_____	_____
16. Do you know what net profit you can expect on these volumes?	_____	_____
17. Have you made a conservative forecast of expenses including a regular salary for yourself?	_____	_____
18. Have you compared this income with what you could make working for someone else?	_____	_____
19. Are you willing to risk uncertain or irregular income for the next year? Two years?	_____	_____
20. Have you counted up how much actual money you have to invest in your business?	_____	_____
21. Do you have other assets which you could sell or on which you could borrow?	_____	_____
22. Have you some other source from which you could borrow money?	_____	_____
23. Have you talked to a banker?	_____	_____
24. Is he favorably impressed with your plan?	_____	_____
25. Do you have a financial reserve for unexpected needs?	_____	_____
26. Does your total capital, from all sources, cover your best estimates of the capital you will need?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: SM 102, Using Security to Get a Bank Loan; SM 107, Building Strong Relations With Your Bank; SM 110, Controlling Cash in Small Retail and Service Firms; A Handbook of Small Business Finance (35¢ Supt. Docs.)

Should You Share Ownership With Others?

27. Do you lack needed technical or management skills which can be most satisfactorily supplied by one or more partners?	_____	_____
28. Do you need the financial assistance of one or more partners?	_____	_____
29. Have you checked the features of each form or organization (individual proprietorship, partnership, corporation) to see which will best fit your situation?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: MA 80, Choosing the Legal Structure for Your Firm; MA 111, Steps in Incorporating a Business.

Where Should You Locate?

30. Do you know how much space you will need?	_____	_____
31. Do you know what type of building you will need?	_____	_____
32. Do you know of any special features you require in lighting, heating, ventilating, air conditioning, or parking facilities?	_____	_____
33. Have you listed the tools and equipment you need room for?	_____	_____
34. If the proposed location does not meet nearly all your requirements, is there a sound reason why you should not wait and continue seeking a more ideal location?	_____	_____
35. Have you checked the U.S. Census Bureau population figures?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: MRS 78, Site Evaluation for Small Retailers; Sizing Up Small Business Locations, in Marketers Aids Annual No. 1 (45¢ Supt. Docs.); SBB 16, Store Location.

Should You Buy a Going Business?

36. Have you considered the advantages and disadvantages of buying a going business?	_____	_____
37. Have you compared what it would take to equip and stock a new business with the price asked for the business you are considering?	_____	_____
38. Have you learned why the present owner wants to sell?	_____	_____
39. Have you checked the owner's claims about the business with reports from an independent accountant's analysis of the figures?	_____	_____

	Yes	No
40. Have you checked with the company's suppliers to obtain their ideas of the value of the business?	_____	_____
41. Do the suppliers think well of the proposition?	_____	_____
42. Is the stock of merchandise a questionable buy? (Would a large proportion of it have to be disposed of at a loss? Is any of it out of date, unsalable, or not usable?)	_____	_____
43. Are the physical facilities old or in poor condition and, hence, overvalued?	_____	_____
44. Are you sure the accounts receivable are worth the asking price?	_____	_____
45. Is the present company's good will fairly valued?	_____	_____
46. Are you prepared to assume the liabilities, and are the creditors agreeable?	_____	_____
47. Has your lawyer checked to see if the title is good and if there is any lien against the assets?	_____	_____
48. Are there any back taxes to pay?	_____	_____
49. Have the sales been temporarily increased by conditions which are not likely to continue?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: Key Factors in Starting a New Plant, in *Management Aids Annual* No. 5 (45¢ Supt Docs.); SM 20, Buying a Small Going Concern, in *Marketers Aids Annual* No. 2 (40¢ Supt. Docs.).

Are You Qualified to Supervise Buying and Selling?

50. Have you estimated your total stock requirements?	_____	_____
51. Do you know in what quantities users buy your product or service?	_____	_____
52. Do you know how often users buy your product or service?	_____	_____
53. Have you made a sales analysis to determine major lines to be carried?	_____	_____
54. Have you decided what characteristics you will require in your goods?	_____	_____
55. Have you set up a model stock assortment to follow in your buying?	_____	_____
56. Have you investigated whether it will be cheaper to buy large quantities infrequently or in small quantities frequently?	_____	_____
57. Have you weighed price differentials for large orders against capital and space tied up?	_____	_____
58. Have you decided what merchandise to buy direct from manufacturers?	_____	_____
59. Will you make your account more valuable to your suppliers by concentrating your buying with a few of them?	_____	_____
60. Have you worked out control plans to insure stocking the right quantities?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: SM 97, Steps in Making a Business Decision; SM 100, Make Selling Attractive to Salespeople; SM 113, Quality and Taste as Sales Appeals; SM 116, How to Select a Resident Buying Office; SM 120, Building Good Customer Relations SBB 37, Buying for Retail Stores.

How Will You Price Your Products and Services?

61. Have you determined what prices you will have to charge to cover your costs and obtain profit?	_____	_____
62. Do these prices compare favorably with prices of competitors?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: How to Price a New Product, in *Management Aids Annual* No. 3 (45¢ Supt. Docs.); SM 105, A Pricing Checklist for Managers; SM 21, Pricing and Profits in Small Stores, in *Marketers Aids Annual* No. 2 (40¢ Supt. Docs.).

What Selling Methods Will You Use?

63. Have you studied the sales promotional methods used by competitors?	_____	_____
64. Have you outlined your own sales promotion policy?	_____	_____
65. Have you studied why customers buy your product (service, price, quality, distinctive styling, other)?	_____	_____
66. Will you do outside selling?	_____	_____
67. Will you advertise in the newspapers?	_____	_____
68. Will you do direct mail advertising?	_____	_____
69. Will you use posters and handbills?	_____	_____
70. Will you use radio and television advertising?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: SM 16, Improving Personal Selling in Small Business in *Marketers Aids Annual* No. 2 (40¢ Supt. Docs.); SM 109, Stimulating Impulse Buying for Increased Sales; SBB 20, Advertising-Retail Store.

How Will You Manage Personnel?

71. Will you be able to hire satisfactory employees, locally, to supply skills you lack?	_____	_____

	Yes	No
72. Do you know what skills are necessary?	_____	_____
73. Have you checked the prevailing wage scales?	_____	_____
74. Have you a clear-cut idea of what you plan to pay?	_____	_____
75. Have you considered hiring someone now employed by a competitor?	_____	_____
76. Have you checked on the pros and cons of doing so?	_____	_____
77. Have you planned your training procedures?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: SM 103, Revitalize Personal Selling in Your Store; Sales Training for Small Wholesalers, in *Marketers Aids Annual No. 1* (45¢ Supt Docs.); SBB 23, Training Retail Sales People; Sales Training for the Smaller Manufacturer (25¢ Supt. Docs.)

What Records Will You Keep?

78. Have you a suitable bookkeeping system ready to operate?	_____	_____
79. Have you planned a merchandise control system?	_____	_____
80. Have you obtained standard operating ratios for your type of business to use as guides?	_____	_____
81. Have you provided for additional records as necessary?	_____	_____
82. Have you a system to use in keeping a check on costs?	_____	_____
83. Do you need any special forms?	_____	_____
84. Have you made adequate provision for having your record keeping done?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: MA 75, Protecting Your Records Against Disaster in *Management Aids Annual No. 5* (45¢ Supt. Docs.); SM 94, Keeping Score With Effective Records; SBB 15, Record Keeping Systems--Small Store and Service Trade.

What Laws Will Affect You?

85. Have you investigated what, if any, licenses to do business are necessary?	_____	_____
86. Have you checked the health regulations?	_____	_____
87. Are your operations subject to interstate commerce regulations?	_____	_____
88. Have you seen your lawyer for advice on how to meet your legal responsibilities?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: SM 118, Legal Service for Small Retail and Service Firms; SM 42, FTC and Guides Against Deceptive Pricing in *Marketers Aids Annual* 4 (35¢ Supt. Doc.) SM 24, Small Business and the Federal Trade Commission, in *Marketers Aids Annual 2* (40¢ Supt. Docs.)

What Other Problems Will You Face?

89. Have you worked out a system for handling your tax requirements?	_____	_____
90. Have you arranged for adequate insurance coverage?	_____	_____
91. Have you worked out a way of building a management team?	_____	_____
92. Does your family (if any) agree that your proposed venture is sound?	_____	_____
93. Do you have enough capital to carry accounts receivable?	_____	_____
94. Will you sell for credit?	_____	_____
95. Have you worked out a definite returned goods policy?	_____	_____
96. Have you considered other management policies which must be established?	_____	_____
97. Have you planned how you will organize and assign the work?	_____	_____
98. Have you make a work plan for yourself?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: MA 103 Organizing the Owner-Manager's Job, in *Management Aids Annual* No. 7 (30¢ Supt. Docs.); SM 101, Pointers for Developing Your Top Assistant; Building Sound Credit Policies for Small Stores, in *Marketers Aids Annual 1* (45¢ Supt. Docs.); SM 49, Improving Collections from Credit Sales in *Marketers Aids Annual 5* (45¢ Sup. Doc.); Business Insurance, in *Management Aids Annual No. 1* (75¢ Supt. Docs.); How good Records Aid Income Tax Reporting, in *Management Aids Annual No. 3* (45¢ Supt. Docs.); Appeal Procedure for Income Tax Cases, in *Management Aids Annual No. 4* (45¢ Supt. Docs.)

Will You Keep Up To Date?

99. Have you a plan for keeping up with new developments in your line of business?	_____	_____
100. Have you a small group of qualified advisors from whom you can get help in solving new problems?	_____	_____

REFERENCES: SM 99, Remodeling for Better Retailing; SM 108, Building Repeat Business; SM 112, Sales Potential and Market Shares.

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U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCY

JULY 1969

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Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
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Mr. A. Black of the N.A.A.C.P Legal Defense Fund, suggested that we write you for possible assistance or referral in providing us with a list of persons business of foundations that might be sympathetic to our needs.

Yours for consideration,

Dedrick Brittenum

Dedrick Brittenum

DB:dmp

Enclosure

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March 13, 1970

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

I am happy that I had the opportunity to stop by and discuss the Hilton Head question with you last Friday. When your preliminary investigation of the situation is completed, one of our staff people could visit your office to discuss the results with you, as I suggested during our conversation. I'm doubtful, based on our talk, whether there will be any further work on the Hilton Head problem with which we can help, but we would probably have some useful suggestions on how to proceed.

At your suggestion, I will be in touch with Lee DeCola, the MKGK staff member involved in Model Cities evaluation in Atlanta, and will suggest that he call Art Campbell of the SRC Resources Development Center to arrange an appointment.

We will try to keep you informed of any of the firm's activities in the region which might be of interest to the Council. In the meantime, do you have any SRC publications which would keep me abrest of the range of your activities? I would appreciate being on any appropriate mailing list.

I enjoyed meeting you. Please let me know if we can be of any help, and particularly if a visit regarding the preliminary Hilton Head investigation seems appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

William Morgan

William Morgan

WM:sac

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Black BUSINESS Digest

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July 4, 1970

Dear Well-wisher:

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Sincerely

Albert D. Hendricks

Albert D. Hendricks
Executive Editor

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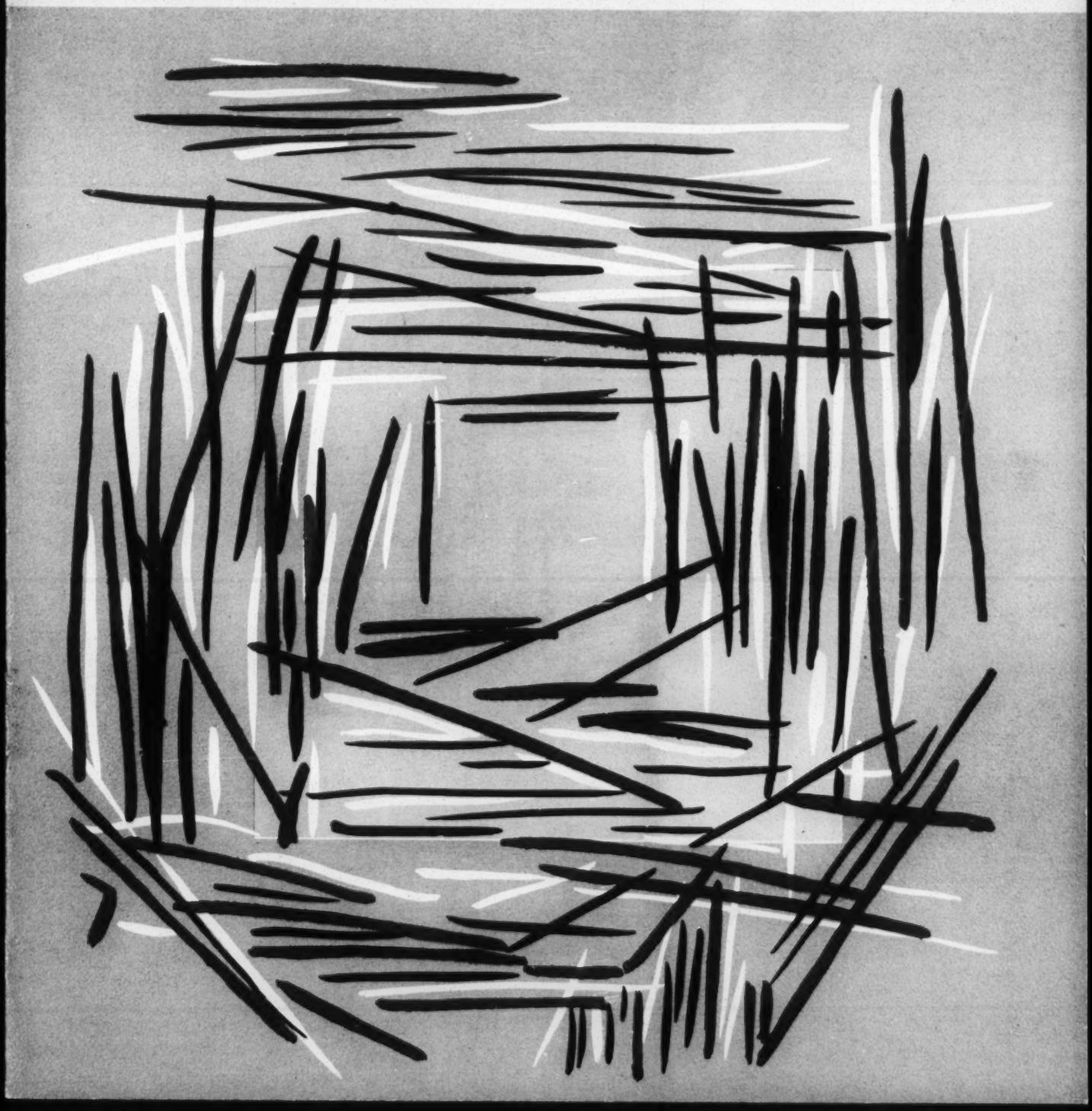

NAM Urban Affairs Division

action report

National Association of Manufacturers//Urban Affairs Division

Subject
Employment

Location
Alton,
Illinois

The Laclede Steel Company, in cooperation with the Alton Branch of the NAACP has initiated a program to hire and train hard-core unemployed persons. Laclede has contracted with the Training Corporation of America (TCA) of Falls Church, Virginia to counsel and provide basic education to the group to be hired. Recruiting stations were established in areas of high unemployment and members of the NAACP worked with Laclede officials in taking applications.

The recruits spend approximately one week with TCA people who will orient them to the program. After a week they are employed on a half day basis and they will attend classes the other half day. This lasts for about 55 days before the trainees become full time employees. Following employment TCA staff will be used for follow up and discussions of any problems that might arise on the job such as absenteeism. The TCA counselors will provide the recruits with education, group sessions and discussions about individual problems.

Actual training for the jobs will be handled by Laclede supervisory personnel. The trainees will be hired into plant jobs, some semi-skilled and unskilled. These entry level jobs are provided in the labor agreement with the Steelworkers Unions. Once the trainees are on the job full time they will have the opportunity to compete for better paying jobs. The jobs will pay a minimum of $2.41 an hour.

TCA spokesman described their aims for the trainees as "the same as theirs; we want them to work and we will do all in our power to prepare them place them, and assist them, with the cooperation of the employer, to adjust to the job."

Laclede defined the hard core at whom this program is directed as people who have educational deficiencies, unrealistic approaches to the world of work and in some cases police records. Laclede feels that through TCA a professional job will be accomplished in an area in which extremely few individuals or companies have had any real experience.

Following the initial seven weeks of the program Laclede and TCA officials said that the program had "gone beyond our expectations." Of the 31 unemployed men enrolled in the training program, 26 remained with five dropped for various reasons. Every man in the program had some negative experiences seeking employment prior to enrolling in the program. Two men could not read or write but their initiative enabled them to function well. Many of the trainees were found to have alcoholic problems and 19 had been arrested. The TCA research indicated that the trainees

lacked confidence, lacked realistic attitudes toward work and had inadequate educations.

After participating in the program the trainees' attitudes were seen to be very positive.

Laclede has been encouraging other companies in the area to examine this approach to training the hard core and through their experience design programs in this critical area.

The Urban Affairs Division of the National Association of Manufacturers is committed to assist the private sector as it participates in programs aimed at solving the problems of urban life.

Specific aids available include:

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For additional information contact the NAM Urban Affairs Division, 277 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017 (212) 826-2100 or:

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Wallen Charges Two Antipoverty Agencies Won't Compromise on Duplicating Programs

By RICHARD SEVERO

Saul Wallen, the president of the New York Urban Coalition, yesterday accused two antipoverty agencies of refusing to eliminate programs that duplicate and overlap one another.

Mr. Wallen said that neither the Manpower and Career Development Agency nor the State Employment Service "have shown a willingness to engage in meaningful negotiation and compromise on the subject of reconciling their programs to avoid duplication."

His remarks were made before a subcommittee of a special City Council committee investigating the effectiveness of welfare and antipoverty programs in New York City.

The Manpower and Career Development Agency is a subdivision of the Human Resources Administration, the superagency that runs the city's welfare and antipoverty programs. The development agency has received $30-million in the capital budget to set up centers for vocational counseling, skill training and the placement of unemployed poor people.

Sides Held Intractible

Mr. Wallen said that the Urban Coalition "general favors the idea," but added it thinks the program should be implemented "only if the city and the State Employment Service, which is creating a competing and overlapping manpower system of the same type, consent to coordinate their programs and to eliminate overlapping by consultation with a manpower policy planning committee, to consist of government and private agencies. . .

"Both M.C.D.A. and the State Employment Service have been intractible," Mr. Wallen told the councilmen.

The State Employment Service had no immediate comment. A spokesman for Cyril Tyson, the commissioner of M.C.D.A., issued a statement denying that either the development agency or the State Employment Service were "intractible."

"It is true that there have been differences of opinion about the extent of the State Employment Service's participation in the regional manpower system," the spokesman said, "but these are actively being resolved by M.C.D.A. and S.E.S."

Seventeen persons either spoke or presented statements to the subcommittee, which conducted a day-long, sometimes highly emotional hearing.

As the proceedings were about to start, Councilman Theodore S. Weiss, Democrat of Manhattan, the subcommittee chairman, complained that although Federal officials were invited, none chose to attend.

Robert H. Finch, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, reported that he would not be present because he had to make an appearance before a committee of the United States Senate, Mr. Weiss said.

According to Mr. Weiss, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a special assistant to President Nixon who specialized in urban problems, did not respond to his invitation.

"Welfare is a national problem," Mr. Weiss said. "What we are doing here is being watched by other major cities with similar problems. The conclusions we arrive at and any changes we make in the welfare structure will have far-reaching effects. For these reasons, I cannot understand why no Federal spokesman is present."

Mr. Weiss added that either Mr. Finch or Mr. Moynihan could have sent substitutes.

At one point, Mr. Weiss had to warn those who testified against using profanity, since their testimony was being broadcast by the city radio station, WNYC.

Nicholas Kisburg, the legislative director of Teamsters Joint Council 16, criticized the Human Resources Administration by saying: "Trying to help the poor through H.R.A. is like trying to help sparrows by feeding horses."

Mr. Kisburg referred to Human Resources Administrator Mitchell I. Ginsberg as "a great punjab" who was permissive on the question of illegitimacy and fathers who illegally abandon children.

He called for the replacement of both Mr. Ginsberg and Jack R. Goldberg, the welfare commissioner, by "administrators who will not think that work is a Protestant fetish or a Calvinist shibboleth, welfare administrators who will not think that the transient, consensual union and its illegitimate births is just as desirable as stable, legal marriages and legitimate births. . . ."

A Black Consulting Firm Finds Management Jobs for Negroes

Bates College Group Concluded Service Would Be Useful

By DAMON STETSON

Five Negro graduates of Bates College, in Lewiston, Me., have established a management consulting firm that is placing minority group members in executive positions with some of the nation's top corporations.

The founders of the firm with offices here and in San Francisco had concluded on the basis of their own experiences after graduation that there was a dearth of services in the business community for recruiting qualified black executives and for assisting companies in the creation of policies and working environments favorable to the employment of minorities.

David O. Boone, the 31-year-old president of the firm, Boone, Young and Associates, had worked in sales and marketing for Sears, Roebuck & Co. and the International Business Machines Corporation.

●

"I kept running into company officials in my sales work who would ask if I knew of some minority-group guy that they could hire," he explained. "And I also ran into a lot of [black] individuals who weren't happy in their situations or were underemployed and looking for a chance to move up."

Mr. Boone, who lives in Dumont, N.J., and has been active in the Fair Housing Council in Bergen County, also realized that the black executive needed "sophisticated consultative guidance to help him reach the decision-making level as rapidly as possible."

A year ago Mr. Boone discussed his idea with three of his college friends: William A. Young III, who was serving as a capital projects administrator at the General Foods Corporation; Dennis Tourse, then a student at Harvard Law School, and Frederick A. Drayton, who was with the United States Department of Labor in Washington.

●

"It was a lot of fun," Mr. Boone said later of the nights that the group spent planning the firm. "And we got a generally receptive and friendly reaction." Equally important, they raised $100,000 from banks and private sources, and opened offices at 551 Fifth Avenue last August.

Mr. Boone is president and chairman and Mr. Young executive vice president and secretary - treasurer. Mr. Tourse and Mr. Drayton are vice presidents. John Douglas, another Bates alumnus, who is currently doing graduate work at Santa Clara University, is also a vice president and is running the firm's newly opened branch office in San Francisco.

"We're trying to provide more than executive search services," Mr. Boone said in an interview. "We don't want to be just an employment service."

●

As a consequence, he explained, the firm, its account executives and consutants are meticulous in seeking to find just the type of person with the precise qualifications that a client firm is seeking.

"Rather than send 15 propects," Mr. Boone said, "we want to be able to send the one man who will be the one the client will hire."

Clients must also be chosen carefully. "We have to weed out the companies we can't work with," he said. "If all they want to do is give lip service to hiring blacks, we're not prepared to work with them."

●

At present, however, the firm is dealing with more than 40 client companies, including several of the nation's largest. Most of the firm's placements to date have been at the $10,000 to $25,000 salary level, but the company is currently looking for a man with top flight executive qualifications for a $60,000 a year position.

The firm recently located an executive vice president at $20,000 a year for a new food franchise company that wanted a man strong in financial management. The man the firm found was working on the corporate control staff of a large corporation, but he wanted to become associated with a smaller concern.

●

In a reverse situation, a large New York corporation wanted an engineer. The consulting firm located a young engineer in Wichita, Kan., who had just the qualifications. The corporation brought him to New York for an interview, hired him and paid his relocation expenses.

One of the key objectives of Boone, Young and Associates is to assist corporations in providing positive environments in which minority group members can work and advance.

"It would be foolhardy, indeed," Mr. Boone said, "for a firm to search for, locate, hire, and train a qualified individual only to lose him in a few months because the environment in which that person is asked to work leaves much to be desired."

Los Angeles Times Thurs., Mar. 13, 1969

Aerospace Industry Criticized on Job Policies for Minorities

BY JACK JONES
Times Staff Writer

Aerospace industry efforts to step up hiring and advancement for minority group employes were sharply criticized here Wednesday by U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission members who said results have not matched the publicity.

"What I heard today," said Chairman Clifford L. Alexander Jr. after several hours of testimony at the Federal Office Building, "were a great many statements of good intentions."

"There were a great many glossy brochures, a great many percentages based on low figures and almost no advancement in the hiring, promotion and full utilization of workers available here—minority and female," he added.

Hearings today will focus on the movie production industry and Friday on the three major television networks along with three of the area's largest white-collar employers—Occidental Life, Bank of America and Security Pacific National Bank.

Alexander obviously was irked Wednesday by explanations that qualified minority talent is hard to find and by "meager results" he felt were made to appear substantial.

He suggested many companies are not really seeking out capable minority people and are not going far enough to insure equal advancement opportunities for those hired.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which set up the commission and which requires equal employment by companies doing business with the government, is "the law of the land," he stressed.

"It is about time these corporations—many of whom are screaming for law and order—obey the law themselves."

Appearing to present accounts of company programs in the minority hiring field were executives of McDonnell Douglas Corp., Lockheed Aircraft Corp., North American Rockwell Corp. and TRW Systems.

Hughes Aircraft, unable to be heard in the tight schedule, submitted a written statement for the record.

Union Man Heard

Nor was industry alone in getting sharp questioning from the commissioners. An international representative for the International Assn. of Machinists (IAM), which bargains for many aerospace workers, also was taken over the statistical hurdles on apprenticeship programs and the ethnic makeup of union leadership.

Merl R. Felker, McDonnell Douglas director of personnel operations in Santa Monica, emphasized that his company has trained thousands of persons under federal manpower programs and is committed to hire and train 500 "hard-core" jobless under the nationwide JOBS program.

The company, he said, "has a commitment and a belief in merit employment."

But—as with other executives—commissioners asked pointed questions about the percentage of minority people in manager and official categories.

For McDonnell Douglas, Felker said, 4.4% of the managers and officials are minority persons.

Commissioner Vicente T. Ximenes, who paid particular attention to the Mexican-American employment figures during the hearing, asked Felker if he thought it was fair to say the company's minority work force has increased by 961% since 1961 "when you started with practically nothing?"

Gives Explanation

Felder said that was the year his company (then Douglas) signed its Plans for Progress agreement and really began "going out into the community to implement it."

Like other aerospace executives, he pointed out that work cutbacks and loss of contracts have caused decreases in overall employment, "but our percentage of white-collar minorities still increased."

Lockheed's Dudley Browne, group vice president of finance and administration, recited companywide figures to show 5,400 Negroes, 2,922 Spanish-surnamed Americans, 1,295 Orientals and 109 American Indians were employed.

Distance Hampers

But in the Los Angeles area, he said, minority hiring has been hampered because plants in the San Fernando and Antelope Valleys are long distances from minority areas.

He also pointed to cutbacks in which "our minority employes were disproportionately affected because of their relatively low standings in seniority . . ."

He noted that Lockheed is about to install a 300-employe plant in the Watts-Willowbrook area.

He was quizzed closely about the ethnic makeup of the executive force, basically Anglo, and about the number of Negroes, Mexican-Americans and other minority workers promoted to supervisory positions during the past year.

Harry Winston, Lockheed-California Co. director of industrial relations, said 1,689 professionals (mostly engineers) were added last year—of whom 124 were minority persons.

Ximenes observed that all the policies aimed at upgrading minority workers into white-collar jobs "have been a failure."

The commission has pointed out that Negroes and Mexican-Americans make up 20% of the population here, but that both groups are generally concentrated at lower occupational levels with Negroes holding only 3.4% of the white collar jobs and Mexican-Americans only 4.4%.

"Maybe," Ximenes told Winston, "what you need is a training program for hard-core management rather than hard-core unemployed." He said, "Management has a fine statement of policy, but a series of gate keepers close the doors to minority people."

Two other executives questioned by the commission were Elmer P. Wohl, staff vice president for administration of North American Rockwell Corp., and Dr. R. D. DeLauer, vice president and general manager of TRW Systems.

Wohl said his company has made equal opportunity "an integral part of line management responsibility" and that white-collar minority employment is increasing at his company "against a decline in our total number of available white-collar jobs."

But commissioners were not happy

But commissioners were not happy with Wohl's statement that of 6,690 in the official and-manager category, there are only 58 blacks and 66 Mexican-Americans.

Increase Small

Alexander noted that the increase in two years was so small that it will take 15 years to reach a proportion of even 3%.

DeLauer also presented figures to show that TRW is trying to maintain an active minority hiring and advancement program but triggered quick commission reaction when he said:

"The problem is there is an insufficient number of adequately educated and trained minority personnel to satisfy the (highly technical) needs of our industry."

Alexander challenged him to look to universities and the community and asked, "Did you know that a black college graduate makes less than a white dropout?"

'Go Find Them'

Told by DeLauer that TRW is looking for people, Alexander retorted, "You can go out and find them. There are people in your industry who have done significantly better than you."

Herbert C. Ward, IAM international representative, said he thinks his union has a "good, fair" apprenticeship program, but was quizzed about the entrance test—which commissioners said tends to shut out Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

He conceded he is the union's only black international representative and that there is only one Mexican-American. But he explained that they are chosen from business representatives who are elected.

Claim Discrimination

Two Negroes — George W. Sherard, an engineer-physicist, and Lloyd Napier, a Texas-educated lawyer working as a contract analyst — testified that discrimination in aerospace companies had held them back from promotions they felt they deserved.

Sherard said Caucasians with less experience had been promoted over him and Napier told the commission he has spent seven years at the same grade level.

Through most of the hearing, several persons led by Abe Tapia, president of the Mexican-American Political Assn., displayed signs reading "EEOC Is Not for the Chicanos" and "Vicente Ximenes Sold Us Out."

M- Eq. Empl - Professional

Demand for Negro college graduates exceeds supply

By ARNOLD SAWISLAK

WASHINGTON, D.C. (UPI) — Top dollar jobs for Negro college graduates are going begging in some parts of the country, a survey of placement officials showed today.

From New York to California, a spot check of the job offer situation by United Press International bureaus showed:

The demand for black graduates, especially in such fields as engineering and chemistry, exceeds the supply.

Starting salaries, for blacks as well as whites, exceed $8,000 in a number of fields, with some indication that qualified Negroes can get premium pay.

If businesses are seeking "showcase" Negroes, the placement officers haven't been able to detect it.

Placement officers at 15 institutions, ranging from big state universities to relatively small colleges, were asked whether employers were actively recruiting black graduates, whether the demand was larger than the supply, whether there was any sign of "token hiring or quota systems," and how starting pay for blacks compared with offers to white graduates.

With the possible exception of teaching, the placement officers said there was a shortage of black graduates to fill available jobs. But most said demand was high in every field, including education.

Some get up to 8 offers

"Some of our students have had as many as eight offers this year," Alicia Ammons of the Tuskegee Institute placement office said. "The largest demand has been for engineering students."

"At our institution, the supply is not adequate and we cannot meet the demand in any field," Eugene Nelson, acting director of the University of Colorado placement office, said. "Sales, office work, you name it, we could place graduates."

Tuskegee had contacts from 400 recruiters for its 500 graduates. Morgan State College, a predominantly black school in Baltimore, had 200 recruiting visits. At San Francisco State College some corporations sent special recruiting teams seeking only Negroes.

No placement official detected tokenism in the surge of demand for black graduates, but some conceded it could be a factor. Howard Lumsden, University of Tennessee placement director, said "there may be some token hiring, of course, but for the most part employers are sincere."

P. John Lymberopoulos of the University of Colorado School of Business said he did think some of the recruiting for Negroes was "window dressing." He also thought it was stimulated by federal money in industry and the attention to minority employment that accompany government contracts.

Judy Nettesheim, in charge of secondary school placement at the University of Chicago, and Arthur Eckberg, placement director at the city's Roosevelt College, saw no evidence of tokenism in their many requests for black graduates.

Miss Nettesheim said some schools seeking teachers "have stated a preference for blacks, but will take a good prospect, black or white."

Some Negroes suspicious

John Munschauer, director of the Career Center at Cornell University, said black students were suspicious of token or "showcase" hiring of Negroes "and I certainly think that to some extent this is justified." Munschauer said he would steer graduates away from such job offers because "there are a lot of very sound opportunities out there."

Dr. William M. Nix, director of placement at predominantly Negro Morehouse College in Atlanta, discounted tokenism: "I think those who come to us are sincere. We have tried to turn out a quality graduate, and as we have followed them over a five-year period, there has been a favorable feedback."

On the salary question, all the officials contacted said black graduates were getting equal, and in some cases higher, pay offers. The salaries mentioned ranged from $6,000 to $8,000 for journalism graduates at Ohio State University to $10,000 for engineering graduates at UCLA.

In every case the starting salaries being offered Negro graduates exceeded the U.S. Census Bureau's 1966 figure of $5,928 for the median income of nonwhite men who had attended college. The comparable figure for white workers with college was $9,023.

Nix said the average for Morehouse graduates was roughly $8,000. At Tuskegee it was $750-$900 a month for engineers, about $200 less for business and education graduates. Mrs. Barbara Mann at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., said starting pay in business jobs was about $650 a month.

At the University of Minnesota, the figures were about $700 a month for business, about $6,800 a year for teaching, about $140 a week for journalism, but higher in advertising jobs. New teachers out of the University of Tennessee were offered about $6,000 a year.

Some black grads get more

The majority of placement officers said the salary offers were the same for blacks as they were for whites, but a few said black graduates can get more because of the law of supply and demand.

"The black graduate in such fields as engineering and general business is in scarce supply and as such enjoys a premium of 10 to 20 percent in starting salary more than the white graduate," Ed Shaw, head of the UCLA placement office, said.

Dr. Vernon Wallace, head of the San Francisco State placement office, said listed starting salaries are the same for all, but "when a black is hired he may end up with a higher salary than his white competitor."

Colorado's Nelson said there was no apparent difference in starting salaries, a recruiter might place a Negro with a C average on the same level as the white students with an A average in deciding which to hire.

A question that was not asked was answered anyway by several officials: Are college graduates interested in getting out of school straight into jobs?

At Morehouse, 60 percent of the bachelor degree graduates are going on to graduate school. About half of these were actively recruited by colleges in competition with the agents of industry offering jobs.

At Cornell "many" of the graduates are going on to seek higher degrees. Manuschauer said "graduate school is simply what students do now. With the draft a factor, many run toward teaching and such areas."

SUNDAY HERALD TRAVELER, JUNE 8, 1969

Graduates Get Well Paid Jobs

Most of 1969's crop of job-seeking seniors scheduled for June graduation from New England colleges and universities will move immediately after commencement into challenging and well paid employment. The interest of corporations from all over the country in these young people remained high this spring although perhaps a shade less than in the record years 1966, 1967 and 1968.

Especially favorable prospects confront graduates with specialized training, particularly in engineering and accounting where the demand of the past few years continued unabated. Majors in the humanities and social sciences frequently found employment less easy to locate and beginning salaries somewhat lower than those offered their more specialized classmates.

Girls this spring were offered many jobs in such traditionally feminine strongholds as librarianship, teaching, nursing, secretarial science and retailing. In a few occupations less dominated by women, the girls encountered increasing competition as a fairly sizable number of young men decided to seek employment rather than to enter graduate study.

COMPARED WITH SPRING 1968, beginning salaries were higher for most jobs by about 5 to 7 per cent, with offers to accountants and engineering usually leading the way.

Holders of newly earned graduate degrees found employment prospects good this spring as a wide range of industrial, educational and governmental employer groups sought their services. Salary offers to a sizable portion of these young scholars tended to cluster within the $12,000 to $14,000 bracket.

These and other findings of a study conducted by the Boston Office of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics were made in a report released today by Edward T. O'Donnell, assistant director of the Bureau's New England Office.

THE REPORT comments also upon the continuing although perhaps slightly lessened confusion among students concerning their draft status.

Also mentioned is the belief voiced by a small but indicative sample of corporate recruits that the wave of disturbances on college campuses has not been aimed at the recruiting programs of most companies and that visits to campuses still provide a most effective means for corporate interviews and students to come together for discussion of employment problems under conditions favorable to all concerned.

However, the report suggests, continued success of campus recruitment necessarily will depend upon cooperation and good relationships between students, placement directors, and corporate interviewers.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
JUN 10 1969

Program to Upgrade Skills And Wages Receives Funds

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — A test program designed by New York City to encourage industry to upgrade the wages and skills of low-income workers will be funded by the Nixon Administration.

Under the program, the Labor Department will provide $900,000 to compensate some 24 companies that upgrade their employes. Participating companies will receive incentive payments at the end of each six-month period during which they raise the weekly pay of a low-income worker by at least $5 and his total pay over the six months by at least $125.

Over the three-year life of the program the maximum payment to an employer would be equal to about 33% of the raises he gives to employes enrolled in the program. Some 500 employes will be included in the pilot project.

Labor Secretary Shultz has recently stressed his concern that unless low-income employes are promoted into higher skilled jobs there won't be enough entry-level positions in which to place the hardcore unemployed.

LABOR LETTER (continued)

cessor, Roy Siemiller. He'll concentrate on improving communication with rank-and-filers, especially those under 30. "We're going to have to develop new and better ways to reach" members, says Smith, who is 56. In the 1970s, he believes, union bargainers will "increasingly aim" for early retirement plans and other protection for workers displaced by automation.

Smith, who joined the union when he went to work in a St. Louis machine shop, is the first machinists president to come out of the railroad industry.

* * *

ORGANIZING OFFICES of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department are closed in Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago. The IUD, badly hurt by last year's pullout of the Auto Workers, asks affiliates to lend it organizers to bolster efforts in the South. Some staffers talk of a possible dues increase next fall to improve finances.

* * *

TEACHER MERGER? Massachusetts units of the rival National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers set up a commission to study "the feasibility of establishing a relationship." The merger talks could spur similar negotiations in other states.

* * *

LABOR LAW REFORM will be promoted by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in a nationwide series of workshops. The chamber hopes to build support for reducing the power of the NLRB, which it believes has a pro-labor bias. Prospects hinge heavily on whether the 1970 elections turn Congress more conservative.

* * *

LITTLE FIRMS, those with under 500 employes, play a big role in the JOBS program, which offers employers Federal subsidies to hire and train the hardcore unemployed. The Labor Department reports that 31,000 of 71,000 jobs provided so far are with small companies.

* * *

PILOTS UNION grows rapidly as the airline industry expands.

The Air Line Pilots Association has more than doubled its membership to 36,800 in the past five years, adding 14,000 pilots and 6,000 stewardesses. Beefing up its headquarters staff, the 38-year-old AFL-CIO affiliate lures a top NLRB attorney to head its legal department and a National Mediation Board official to direct its negotiators.

The union also moves its base from Chicago to Washington, where it can keep closer tabs on Congress, the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Federal Aviation Administration. "No industry, bar none, has more government regulations," asserts an ALPA staffer. The union will lobby hard for increased Federal spending on airport modernization and air-safety devices.

ALPA members who carry captain ratings earn an average of $28,000 a year; some get as much as $42,000.

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: Turning back a strong challenge, 57-year-old Lee Minton wins reelection as president of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association at the union's convention in Florida. . . . Personel-short Perkins Engines Ltd. in Peterborough, England, hopes to recruit skilled workmen by inviting them to drop by the Bull Hotel for a beer and a job talk; next week, Perkins will try to lure office gals by inviting them to the plant for tea. . . . The Federal Aviation Administration proposes a rule that would require more frequent electrocardiograms for commercial pilots, "to detect possible significant heart disease at an earlier stage."

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M — Professional & Tech.

NEW YORK TIMES JUN 15 1969

Recruitment of Negro Graduates by Business Sets Record in Small Colleges in the South

When a chunky black student named Hamilton Holmes enrolled in 1961 at the University of Georgia to make the first successful attack on the state's segregated school system, his kid brother, Mike, was 15 years old.

Those were tense days of riot on campus and predictions by segregationist politicians that a black Armageddon was fast approaching. Yet the things that Mike Holmes remembers best are the angry, whispered middle-of-the-night phone calls to his family's Atlanta home.

"We were getting so many threats the phone company gave us a private listing," he recalled. "But the callers got the new number even before my father did, so we figured they had tapped our line."

No one taps the family's telephone today, unless it's a white recruiter from a major corporation trying to hire Mike Holmes. For now he is a much sought after accounting graduate of Morehouse College, a small, predominantly Negro school in Atlanta.

A 'Super Negro'

Mike Holmes, in the lexicon of the recruiters, is a "super Negro," a talented young black man deemed a good prospect to make the geographic and social jump from Georgia to New York or Los Angeles. Although only an average academic student, the aggressiveness he showed in nearly 50 job interviews brought him 22 job offers by the time the bloom of the brilliant azaleas began to fade on Peachtree Street.

Young Mr. Holmes is but one of many young Negro graduates who this month are being wooed as never before by white job recruiters. The search for Negro graduates has been increasing for years, but only lately have the recruiters begun to flock to the graduates of the hitherto ignored small Negro schools of the South.

The convergence of two unrelated factors has helped make 1969 a watershed year for black graduates of small Southern institutions: a general manpower shortage in business and industry created by rapid technological advancement, and continued, if spotty, pressure from Washington for equal opportunities for minority groups.

Dramatic Advance

Altogether, the situation represents a dramatic change from past patterns, in which graduates of all-black or predominantly black schools in Southern or border states were ignored by recruiters from major business concerns and automatically relegated to "traditional" careers for the Negro professional, in education, civil service or the social services.

But even as the present situation shows marked improvement, there appears to be a growing concern on some black campuses that the long-term trend is not as healthy as it seems.

In a spot check by The New York Times of Negro campus placement officers and black talent recruiters for major industries, these themes showed up:

¶Negroes involved in placing black college graduates in jobs expressed fears that many major companies were not committed to the spirit of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which provides for fair employment practices.

¶Job placement directors reported that they were aware of many large concerns that regularly send recruiters to their campuses but have never hired a Negro.

¶Some black college officials said they detected signs of tokenism cropping up in the hiring policies of some major companies that had helped pioneer the opening up of the white-collar world to the Negro college graduates.

¶Grave reservations were expressed by many of these same officials about the Nixon Administration's willingness to crack down on companies that circumvent Federal fair hiring provisions, or ignore them entirely.

¶A sidelight to the initial excursions of national recruiters onto small black campuses in the South is the failure of Southern-based businesses to match the effort. There is little evidence, the placement officers agreed, that large concerns doing business entirely in the South are willing or able to compete with outsiders for black talent, thereby swelling the exodus of Negroes from the South, the educated along with the illiterate and the impoverished.

"Tokenism is still very much the order of the day," wrote Samuel M. Hall, student placement director at Delaware State University, in a letter he circulated recently to 85 campus placement officials around the country and to a score of professional industrial recruiters.

"After only a few years of recruiting blacks on campus," Mr. Hall said, "patterns are already developing where some companies are hiring black employes only to fill vacancies created by other blacks."

Mr. Hall urged that the colleges bar professional recruiters from the campus who failed to hire blacks year after year.

Growing Discontent

Richard C. Clarke, whose New York agency has been recruiting Negro college graduates for industry for 12 years, said there was growing discontent among blacks who had joined large corporations and "found ceilings placed upon their advancement."

"In a way, it's more pernicious than the old system," remarked Mr. Clarke, a Negro, who said his agency processed upwards of 3,000 applications from black college students annually.

"At least under the old system where you were forced to work in the post office you at least knew what rating you could achieve," he said.

He said black men in business and industry were not comforted by the fact that they held positions at a level no black man of past years could dream of attaining.

"He wants to be identified as an individual who makes it on his personal merit," Mr. Clarke said. "He isn't satisfied merely being part of a group success. He wants to be the chief counsel for a large corporation, he wants to be the vice president, and even president.

"I think 1969 is a dangerously uncertain year because of the pressure from the militants who say the graduate who joins a corporation is selling out and the lack of pressure from Washington. In the absence of pressure, industry is going to sit back and do nothing."

Demand Is Strong

Nevertheless, strong demand for promising black college graduates is clear.

"I've been here 16 years," said Walter Hawkins, placement director at Howard University in Washington, "and the only white recruiters we ever had on campus until recently were from Federal agencies interested in technically trained graduates. Now there's a frantic effort here by white recruiters."

C. C. Cunningham, placement director at Florida A&M University, reported that until recently only 18 to 24 concerns regularly sent recruiters to the Tallahassee campus.

"Now some 500 firms make contact here, and they are looking for graduates who can fill jobs right across the board in business and industry," he said.

Evidence of the white collar revolution—a phrase some black militants interpret ironically—can be seen at Morehouse, a 1,000-student liberal arts college whose most famous alumnus was the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (Class of 1948).

Until recently the great majority of Morehouse graduates went into "teaching and preaching," the "safe" black professions. Of this spring's class of 131, only three plan to enter the ministry, six will go into education, and 15 will enter law school, according to William M. Nix, the placement director.

Sixty per cent of the class will go on to graduate school or enter different professional fields, Mr. Nix said.

In the latter group is Mike Holmes, who has turned down the 22 job offers made to him and instead will attend graduate business school next year at Stanford University at Palo Alto, Calif., on a scholarship paying full tuition costs plus $1,700 expenses.

His career plans are simple and reflect the optimism he says shades his outlook for the future. Talk about "black capitalism" at this stage of the Negro's social progress, he says, is simply "ghetto capitalism": making money from blacks by providing services to the black community.

He feels it is essential that he enter the white business world after earning a degree in finance at Stanford, spend five to 10 years learning "white know-how" and then set up a consultant concern using the best marketing and financing techniques to help create small black businesses.

The one disturbing element, he says, is his uncertainty about returning to the South in the future. Of the 50 recruiters who visited the Morehouse campus, only three were from the South. Even at state-supported campuses, which local business tax dollars help support, there was little overt effort to lure the Negro graduate rather than lose him to another region.

"The mood of my friends on campus was that a majority would prefer to remain in the South to live and work, but there simply is no opportunity here for us."

He currently has a $170-a-week summer job with the First National Bank of Atlanta, he explained, but that was the result of a personal encounter with a vice president of the bank, not of a formal recruiting effort.

"I like Atlanta and I think it's one of the best places in the country to live," reflected the somber young man with a trace of a stutter edging his words. "I think the opportunity is going to be here in a few years, and I look forward to coming back home."

The Dallas Morning News

June 9, 1969

OEO Given Grant For Head Start

Washington Bureau of The News

WASHINGTON—The Office of Economic Opportunity announced a $200,585 grant to an Austin organization for continuation of a Head Start bilingual demonstration program.

The grant is to the Southwest Educational Laboratory, which will enroll 90 Mexican-American children from 3 to 5 in a bilingual early childhood education program.

Parents of the children also will be involved in the program.

JOBS FOR POOR
(Continued)

in this program," says Tom Amatucci, owner of Amatucci Rambler in Hillcrest Heights. "Those people don't have any idea of what's needed to save this city. Every time there's trouble, what do they say — just more cops, more guns, more jails."

"Though 2312 disadvantaged persons are currently holding NAB-created jobs, about as many have dropped out somewhere along the way.

Another emerging pattern is that performance and employment retention of disadvantaged recruits tend to deteriorate when the employer does not supplement job training with counseling, attention to personal problems and other supportive services.

Early in the program, the Washington Job Center, which trains unskilled persons for a variety of NAB jobs through a Labor Department contract, discovered that one of its courses — cooking — was a dead end. Most graduates who became apprentices in restaurants quit their jobs within a few weeks. Low pay, bad hours and transportation difficulties were the reasons. The cooking course was abandoned.

In the balance, however, NAB officials feel they have taken substantial forward steps: Private industry, goaded from all quarters including the White House, is now involved; more than 2300 disadvantaged persons currently hold jobs at higher pay than they have known before and all have been promised an opportunity to advance.

Profiting from past lessons, NAB hopes to involve more businesses in the future and to attain additional job quotas of 6000 by June 30, 1970, and 10,000 by June 30, 1971.

NAB, created at the urging of former President Johnson and headed by Henry Ford, solicits job pledges from private business and coordinates training and recruiting activities.

Recruits are "certified" as hardcore disadvantaged under a specific set of written standards. Each applicant is eligible only if he:

- Is below the poverty income level set by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity ($3300 annually for a four-member family, $1600 for a single person).
- Does not have "suitable employment," that is, does not have a job but is actively looking or is working part time or below his skill capacity.
- Is either a school dropout, under 22 years old, over 45, handicapped, lacks a marketable skill or is a member of a minority group.

Recruits are certified by the U.S. Employment Service, the United Planning Organization and other centers that refer the recruits either directly to participating NAB firms for on-the-job training or to the Washington Job Center for formal classroom instruction, prior to job placement.

Ted Habarth, NAB procurement and placement manager, acknowledged that some firms have a flexible view of the certification standards and take more highly qualified and reliable recruits than might be considered hardcore.

The companies do this, he said, to allay possible problems of "racism and bigotry" among old line white employes.

"If they don't have any trouble, then by degrees in the future, they hope to start recruiting the more disadvantaged people," he said.

"At first we were recruiting the damndest bunch of junkies, drunks, boosters and hustlers you've ever seen," said Bill Deising, accountant at the Washington Job Center. Most had been referred to the center by UPO employment centers, he said.

"They were not really seeking training and employment," Deising said. "A lot of them were 17- and 18-year-olds just looking for summer work. When fall came, we had quite an exodus."

He said, "Now we're getting more referrals from USES, the churches and the D.C. Corrections Department. They screen the recruits more carefully . . . We have an older, more stable and more motivated group now."

The Job Center, at the site of the old National Training School in far Northeast, operates on a $5.6 million, two-year contract between the Metropolitan Washington Board of the Trade and the Labor Department.

The contract requires the Board of Trade to keep 1400 training and job slots filled for one year. Recruits undergo four to eight months of classroom and shop training at the center and are then placed in jobs.

Deising estimated it will take 2500 to 2800 recruits to keep the 1400 slots filled for 12 months. The dropout rate is high during training but declines after recruits are placed in jobs, he said.

At present, he estimated, there are about 800 Job Center graduates in NAB jobs, accounting for almost one-third of the NAB total of 2312. Another 300 are unemployed while the center continues trying to place them, and 250 are considered unplaceable because of social, drug or other problems.

About 600 have dropped out or cannot otherwise be accounted for, he said, and 500 are still undergoing training, most of them in the building and maintenance trades. Others are being trained in automotive and clerical work. Recruits are paid $1.60 an hour during training and receive incentive raises, bus tokens and meal tickets for punctuality and superior work.

After they are placed in jobs, counselors keep in touch with them and help them iron out personal problems on the job or at home.

Most NAB recruits do not come through the Job Center but go directly into on-the-job training with NAB firms.

About 50 of the 317 participating firms, including several consortiums formed by businesses in the same field, have signed individual contracts with the Labor Department to fund training costs. Current contracts total more than $4 million and are designed to provide training for more than 1400 recruits.

The firms without Labor Department contracts provide training at their own expense but generally have smaller groups of recruits and shorter training periods.

Giant Food Inc., for example, has a $142,534 contract to hire and train 100 persons. Safeway Stores Inc., on the other hand, has no contract and is working with 45 recruits.

The recruits themselves indicated in interviews that they are generally pleased with the NAB program.

Reginald Anderson, 22, an 11th grade high school dropout who had been working as a laborer for the District government, is now a food clerk for a Safeway store at 17th Street and Benning road ne.

"It's steady work with good benefits," he commented. "They say there are good career opportunities, too."

Another food clerk at the same store, Calvin Jenkins, 32, who had worked as a trained barber for seven years, switched jobs "because I got tired of the long hours in the barber shop and wanted a regular eight-hour day," he said. "Now I've got it."

Safeway food clerks start at $118 a week and get to $143 after two years.

"After three to five weeks," said Safeway employe representative John Mack, "the guys in this program perform as well as regular employes."

One of the most ambitious and successful programs in the Washington area is that at Amatucci Rambler, the American Motors sales and repair shop on Branch Avenue in Hillcrest Heights.

With a $99,346 Labor Department contract, owner Tom Amatucci has 20 inner-city men undergoing 12 months of intensive training as apprentice mechanics.

Amatucci has combined the training process with extensive counseling and a close personal touch to maintain a high retention rate among the recruits: Only three of the original 20 taken in last summer have dropped out, and they have been replaced. Daily attendance is almost 100 per cent.

Amatucci and his staff know the 20 trainees individually. "All these guys have some kind of a personal problem, whether it's drinking, dope or a broken family," he said. "Eighty per cent of them have criminal records . . . Sure, we have hostilities and flare-ups, including racial ones, but we work them out right here in the shop."

The trainees are "remarkably fast" in learning the basics of mechanics, Amatucci said. Under the strict tutelege of veteran District school teacher J. L. Hunter, the trainess undergo daily theory classes requiring the use of fractions, algebra, geometry and square roots.

Assisting Amatucci in counseling and other supportive services is the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), an inner-city self-help organization with staff members trained to handle the personal problems of the disadvantaged.

Recruits are initially processed by OIC for eight weeks of orientation in the daily work world, remedial instruction in mathematics and an introduction to Negro and other minority histories.

After the eight weeks, the recruits go daily to Amatucci's shop in Hillcrest Heights, attend class in the morning and do practical shop work with Amatucci's journeyman mechanics in the afternoon. If any of them is tardy or absent, an OIC counselor seeks him out in the city, helps him cope with whatever problems he may have and gets him back on the job.

While training, they receive $1.60 an hour, "but I'll start any of them who stay with me after the 12 months at $2.36," Amatucci said. Journeyman mechanics earn $4 an hour but must have five years' experience to reach that status.

Amatucci feels he is alone in much of his effort and is appalled at what he considers the indifference and isolation of the community around him.

Not only have banks refused to lend him money against his Labor Department performance contract, he says, but fellow dealers and the Automotive Trade Association of the National Capital Area have shown no interest in cooperating with him in a joint venture to expand mechanic training facilities for the inner-city poor.

Also, he says, the Prince George's County Commissioners have offered no help nor suggested sponsoring any programs, despite his pleas.

"They come around here and look at my program, slap me on the back and say, 'Nice job, Tom'—and that's it," Amatucci said. "When are we going to learn?"

REET J

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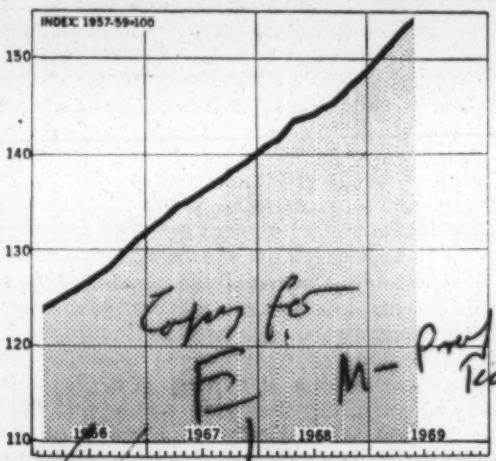
JULY 3, 1969

Medical Care Costs



MEDICAL CARE COSTS rose in May to 154.5% of the 1957-59 average from 153.6% a month earlier. These costs are components of the Government consumer price index.

More Black Reporters Leave the Negro Press For 'White Media' Jobs

* * *

New Employers' Racial Coverage Benefits; One Atlantan Quits Family Paper for Radio Post

By ART SEARS JR.
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Reporter Stan Scott could one day have become publisher of the Atlanta Daily World. The newspaper, oldest of the four U.S. dailies aimed at Negroes, is owned by his family.

But Mr. Scott, now 35, decided security wasn't enough. He quit the Daily World and went to work for what Negroes regard as the "white media." He became the first black staff reporter for United Press International and later moved to his present job as as well-paid reporter for New York's WINS, an all-news radio station.

Mr. Scott is not alone in his decision to abandon a black news organization for the largely white-oriented mass media. A growing number of black journalists are making similar moves—much to the delight of the mass media executives who hire them and much to the distress of the black-media executives who are losing them.

Demand for black reporters is so great that many mass-circulation publications and broadcasting companies have "standing invitations" out for Negroes, says Dean Richard T. Baker of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. Some employers, unable to find experienced black reporters, are even sending potential newsmen to journalism school.

Covering Black Militants

One reason news executives want black reporters is that they feel they can't effectively cover the current racial upheaval without them. "It's no secret that black militants don't like to deal with white reporters," says Henry Schnaue, news director of WINS and Mr. Scott's boss. "Stan can move more easily in situations involving militancy."

Editors also acknowledge that most newspapers and broadcasting stations have been remiss in failing to hire Negroes in the past. A. M. Rosenthal, associate managing editor of the New York Times, says his paper has "happily reached the point where I don't know exactly how many black reporters are on the staff." He estimates, however, that there are about a dozen—and adds that the Times now does a better job of covering civil rights stories as a result.

Surprisingly, many of the reporters who make the move to white-dominated media say they are doing so because their new employers' coverage of black problems is better than that of the black press. The black press "gives one too narrow a view of the city and its problems," says Betty Washington, a 33-year-old mother of four who recently quit the Chicago Defender to join the Chicago Daily News. "I've gained a greater feel for the black community by learning more about the whole city," she says. "I had never before picked up a phone and called a Polish alderman or covered city hall."

Moreover, journalists who join the mass media also often find that they are actually reaching more black readers or listeners than they could through the black media. Most "white" radio or television stations, for instance, have large audiences among Negroes in their areas as well as among whites.

Preparing for Jobs

To increase the number of black reporters, Columbia last year started a Ford Foundation-supported summer school in broadcast journalism for black students. This summer the program was expanded to include newspaper and magazine journalism as well, and enrollment was increased to 35 from 20. Many of the students attending the school this summer already hold clerical or other nonreporting jobs at newspapers or broadcast stations, and most have been promised regular news jobs after they graduate from the 10-week course. The 20 who attended last summer all got jobs in the mass media.

For the 172 black newspapers and the handful of black radio stations in the country, the loss of reporters to the mass media is a serious blow. But many reporters blame the problem on the black media themselves.

Mr. Scott says, for instance, that he found the Atlanta Daily World "too conservative" in covering black affairs. "It wasn't aggressive enough in reporting and interpreting issues of the day for its black readership," he says.

The movement of black journalists isn't entirely one way, however. Occasionally, after getting a taste of life in the mass media, one decides to return to the black press. Among those who have done so is Simeon Booker, now Washington bureau chief for Ebony magazine. In the early 1950s, he was a reporter for the Washington Post—the first black reporter for the paper. But he left the Post to set up Ebony's Washington bureau. "I've never been ashamed of the black press," he says.

HOLIDAY NOTICE

The Wall Street Journal will not be published tomorrow, Independence Day.

NEWS

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M— Tech & Prof.

Southeastern Regional Office
Bureau of Labor Statistics

Atlanta, Georgia
404-526-5418

FOR RELEASE: Sunday Editions, July 6, 1969,
or thereafter

ATOMIC ENERGY WORKFORCE EXPANSION MARKS SOUTHEAST

Employment in the atomic energy field has risen steadily in the Southeast for the past three years, according to Brunswick A. Bagdon, Southeastern Regional Director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. Between 1966 and 1967, employment increased from 21,162 to 21,902, or by 3.5 percent. A further increase of 6.0 percent was registered from 1967 to 1968.

Some 23,200 persons are employed in the atomic energy field in the Southeast. In May 1968, the 6-state region accounted for 16.4 percent of the 141,700 workers in the United States who spent at least 50 percent of their time on atomic energy activities.

Employment in the Atomic Energy Field in the Southeast, by State--Total and Selected Occupations--May 1968

State	Total	Engineers	Scientists	Mathematicians	Technicians	Others
Tennessee	15,872	1,622	1,597	251	2,032	10,370
South Carolina	5,766	546	350	22	750	4,098
Florida	1,430	235	36	23	193	943
Georgia	121	46	8	0	27	40
Alabama and Mississippi	27	3	11	0	1	12
Total	23,216	2,452	2,002	296	3,003	15,463

One of every three regional atomic energy workers was either an engineer, a scientist, a mathematician, or a technician. This high proportion of professional and technical workers is due to the importance of research and

development activities in the atomic energy field. Physical and life sciences employed 2,002 scientists in the Southeast. Physical scientists numbered 1,512 and life scientists, 490. Chemists were the largest single group with employment of 855 followed by physicists with 491 and biologists with 292. Overall, about 7 of every 10 scientists were engaged in research and development activities. Work in the atomic energy field required 296 mathematicians. About 60 percent of these, or 177 mathematicians, were involved in R & D work.

The 2,452 engineers employed in Southeastern atomic energy activities represented virtually every aspect of engineering work. Reflecting the many engineering problems requiring unique solutions, 2 of every 5 engineers were in research and development. Mechanical engineers numbered 710 with 208 of these in R & D. There were 506 chemical engineers with 257 in R & D and 504 electronics and electrical engineers; of whom 247 were in R & D. Civil engineers numbered 124 and metallurgical engineers, 111.

There were 159 nuclear and reactor engineers--one of the smaller of the engineering groups. The occupation is, however, unique in the engineering field. Nuclear and reactor engineers utilize their skills in reactor design, manufacture and operation; they develop and evaluate concepts in these activities; and they provide guidance in reactor technology to other scientific and technical personnel. More than half of these engineers were in R & D activities.

About 13 percent of all atomic energy employees in the Southeast--3,003 people--were technicians. This occupational group registered a 3 percent gain over the previous year. Technicians work throughout the atomic energy field performing duties as varied as the scientific and professional activities which they help support.

The data presented here are based on the annual surveys of scientific and technical personnel in the atomic energy field, conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the Atomic Energy Commission. The survey was designed to include activities directed at the development and use of atomic energy. Therefore, the atomic energy field cuts across many industries. Nonprofit and Government-owned, contractor-operated establishments, as well as privately-owned industrial establishments, were included in the survey.

7-8-69 Wall St Jnl (W

Labor Letter

A Special News Report on People And Their Jobs in Offices, Fields and Factories

CAREER SWITCHING grows as executives seek more money and job satisfaction.

Many executives are jumping into new careers in the securities, computer and consulting fields, reports Sturm, Burrows & Co., a Philadelphia recruiter. The 38-year-old personnel manager of a big Eastern manufacturer quits to become a minister. Ernest Arbuckle, the chairman of San Francisco's Wells Fargo Bank who formerly headed the Stanford Business School, says he believes in switching careers every 10 years.

"Most career-switching is financially motivated," opines one executive recruiter. Yet a former Washington lawyer turned psychoanalyst says he switched "to do a more personal kind of work with people." Donald Elliott, a Memorex Corp. vice president, previously spent five years as a Peace Corps administrator "as an exciting change of pace." The University of California Business School retains a consultant on mid-life career switching.

C. L. Carter & Associates, a Dallas consultant, warns that career-switchers can end up "holding the bag in some job they're not prepared to handle."

* Mo Prof & Tech -

URBAN EXPERTS shun jobs with cities for higher-paying work in industry.

Shortages of planners, engineers, pollution specialists and other experts plague many big cities. St. Louis, operating with "skeleton" staffs in most departments, seeks to fill 60 vacancies, 50% more than five years ago. In Cincinnati, a $16,000-a-year opening for an air-pollution control supervisor goes unfilled for six weeks. "The sharp, young city planners" are enticed by the better pay and greater challenge of private consulting, one urban expert claims.

Cities hunt harder for talent. Cleveland says a 10% boost in salaries has helped it rehire some former employes and attract young people. Cincinnati, which now recruits nationwide, has boosted its personnel-advertising budget 25% in two years. Milwaukee offers more applicants expense-paid trips to the city for interviews. New York streamlines its recruiting; engineering grads are hired on the spot during weekly "walk-in days."

* * *

TRAINING PROGRAMS to upgrade workers' skills get a stronger push from unions.

The Drug and Hospital Employes Union and public hospitals in New York set up a program to train nurse's aides, orderlies and other low-skilled workers for such jobs as lab technician and licensed practical nurse. The training will be financed by hospital contributions. The State, County and Municipal Employes Union puts the finishing touches on a "hospital career development program" to upgrade workers in Boston, Cleveland and Milwaukee.

Unions outside the hospital field also are active. The Laborers Union provides skill training for over 4,300 workers with $4.1 million in Federal funds. The carpenters and painters unions have Federal contracts to train journeymen in new construction techniques. Some unions find that Federal funding spurs the growth of privately financed upgrading programs.

Railroad unions and employers map plans to offer 2,000 workers training in basic educational skills.

ALA

* * *

TELEPHONE WORKERS in Pennsylvania seek to affiliate with the new Teamster-Auto Worker alliance. The 12,000-member Federation of Telephone Workers of Pennsylvania, an independent union, is the first to apply formally for a hookup with the Alliance for Labor Action. The ALA is expected to accept the application at a meeting July 16.

* * *

TEEN ROCK'N'ROLLERS face "vicious exploitation," the Musicians Union charges. It aims to get more young musicians to join the union for protection from unscrupulous booking agents who cheat and underpay them. The union also plans to offer youngsters free advice on booking practices.

* * *

SHOE WORKERS HAMMER away at rising imports. The Boot Workers Union urges negotiators to seek contract clauses requiring U.S. manufacturers, who also purchase foreign shoes for sale to retailers, to pay a "royalty" of 5 cents on each imported pair. The money would be used to promote the sale of domestic union-made shoes.

* * *

ORGANIZING CABBIES: An affiliate of the Seafarers Union launches a major drive to organize nearly 2,000 taxi drivers and taxi workers in the Boston area. The union already bargains for about 10,000 cab-industry employes in other cities.

* * *

UNION DUES keep rising as activities expand and costs increase.

The Utility Workers Union boosts dues to $1.25 monthly from $1 to finance an organizing drive and build its strike fund. The Insurance Workers Union raises its monthly dues to $5 from $4. Many AFL-CIO state organizations lift their dues. The Pennsylvania AFL-CIO increases its head tax to 10 cents a month from seven cents, while Michigan's tax goes to 13 cents from 10 cents.

The AFL-CIO is likely to ask delegates to its October convention to boost the monthly tax that unions pay on each member to nine cents or 10 cents from the current seven cents. An increase is needed, staffers say, to pay for the federation's new labor college and annual voter registration drive. Loss of the Auto Workers Union also tightens finances.

The Boilermakers Union considers making dues increases automatic by tying them to the wage level of the membership.

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: "A tisket, a tasket, don't get caught dead in a Pine Bluff Co. casket." That advice was offered by a labor newspaper during a recent strike by the United Furniture Workers against Pine Bluff Casket Co. in Arkansas. . . . Ageless Jack Benny gets his second "life" membership card in the Musicians Union. . . . A former Iowa State University football player files a claim for workmen's compensation as a result of a football injury he allegedly received when he was on a full athletic scholarship.

Law Students Urged to Learn Slum Life

By MURRAY ILLSON

A Federal judge has suggested here that law students "from privileged backgrounds" be required to live and work in slum areas "for a number of weeks or months" to understand the people they may enventually have to deal with.

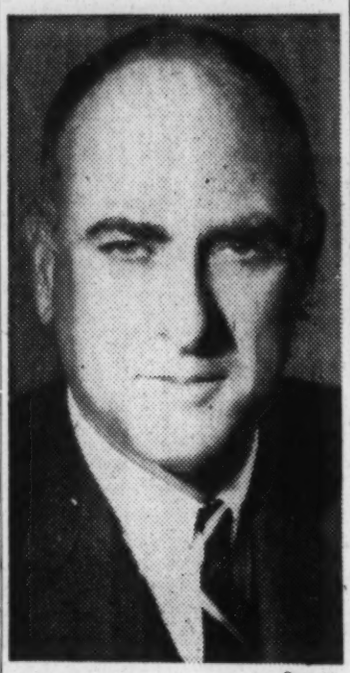
The suggestion was made by Judge Jack B. Weinstein of the United States District Court, Eastern District of New York, at a meeting of editors of The Columbia Journal of Law & Social Problems. Judge Weinstein is a 1948 graduate of the Columbia School of Law and is an adjunct professor of law there.

The judge told the editors at the meeting, in the university's Butler Hall on Wednesday, that many law students he had interviewed as prospective law clerks had "grown up in the suburban areas and then moved on to good colleges and law schools and then to clerkships and legal offices of one kind or another."

"Even should they be in touch with poverty through a case," he said of the students, "it will be as an expert looking down to help rather than as the participating individual who has lived in a slum and smelled urine in the halls and feared for his life as he walked the streets after dark.

Not Something New

"This limited worldly experience of law students is not a new phenomenon. It appears to me to be more troubling now than it ever was, perhaps because the decisions that will be made by lawyers and their clients in government and elsewhere seem to leave less room for errors of judgment involving incorrect assumptions about the real world.



Conway

Judge Jack B. Weinstein

"Society is becoming increasingly tightly organized, interdependent and volatile. Mistakes of judgment which heretofore might have passed almost unnoticed in view of the variety of relatively small random forces operating, now have a greater impact as effective forces become more tightly integrated and relatively more powerful."

Judge Winstein suggested, for example, that at Columbia "some students might live at least one month in a Harlem residence with a family of limited resources" and that students who come "from families of limited resorces might be boarded on the Lower East Side."

He acknowledged that there were "dangers involved in this kind of program."

"Some students," he said, "might be subject to abuse and possible physical danger. Moreover, the local community may resent being treated as if it were some society of foreign natives being studied by an anthropologist."

Expense a Factor

Noting that his proposed program would have "very substantial logistical and cost difficulties," Judge Weinstein said Columbia University had "major physical advantages because of its location."

"In addition," he said, "for some years Columbia has sought to encourage students of diverse backgrounds to enter the law school. It can call upon a number of its own graduates and undergraduates to assist in the program."

As to the possibly practical results of his proposed program, Judge Weinstein observed that there was "a certain humility that comes from pushing a garment cart through the middle of downtown Manhattan on a hot summer day or of working in a hospital or in a taxicab and of living in a slum area."

And he added: "Dealing on an equal level with miserable people, with nice people and with mixed people in unfamiliar areas of life may help suggest why some pleasant-sounding theory will not work."

M — Professions

WEEK OF FEBRUARY 22, 1971

BLACKS DON'T BECOME ENGINEERS
DESPITE THE LONG-TERM NEED FOR THEM

WASHINGTON -- Few blacks are going into engineering despite a strong long-term demand for the services of this profession, a research study of the Labor Department's Manpower Administration has found.

Last June, only 750 black engineering graduates left college campuses to join the Nation's one million professional engineers. And no more than 2,000 blacks received their two-year engineering technician certificates that year.

The study also found that:

-- Only two percent of all engineering students are black, and about half attend six predominantly black universities.

-- Only five percent of all engineering-technician students are black.

-- There has been virtually no increase in the number of black engineering students in the last eight years except in a few special programs.

The report underscores the discrepancy between increasing demand for engineers and blacks' apparent reluctance to enter the field. Forecasts by the Labor Department show "rapid long-term growth in demand for engineers and scientists." And Office of Education projections show that the supply of engineers will fall short of demand during the rest of this decade, despite the current short-range decline in job opportunities.

The study concludes, however, that "there cannot be complete intergration of the blacks into engineering until this same inte-

(MORE)

gration and acceptance takes place in society as a whole."

Probable reasons for the lack of interest in engineering by blacks is failure of anyone to answer questions about the profession, and discrimination by engineering employers, the study found.

It also reported that most black engineers and technicians liked their jobs but many were critical of their employers whom, they believe, hired them to fill some quota. They also were concerned because they felt their progress in the organization might be limited.

The study's recommendations for increasing the numbers of black engineers and technicians include:

-- Better guidance counseling and preparation in mathematics and science for black high school youth.

-- Industry sponsorship of black engineering students, with summer and other vacation employment and a job offer upon graduation.

-- Industry support of supplemental guidance programs in secondary schools for technically-minded black students.

-- Government and university support of special programs to attract minority youth to an engineering education.

-- Continued Government support of predominantly black universities with engineering programs.

-- More exchange of ideas between students, faculty, administration, and placement personnel of "black"

(MORE)

and "white" universities.

-- A requirement that engineering and technician schools maintain statistics on students by race.

The study was conducted by Dr. Robert Kiehl, Foundation for the Advancement of Graduate Study in Engineering, Newark College of Engineering, Newark, New Jersey.

Data came from administrators of universities enrolling over half the engineering students in the U.S.; deans of the seven predominantly black universities offering engineering courses; administrators of over half the 680 recognized technician training institutions; and 295 black graduates of the class of 1968 and 1969 of the engineering and technician school.

This research was funded by the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor as part of its continuing efforts to gain knowledge on the training and employment of the Nation's work force.

# # #

EDUCATION

Unions woo the college faculties

More and more teachers are signing up to increase their pay and power

Since the mid-1950s, university and college faculties have employed a somewhat oblique technique to insure salary increases. The American Assn. of University Professors has merely graded institutions on how well professors are compensated—and then published the ratings. Any school that wanted to keep a good faculty could not afford to let its pay scale fall behind the parade.

Now, professors are abandoning such dignified but timid attempts to shame college administrators into granting raises. Some 15% of all college teachers have signed up for membership in unions or quasi-unions operating at more than 100 institutions.

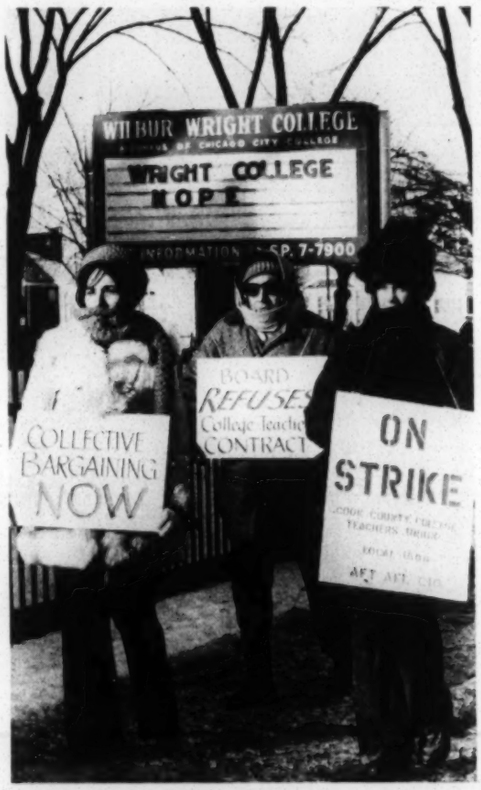
"Three or four years ago, unionization was an anomaly," says Allan Ostar, executive director of the 277-member American Assn. of State Colleges & Universities. "But it's moved quickly into community colleges, is now in the four-year state institutions, and my guess is that it will hit private universities."

Troubles. Professors are worried about three things: their salaries, their role in administration, and their job security. In the 1960s, when education enjoyed broad support, the salary guides were the AAUP's rating scales of three categories, with up to 10 ranges in each category. These were set up so that a professor in a junior college would be paid less than one at a four year college or a university. The faculty was almost preeminent in saying what went on in the school, and professorial prestige was great. Tenure was secure, and chronic teacher shortages assured the professor a position.

Unionization has been catching the eye of some faculties since the mid-1960s. Last year, teaching salaries barely kept up with the cost of living, and the recession and loss of research contracts further cut income. Now there is a sudden glut of PhDs, and professors are even more susceptible to union charms.

Organizers. The major organizations competing to sign up faculty members include:

- The American Federation of Teachers (AFT), an affiliate of the AFL-CIO whose stronghold is in community colleges, which are virtually "grades 13 and 14"—of those school systems that have highly remunerative union contracts. The AFT recently led a strike in Chicago's community colleges.
- The National Education Assn. (NEA), which has dominated the elementary and secondary public school system and has the greatest organizational, financial, and lobbying resources of any group. The NEA is signing up state colleges that evolved from the old teacher's colleges and community colleges where faculty tend to have public school backgrounds.



Administrators fear the spread of strikes, like this one in Chicago.

- The American Assn. of University Professors, which has traditionally limited itself to strictly professional considerations. Its position on collective bargaining, says its national president, Professor Stanford Kadish of the University of California, has only recently changed from "no, never" to "sometimes." The AAUP has beachheads at Fordham and at Rutgers.

Unionization could change not only the professor's standing, but his employers' costs. In the few contracts signed so far in four-year institutions, salary raises have been no higher than they would have been without a contract. This is usually the case when a union first takes hold, and it is the future which counts.

However, faculty salaries have doubled in five years at the seven Chicago community colleges that have been unionized. Because of the latest 20% increase, the schools will have to cut back on both faculty and students unless more state funds are forthcoming. And Donald Keck, the NEA's associate director for higher education, cites one community college where faculty salaries rose 30% in one year after unionization and others where salaries increased 25% over two years.

Unions, says AFT's Richard Hixon, are not about to back off from their demands, despite the budgetary woes facing colleges: "They can't load off their problems on the backs of teachers." Keck says that teachers "will have to work both sides of the street—bargain and lobby the legislatures, too."

Unionization is causing distress outside of college finance offices. Harvard professor David Reisman, for one, fears the dissolution of the academic community if teachers adopt what he calls a "high-level civil service mentality." On the other side, Donald Wollett, a labor law professor at the University of California at Davis, who has negotiated teacher contracts, feels that collective bargaining will become "the primary vehicle for faculty participation" in governing schools.

Dwindling role. Power, as much as pay and tenure, is what professors hope unions will bring. In the aftermath of the campus disorders, legislators and trustees have played a larger role in schools, and have reduced funds for publicly supported colleges and certainly spattered the image of the faculty. Not only are legislatures now grumbling about tenure; students are even sitting on tenure committees.

In addition, states with enormous systems and central administrations are draining power from the faculty on campus. "The campus begins to look like a branch office," says Columbia historian Walter Metzger. "It's not a dean, but an accountant who makes the decisions." Faculties, "frustrated with the rhetoric of shared decision-making," as the AFT's Hixon puts it, expect that bargaining can include a role in campus administration.

State-supported schools where legis-

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lation allows bargaining are organized, and decisions of the National Labor Relations Board are opening the way in private schools. In 1970, the NLRB recognized unions at private institutions, and then last week the board sorted out which professionals may join a union and which may not. In effect, deans and divisional chairmen are management, and the professors are not and are free to join unions.

New view. "The era of Mr. Chips is over," sighs one educator amazed by the demise of "professionalism." Labor organizers are not. Gus Tyler, assistant president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, says: "You can't separate the professor from the rest of society. Any group that's aware of its collective identity asserts its power, period." Moreover, says William Bowen, Princeton's provost, "any

Kadish reluctantly embraces unionism, which Cartter thinks will spread.

group with its real income going down worries whether its interests are sufficiently taken care of."

While faculty salaries rose 75% in the 1960s, the past year's financial plight dictated "no or low" salary increases at a time of rampant inflation. The average salary for a union member in the graduate division of the City University of New York is $27,594. CUNY is the very top bracket of the AAUP's salary ratings, and so is Princeton, but its average for all faculty members is $18,539. The publicized increases in public school systems, says one administrator, "clearly whets the appetite." But the private schools might not be able to raise tuition to meet a union contract and organizing a fundraising drive for that purpose would be rough.

Another attraction that unions hold is to fight for job security. "Up until a year ago," says Allan Cartter, chancellor of New York University, "not many were worried about job security." Now Cartter sees a real slowdown in what had been a tremendous expansion of the profession. This means there will be a large number of young faculty members, unprotected by tenure, who "do not see 'the professor, the elite' as a shimmering notion" in an age of equality. Since they do not yet have books or reputations to bargain with, they have no professional qualms

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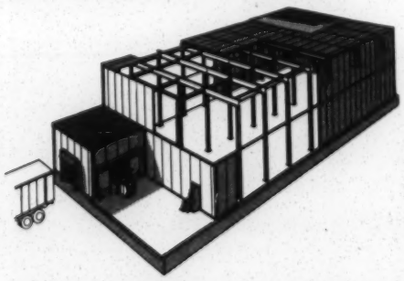

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The issue of teacher productivity

"I can't think of any other industry where the more experienced are less productive for more money," says Rexford Moon, vice-president of the Academy for Educational Development, Inc. Behind his statement lies the academic tradition that apportions the least teaching to the most prestigious professors.

This issue—the question of class loads—has not yet been subject to more than peripheral notice in union bargaining. But it did figure in the Chicago community college strike, and its time is coming.

The average class load has been decreasing over the past 15 years, making teaching "not a bad calling," says one professor. Joseph Garbarino, a Berkeley professor, says: "The way to get somebody you really want when you can't match salaries elsewhere is to offer him a reduced teaching load." The American Assn. of University Professors recommends six hours per week for professors in universities, nine hours in colleges, and 12 in community colleges. But some teachers may carry as little as four hours.

Proportion. Moon, who has studied the problem, finds that the proportion of tuition necessary to pay professors' compensation at one institution jumped from 59% to 79% in 10 years. Moon argues that to continue salary increases, faculties will have to increase "classes taught."

Educators, however, are quick to explain that class load and work load are not synonymous. Columbia Professor Walter Metzger says that a Nobel laureate earning $30,000, who works full-time with eight graduate students who pay a total of only $24,000 in tuition, "may not do much for the finances of the university, but does an immeasurable service for the nation." And, of course, he brings research and consulting contracts to the university. Princeton's Provost William Bowen maintains that "those that do get paid the most work the hardest—nights and weekends, too, like young pediatricians."

In a typical day recently, Charles Berry, associate professor of economics at Princeton, reviewed a book, composed two PhD examinations, worked with students on a computer game, participated in examinations for masters' candidates, attended three committee meetings, and counseled a student who was failing. Along the way, he missed his lunch, and after dinner returned to the campus to work out a new program for the computer game. His class load: six hours a week. The emphasis on faculty-guided, independent student work also obscures the amount of time teachers really spend with students, and the American Council for Education's Logan Wilson says that "most aspects of professorial work don't lend themselves to a quantitative evaluation—there is no per unit cost like an industrial model."

Nevertheless, Michigan and New York have set a regulated number of "student contact hours"—time spent in classroom and counseling. California has done the same thing by simply adding more students, but not more faculty. Kerry Smith, chief executive officer of the American Assn. for Higher Education, predicts this is doomed to fail because it is "artificial and arbitrary."

Productivity. Allan Ostar, executive director of the American Assn. of State Colleges & Universities, feels that collective bargaining may promote "productivity clauses" like those in industrial unions. Bargainers would obtain a trade-off: higher salaries for more work by professors. But there is no general agreement on how to set up standards for such "productivity."

In any case, work loads are beginning to become a bigger issue as the financial crunch becomes more critical. And, says education writer George Bonham, if the professors do not realize that their demands shape the institutions to which their own destinies are tied, and they drive down class loads, "they will perfect a self-destruct mechanism."

about joining a union—and considerable economic incentive to do so.

Tenure. Job security is an even bigger issue because tenure is under scrutiny. With the squeeze on expansion and budgets, schools are worried about aging faculty members who cannot be removed because they have tenure. Critics hold that tenure only protects the incompetent. Many trustees and legislators feel it hampers their flexibility in running schools.

Many administrators fear that the unions will take up the cause and, through grievance procedures, make it very difficult for a college not to renew contracts. And the AFT has contracts where "nonrenewal" is subject to arbitration already. On the other hand, Nicolas Falcone, who is leading Fordham

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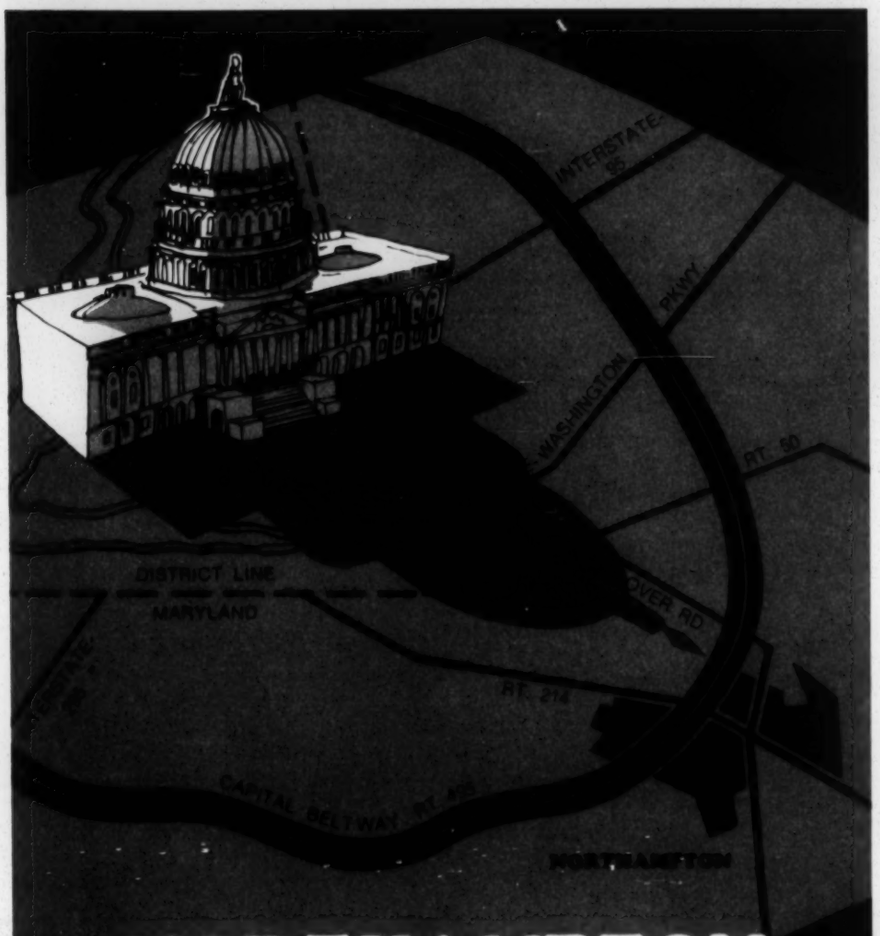

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faculty members in their efforts to unionize, says he sees administrations "getting rid of good teachers for the purpose of saving money."

It also is not lost on the professors, says American Council for Education President Logan Wilson, "that there's been a lot of jockeying in organized interest groups for better pay and conditions, and that the unorganized come out with the short end of the stick."

So far, few contracts have been negotiated, so few patterns have been established. While CUNY's Mintz says everything from salary to parking space has been covered, financial considerations generally head the list.

While many teachers look to the CUNY salary schedules as indications of what collective bargaining can bring, the CUNY figures actually put salaries no higher, relative to those in the public schools, than they traditionally have been. More important, say faculties, is the resolution of salary inequities and assurances that promotions will not be delayed to lower costs.

> Most schools are wary of unions and want to keep them at arm's length

What they think. A few administrators have favorable things to say about unions. Dean Joseph Orze, chief negotiator for the University of Southeastern Massachusetts, feels that unionization has clarified the responsibilities on both sides of the fence.

On the other hand, most schools would like to keep the unions at arms length. William Weinberg, vice-president of Rutgers, the state university of New Jersey, emphasizes that the university has been careful not to develop an "adversary relationship" with the union, and, like others, it has strengthened the traditional avenues of faculty power.

Fordham, a private institution, granted its faculty large raises this year, which many felt was a none-too subtle way of heading off union activity. "Unions polarize just at the time when schools need all the cooperation they can muster," says Harry Marmion, president of St. Xavier College, summing up administration fears.

Schools worry about the possibility of strikes. One has already occurred in Chicago, another in Philadelphia, and a third, in Wisconsin. And in California, various groups backing legislation to permit unionization threaten to refuse "to teach in dangerously overcrowded classrooms" if cutbacks in school budgets are not restored. A strike could be even worse for private institutions. Says Cartter: "If a school shut down a month, it could go bankrupt. It's not quite like a factory, where overtime can make up last month's production."■

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M — Para-Professionals

POOR PEOPLE AT WORK

An Annotated Bibliography on Semi-professionals in Education, Health, and Welfare Services

Intramural Research Division
Office of Research,
Demonstrations, and Training

Social and Rehabilitation Service
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

CONFIDENTIAL
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TECHNICAL REPORT

CURRENT JCB SYSTEMS

David L. Hackett Associates

This report was prepared in November, 1969
by David L. Hackett Associates pursuant to a contract
with the National Urban League.

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Current Job Systems

The following briefly describes the operations of three computer-based employment systems currently in operation in the United States. The three are:

The Job Bank - located in Baltimore, Maryland and operated by the Maryland State Employment Service;

The Automated Placement System - located in Salt Lake City, Utah and operated by the Utah State Employment Service;

The On-Line Placement System - located in Madison, Wisconsin and operated by the Wisconsin State Employment Service.

Of these three systems, the ones in Utah and Wisconsin are fully automatic, the Baltimore system only semi-automatic.

Baltimore - The Job Bank started operations in June of 1968. The motivation for starting this computerized system stemmed mainly from a desire to control the number of job applicants seeking work with any one employer. Previous to the system, employers complain that too many applicants sent by too many private agencies were seeking work.

In the system's first year of operation, 66,741 job referrals were made. Of this number, 18,729 people were hired by employers or placed in training programs; 6,842 of this group were hard core unemployed. About 23,000 persons are currently on file as being unemployed but only about 4,000-5,000 persons are seeking full-time employment.

Since its start, about 22,000 employers have used the system. From 5,000-10,000 employers regularly use the system. On any one day, these employers will be seeking applicants to fill 8,000-10,000 jobs.

Computer Operation - The Baltimore system is computer-based only to the extent that current job openings are stored in a computer. Each day job openings are telephoned in to an 11-man Job Taking Unit by employers. Each job is assigned a code number (using the DOT six digit code), keypunched and stored in the computer. That evening all current jobs are automatically printed by category and bound together as the "Job Book" (see example, next page). The following morning 28 copies of the Job Book are reproduced and distributed among the twenty local job centers and the main job center.

Placement Operation - An individual seeking a job may enter the system at any one of the local centers or at the main center. More than 50% of the

P 0 | A | R 0 | C | H | E | S | I | 124

001 081 INTER A.H ARCHITECT SAMPLE #1 2420 W EST ST. ANNAPOLIS MD 19899 TEL- 554-2310
U 81615 OPENINGS- 2 REFERRALS- 2 RATE OF PAY- 8,000 10,000YEARLY LOC-CLEARANCE 204 STA-400
DURATION- P SEX-M/F EDUCATION-16 HANDICAP-NO PHYS DEMAND-S DRAFT- NO SEC REQ- NO 04-02-69
UNION- NO AGE RANGE-24 66 PHYS EXAM-YES TEST REQ- NO WORK COND-B BOND- NO IND. 8911
*****
40 HRS- 5 DAYS. DEGREE IN ARCH. REQUIRED. MUST BE REGISTERED. MIN 2 YRS EXP REQUIRED. PLANS & DESIGNS BLDGS & OTHER STRUCTURES. DETERMINES SIZE, MATERIALS & COSTS. PROPOSES SKETCHES, WRITES SPECIFICATIONS & DRAWINGS & OTHER DOCUMENTS FOR CONTRACTORS. /REFERRAL INFO CALL X 329 CLEAR DEL-1-2576.

P 0 | A | R 1 | C | H | E | S | I | 85

001 281 DRAFTSMAN ARCHITECTL SAMPLE #2 3 817 EATON ST. WASH. DC 20493 TEL- 789-9222
R 66943 YOUTH-21 OPENINGS- 1 REFERRALS- 4 RATE OF PAY- SPECIAL LOC-ORDER TAKING STA-350 MR SCHEIDLE
DURATION- P SEX-M/F EDUCATION-12 HANDICAP-YES PHYS DEMAND-L DRAFT- NO SEC REQ- NO 05-09-69
HANDICAP UNION- NO AGE RANGE-21 44 PHYS EXAM- NO TEST REQ- NO WORK COND-I BOND- NO IND. 8910
*****
40 HRS, 5 DYS. 2 YRS EXP. #11. PREPARE WORKING PLANS, DETAIL DRAWINGS, SKETCHES ETC./SALARY DOE & NEGOTIATED AT INTERVIEW./

CALL FIRST

P 0 | A | R 1 | C | H | E | S | I | 7

001 281 DRAFTSMAN ARCH SAMPLE #3 949 CHURCH ST. BALTIMORE MD 20048 TEL- 355-6835
R 69827 YOUTH-19 OPENINGS- 2 REFERRALS- 6 RATE OF PAY-120.00 160.00PER WEEK LOC-ORDER TAKING STA-305 MR KITT
DURATION- P SEX-M EDUCATION-12 HANDICAP-NO PHYS DEMAND-L DRAFT- NO SEC REQ- NO 07-28-69
UNION- NO AGE RANGE-19 66 PHYS EXAM- NO TEST REQ- NO WORK COND-I BOND- NO IND. 8910
*****
2 YR EXP. IN FIELD OR 5 YR EXP GENL DRAFTING. POLY GRAD PREF. #10. END OF KEELLY AV BRIDGE NR MEADOW BROOK. DRAW INSTITUTIONAL & INDUSTRIAL BLDG/ QUAL BONAFIDE/

CALL FIRST

P 0 | A | R 0 | C | H | E | S | I | 28

001 281 DRAFTSMAN, ARCHITECT SAMPLE #4 909 RUSKIN RD. GLENBURNUE MD 20160 TEL- 786-7537
R 72115 YOUTH-20 OPENINGS- 1 REFERRALS- 3 RATE OF PAY-125.00 150.00PER WEEK LOC-ORDER TAKING STA-315 MR. JAMES ODONNELL
DURATION- P SEX-M/F EDUCATION-14 HANDICAP-YES PHYS DEMAND-L DRAFT- NO SEC REQ- NO 07-07-69
HANDICAP UNION- NO AGE RANGE-20 66 PHYS EXAM- NO TEST REQ- NO WORK COND-I BOND- NO IND. 8910
2 OR 3 YRS EXP, #6 PLANS ARTISTIC ARCHITECTURAL & STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF ANY CLASS OF BLDGS & LIKE STRUCTURE.

CALL FIRST

P 0 | A | R 0 | C | H | E | S | I | 8

001 281 DRAFTSMAN ARCHITECTURASAMPLE #5 18 47 JEFFERSON ST. ROCKVILLE PA 23456 TEL- 987-6543
R 72369 YOUTH-21 OPENINGS- 1 REFERRALS- 3 RATE OF PAY- 5,700 YEARLY LOC-ORDER TAKING STA-330 MR DAN HEIDELMAN -305
DURATION- P SEX-M EDUCATION-12 HANDICAP-NO PHYS DEMAND-M DRAFT- NO SEC REQ- NO 07-25-69
UNION- NO AGE RANGE-21 66 PHYS EXAM-YES TEST REQ- NO WORK COND-I BOND- NO IND. 3732
*****
AT LEAST 1 YR EXP. OWN TRANS- WORK AS DRAFTSMAN WITH PLANT ENGINEER- STRICTLY BUILDING NO SHIP WORK- / JOB TO LAST 3 MO. POSSIBLY LONGER- SALARY PAID ON 2 WK. BASIS CALL MR HEIDELMAN QUAL. BONAFIDE /

CALL FIRST

P 0 | A | R 2 | C | H | E | S | I | 39

001 281 DRAFTSMAN ARCH. SAMPLE #6 220 BROAD ST HAGERSTOWN MD 32104 TEL- 761-1227
R 77228 YOUTH-18 OPENINGS- 1 REFERRALS- 3 RATE OF PAY- 490 MONTHLY LOC-ORDER TAKING STA-315 MR LEE -239
DURATION- P SEX-M/F EDUCATION-12 HANDICAP-NO PHYS DEMAND-L DRAFT- NO SEC REQ- NO 06-26-69
UNION- NO AGE RANGE-18 66 PHYS EXAM-YES TEST REQ- NO WORK COND-I BOND- NO IND. 5090
EXP. #70 KNOWLEDGE OF ARCH. DRAFTING THROUGH COURSE. DRAW PLANS FOR CONST OF SERVICE STATIONS, ESTIMATE MAT. REQ

CALL FIRST

STATE OF MARYLAND DES 877 (1 PART) 4/68

applicants, however, go to the main center. Upon entering the main center, an applicant is directed to an area where he fills out an initial form. He is then directed to proceed to one of nine stations manned by five interviewers and an interviewer/manager. Additional information concerning his skills and experience is added to the form by the interviewer.

Using the area of the Job Book which seems to contain the jobs most suited for him, the interviewer visually locates several jobs and discusses them with the applicant. After they have agreed on a single job, the interviewer telephones Job Control to ensure that the job has not been filled earlier in the day or that another applicant has been sent out. If neither event has occurred, the interviewer than telephones the employer to ensure that the job is still open. If the job is open, the applicant is given the necessary information to proceed directly for an interview.

When a referral is made, the interviewer fills out a card on the applicant (D.E.S. 508.3) which records basic statistics concerning the applicant. This card is then forwarded to the Automatic Data Processing Unit. The computer then sends a form (D.E.S. 508.2) to the employer requesting that he note the results of the interview with the applicant and return the form to the Job Center. If the form has not been returned within five days, then the Job Order Taking Unit calls the employer and secures the information by telephone. The final result is to match card D.E.S. 508.2 with D.E.S. 508.3 and store the data for future statistical reports.

Non Placement Applicants who are not placed in a single interview with an

Example: Form DES 508.2

STATE OF MARYLAND
DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

REFERRAL SLIP TO EMPLOYER

TYPE	JOB D.O.T. CODE	ORDER NO.	SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER	APPLICANTS NAME

COMPANY: _____ SEE: _____

ADDRESS _____

FOR POSITION OF: _____ DATE: _____

HOW TO REACH: _____

_____
D.E.S. REPRESENTATIVE

IF APPLICANT IS QUALIFIED AND YOU ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO HIRE AT THIS TIME, ATTACH THIS SLIP TO APPLICATION.

IF IN THE FUTURE YOU HIRE THIS APPLICANT, PLEASE SHOW DATE HIRED AND RETURN THIS SLIP TO OUR OFFICE BY MAIL.

HIRED ON: _____ SIGNATURE _____

JOB BANK

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE FOR PRIVATE EMPLOYERS AND PUBLIC AGENCIES.

FORM DES 508.1 REV. 7/68

1PMNT0499

Example: Form DES 508.3

JOB BANK STATISTICAL CARD

1	2	3	4	5
TYPE	D.O.T. CODE	ORDER NO.	SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER	APPLICANTS NAME

Company: _____ See: _____

Address: _____ Ph-No. _____

For Position of: _____ Date: _____

How to reach: _____

Loc. and Sta. No. Ph. and Ext D.E.S. Representative

Applicant D.O.T.: 6

Comments:

IND. CODE 21

7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
DATE OF REFERRAL	CALL IN CODE	AGE	SEX CODE	VET STATUS	HANDI-CAP	U.I. STATUS	RESULT HIRED	LOC. AND STATION NO.	508.2	INSTANT REFERRAL	FRIST DAY WORKED	NOT. HIRED GIVE REASON ABOVE	APPLICANT CODE

DES. 508.3 REV. 8-68

employer may return for further referrals until they do secure a job. If job placement seems hopeless because of a lack of job skills, an applicant receives counseling in job training and skill improvement possibilities. In addition, applicants may not be able to secure jobs because there is currently no demand for their specialty. These applicants may eventually be placed when future job orders in their skill area are received by the Center.

Updating When a job order is first entered in the Job Book, the date of its entry is noted. In most cases if no referrals have been made for the job after 14 days, the Job Order Taking Unit calls the employer to determine if the job is still open. Professional and Technical jobs are checked only after 30 days as these types of jobs usually take longer to fill than lower level jobs. In addition, any changes in the requirements for the job (skill, experience, pay rate, etc.) will be updated. These changes are then sent to ADP and appear in the next day's Job Book.

Cooperating Agencies From the Job Bank point of view local social action agencies acting in an uncoordinated manner in seeking jobs for the unemployed were primarily responsible for engendering employer hostility. In order to correct this, many of these agencies have been invited to participate in the Job Bank. To date, 17 agencies, including the Baltimore Urban League, have done so. Each agency is accorded free access to the Job Book, desk space, telephone services and an employment service employee to assist them. The agency is free to refer any persons that they have secured through their own outreach to appropriate jobs contained in the Job Book.

The only stipulation on their activities is that they follow the administrative procedures earlier outlined so that they don't disrupt the system.

Future Developments Recognizing the limitations of a semi-automated system working only in Baltimore, the Job Bank has expansive plans for the near future.

1. Hopefully, by July 1970 and no later than December, 1970, the system will be fully automated so that all job matchings will be done by computer.

2. By no later than July, 1972 and perhaps as early as January of that year, this total system should be in operation on a statewide basis.

3. At a later point in the 1970's the Job Bank anticipates being part of a nationwide employment system.

Critique There are several shortcomings in the existing system, most of which are freely admitted by the Job Bank.

1. The system is more concerned with satisfying the employers than the currently unemployed. Inadequate job development is being provided to the hard core unemployed and inadequate use is being made of training opportunities.

2. The majority of jobs provided by the system are low paying and undesirable to most people. Nor is there any program to work with

social action groups in the City to actively seek to elicit from employers jobs with upward mobility.

3. The current DOT 6 digit coding method for both jobs and applicants tends to perpetuate unreal job classifications.

4. The current manual matching method falls far short of ensuring that the best available job for an applicant has been located since many possible jobs are not examined.

5. The Main Job Center is consistently overloaded with applicants while the 20 local centers are running at far less then their true capacity. Although five additional centers are planned in high unemployment neighborhoods, this will not appreciably relieve the Main Center's burden unless the unemployed are strongly encouraged to go to their local center rather than the Main Center.

Despite these and many other shortcomings, the Job Bank must be considered a success.

1. Prior to the implementation of the semi-automatic system, job referrals were running about 3,000 per month and are now at about 10,000 per month.

2. The current system uses only an IBM 1401 computer, so that start up costs were relatively low. Future systems will undoubtedly require much more sophisticated hardware.

3. Employer hostility toward the unemployed and concerned social

action groups has been reduced. Previously, many employers felt they were being harassed by constant telephone calls regarding employment opportunities, (a large company in the area reported that 97 such calls were received in one day).

4. Many changes in the system, desired by local groups, cannot be implemented by the Job Bank since the authority to do so lies at the topmost level of the state government. Lobbying at this level may be more effective in promoting improvements then confrontation at the local level.

Salt Lake City

The Automated Placement System started operations in January, 1969. The program originated in mid-1966 when Utah was chosen with several other states by the Department of Labor to demonstrate EDP applications for Employment Security Activities. By late summer of 1967 the conceptual design outlining the desired characteristics of the system had been completed. A detailed system design was completed by May, 1968 and by October, 1968, the necessary operational programs had been written so that system implementation started in December, 1968.

Originally, the system was tied into only two employment centers--Salt Lake, and Ogden. In June, 1969 four additional centers were added so that 93% of the state's population is directly serviced by a computer job matching capability. Smaller offices serving the remaining 7% of the population must use the system indirectly by telephoning an office tied into the system.

During the period January-August, 1969, the system handled over 32,000 job orders and conducted 35,000 searches to find jobs for applicants. Over 22,000 placements resulted. Currently about 3,000-3,500 jobs are in the system on a given day and about 130 jobs are added or subtracted on a daily basis. Approximately 200 applicants per day make use of the system.

Basic Characteristics The Automated Placement System is a fully automatic system operating in real time. This means that an applicant's qualifications and desires are immediately compared by computer with all the available jobs in his area of interest.

An applicant enters one of three job centers and fills out a single form (see attached form 511). The information on this form is then partially recopied onto a "terminal worksheet" (see attached form 539) which is then entered at a terminal tied into the computer. There are a total of 18 such terminals, 14 of which are in use on a given day. Each terminal has a visual display console which looks like a typewriter combined with a television set. The information concerning the applicant is entered into the computer by typing on the keys. Within seconds, the matching jobs appear on the screen complete with relevant information such as location, wages, etc. If the applicant is not satisfied with his choices, then a slightly different job category can be tried, yielding a different set of jobs. After selecting a job, the applicant then proceeds on his own for an interview with the employer.

If no job exists for the applicant, he may be referred to a job training program which is also stored in the system as if it were a job. If the applicant does not desire training, then he is placed in a general file which is matched against new job orders as they are entered into the system. Any applicants who have not been placed in a job after 15 days are referred to the management supervisor for counseling (see attached "No Service Notice").

Job Orders Jobs are telephoned into the centers by employers and recorded on an Employer Order Record (see attached form 514). They are then immediately compared with unemployed applicants on file. If there is no match, the job is stored in the system. When a job is filled, the employer is expected to notify the center by telephone and the job is removed from the system in the same manner. Jobs which have not been filled after 30 days are checked by telephone to ensure that they still exist.

PLEASE PRINT - DO NOT ERASE

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS BOX

1. SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER

2. L.O. NO. | 3. START | 4. FINISH | D | V

5. NAME (Last, First, Middle)

6. OCCUPATIONAL TITLE | 7. EXP | 8. YLW | 9. P | 10. OCCUPATIONAL CODE

11. HOME PHONE | 12. ADDRESS (No. & St.)

13. OTHER PHONE | (City, State, ZIP Code)

14. DATE OF BIRTH Month Day Year

15. HEIGHT Feet Inches

16. WEIGHT Lbs.

17. SEX
- ☐ 1. Male
- ☐ 2. Female

18. WERE YOU LOOKING FOR WORK LAST WEEK?
- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No

19. ARE YOU NOW IN SCHOOL OR TRAINING?
- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No

20. ARE YOU A U.S. CITIZEN?
- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No

21. DO YOU HAVE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE STATUS?
- ☐ 1. Yes
- ☐ 2. No

22. ARE YOU NOW EMPLOYED?
- ☐ 1. No
- ☐ 2. Full time
- ☐ 3. Part time

23. TIME IN AREA
- ☐ 1. Less than 6 months
- ☐ 2. 6 months to 5 years
- ☐ 3. Over 5 years

24. MARITAL STATUS
- ☐ 1. Married
- ☐ 2. Divorced
- ☐ 3. Widowed
- ☐ 4. Separated
- ☐ 5. Never married

25. FAMILY STATUS
- ☐ 1. Both 3 & 4
- ☐ 2. Neither 3 nor 4
- ☐ 3. Household head
- ☐ 4. Primary wage earner

26. TRANSPORTATION TO WORK
- ☐ 1. Auto
- ☐ 2. Public (Bus etc.)
- ☐ 3. Other

27. DRIVERS LICENSE
- ☐ 1. None
- ☐ 2. Reg. Operator
- ☐ 3. Chauf. A or B
- ☐ 4. Chauf. C or D
- ☐ 5. I.C.C. Card

28. WILL WORK
- ☐ 1. Any of below
- ☐ 2. Full time
- ☐ 3. Part time only
- ☐ 4. Temporary only
- ☐ 5. Seasonal only

29. MINIMUM ACCEPTABLE SALARY
$ _____ Per
- ☐ 1. Hour
- ☐ 2. Day
- ☐ 3. Week
- ☐ 4. Month

30. CHECK DAYS NOT AVAILABLE

SAT	SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI

31. CHECK SHIFTS WILLING TO WORK

	DAY	SWING	GRAVE	ROTATE	SPLIT	OTHER

32. CIRCLE HIGHEST YEAR SCHOOLING COMPLETED
1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15 16 17
18 19+
Year left or graduated _____

33. HIGHEST DEGREE
- ☐ 1. None
- ☐ 2. High School or GED
- ☐ 3. Associate
- ☐ 4. Bachelor
- ☐ 5. Master
- ☐ 6. Ph D

34. NAME OF COLLEGE OR UNIV.

35. COLLEGE MAJOR

Individual Record Form 512 (Rev. 7/68)

36. MILITARY SERVICE-CHECK APPLICABLE BOX
1. None | 2. Disabled Vet | 3. Reserve or National Guard | 4. Retired

Active Duty other than Summer Camp
5. Before 1/31/55 | 6. After 1/31/55

37. DATES OF MOST RECENT ACTIVE DUTY (Other than Summer Camp)
Mo. Year — Mo. Year
FROM _____ TO _____

38. TYPE DISCHARGE
- ☐ 1. Honorable
- ☐ 2. Dishonorable
- ☐ 3. Other than dis.
- ☐ 4. Other

39. WILL CONSIDER EMPLOYMENT
- ☐ 1. Anywhere
- ☐ 2. 0-15 miles
- ☐ 3. 16-50 miles
- ☐ 4. Over 50 miles

40. UNION LOCAL NUMBER

41. NUMBER IN FAMILY LIVING AT HOME

42. IF YOU ATTENDED VOC. OR BUSINESS COLLEGE OR TECHNICAL INSTITUTE,
INDICATE:
Mos. Trng. _____ Year left _____

43. NAME OF VOC. INSTITUTE OR SCHOOL

44. COURSE TAKEN IN VOC. SCHOOL

DO NOT WRITE BELOW DOUBLE LINE

45. EMPLOYEE NUMBER

46. APPL SOURCE

47. PHYSICAL CAPACITIES
- ☐ 1. Sed to 10 lbs
- ☐ 2. Lgt to 20 lbs
- ☐ 3. Fem max 30 lbs
- ☐ 4. Med to 50 lbs
- ☐ 5. Hvy to 100 lbs
- ☐ 6. Ver Hvy over 100 lbs

48. DATE OF LAST EMPLOYMENT Month Day Year

49. TOTAL YEARS EMPLD

50. CLAIMANT ☐

51. CALL-IN DEF. REF. ☐

52. RESUME ☐

53. RE-ENTRANT ☐

54. ENTRANT ☐

55. FARM ☐

56. DRAFT STATUS
- ☐ 1. No classif.
- ☐ 2. 1-A
- ☐ 3. Stud. Def.
- ☐ 4. Dep. Def.
- ☐ 5. 1-Y
- ☐ 6. Other

57. INFO RELEASE ☐

58. AVAIL TRAINING ☐

59. IMP. TECH LAYOFF ☐

60. WILL LIVE-IN ☐

61. HRD CLASSIF.

62. INDUSTRY OF LAST EMP.

63. HANDICAP CODE

64. LIMITATIONS
1. Climb balance ☐ | 2. Stoop kneel etc. ☐ | 3. Reach handle etc. ☐ | 4. Talk hear ☐ | 5. Vision ☐ | 6. Allerg. ☐ | 7. Other (specify) ☐

65. DATE OF APPLICATION Month Day Year

66. R

67. TYPE SPEED

68. DICT. SPEED

69. COOP. SCHOOL

70. UNDER EMPLD.

71. WELFARE CLASSIF.

72. SEL. SVC. REJ. CLASSIF.

73. BARRIERS TO EMPL.

74.

75. TRAINING CODES
1. | 2. | 3.

76. FAM. INCOME

77. PERS. INCOME

78. HOURS PER WEEK

79. MONTHS WORKED

80. ENDING DATE Month Year

81. HOURS PER WEEK

82. MONTHS WORKED

83. ENDING DATE Month Year

84. FIRM NAME | CITY

85. FIRM NAME | CITY

86. JOB TITLE

87. REAS LEAVE

88. SALARY
$ _____ PER
- ☐ 1. Hour
- ☐ 2. Day
- ☐ 3. Week
- ☐ 4. Month

89. JOB TITLE

90. REAS LEAVE

91. SALARY
$ _____ PER
- ☐ 1. Hour
- ☐ 2. Day
- ☐ 3. Week
- ☐ 4. Month

92. DESCRIPTION

93. DESCRIPTION

94. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

INDIVIDUAL RECORD FORM 511 (Rev. 12/68)

FORM 539 Rev. 9/68

TERMINAL INQUIRY WORKSHEET

DATE _____

LIST APPLICANT RECORD

☐ A1 Demo. ☐ Empl. No. ☐☐☐☐ S.S.N. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐ Resp. Opt. S ☐☐

SEARCH APPLICANT FILE

☐ A2 Demo. ☐ Empl. No. ☐☐☐☐ Job Ord. No. S ☐☐☐☐☐ Job Ord. D.O.T. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐

Search D.O.T. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐ Print Opt. S ☐ Resp. Opt. S ☐ No. to Sel. S ☐☐ Ag/Clear. S ☐

Must Factors S ☐☐ ☐☐ ☐ **PLUS SPECIFIED SELECTION FACTORS

REMOVE SELECT FLAG FROM MINI RECORD

☐ A3 Demo. ☐ Empl. No. ☐☐☐☐ S.S.N. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐ Mini D.O.T. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐

Job Ord. No. S ☐☐☐☐☐

IS APPLICANT RECORD ON FILE ?

☐ A4 Demo. ☐ Empl. No. ☐☐☐☐ S.S.N. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐

CALL-IN REQUEST

☐ A5 Demo. ☐ Empl. No. ☐☐☐☐ S.S.N. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐ Job Ord. No. S ☐☐☐☐☐

Job Ord. D.O.T. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐ Call-In Opt. S ☐ Report Date S ☐☐ ☐☐ ☐

REQUEST COMPLEX SEARCH

☐ A6 Demo. ☐ Empl. No. ☐☐☐☐ Job Ord. No. S ☐☐☐☐☐ Job Ord. D.O.T. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐

Ag/Clear. S ☐ No. to Sel. S ☐☐ Print Opt. S ☐ Must Factors S ☐☐ ☐☐ ☐

**PLUS SPECIFIED SELECTION FACTORS

LIST JOB ORDER RECORD

☐ J1 Demo. ☐ Empl. No. ☐☐☐☐ Job Ord. No. S ☐☐☐☐☐ Job Ord. D.O.T. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐

Resp. Opt. S ☐

SEARCH JOB ORDER FILE

☐ J2 Demo. ☐ Empl. No. ☐☐☐☐ S.S.N. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐ Search D.O.T. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐

Resp. Opt. S ☐ No. to Sel. S ☐ Must Factors S ☐☐ ☐☐ ☐

**PLUS SPECIFIED SELECTION FACTORS

REMOVE SELECT FLAG FROM JOB ORDER RECORD

☐ J3 Demo. ☐ Empl. No. ☐☐☐☐ Job Ord. No. S ☐☐☐☐☐ Job Ord. D.O.T. S ☐☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐

Addl. No. to Sel. S ☐☐

**SELECTION FACTORS

| | | |

J L	1.	2. L.O. NO.	OCC. CODE	3. EMPLOYEE NO.	4. NO. OPENINGS	5. NO. TO SELECT	6. START	7. FINISH
8. DATE	9. PRINT OPTION	10. MUST FACTORS 1.	2.	3.	11. FLAG ORDER ☐	12. COMPLEX SEARCH ☐	13. ☐ 1. Clearance ☐ 2. Agriculture ☐ 3. Ag-Clear	

14. SALARY
From $_____ Per
☐ 1. Hour
☐ 2. Day
☐ 3. Week
☐ 4. Month
To $ _____

15. DAYS OFF

SAT	SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI

16. SHIFT

DAY	SWING	GRAVE	ROTATE	SPLIT	OTHER

17. DISTANCE
☐ 1. Other than 2, 3, or 4
☐ 2. 0-15 miles
☐ 3. 16-50 miles
☐ 4. Over 50 miles

18. STRENGTH
☐ 1. Sedentary
☐ 2. Light
☐ 3. Female max.
☐ 4. Medium
☐ 5. Heavy
☐ 6. Very heavy

19.

20.

21. DEGREE (2)
☐ 1. None
☐ 2. High School
☐ 3. Associate
☐ 4. Bachelor
☐ 5. Master
☐ 6. PhD

22. MARITAL STATUS
☐ 1. Married
☐ 2. Divorced
☐ 3. Widowed
☐ 4. Separated
☐ 5. Never Mar.

23. FAMILY STATUS
☐ 1. Both 3 & 4
☐ 2. Neither 3 nor 4
☐ 3. Household head
☐ 4. Primary wage earner

24. DRIVERS LICENSE
☐ 2. Drivers
☐ 3. Chauf. A
☐ 4. Chauf. AC
☐ 5. I.C.C. Card

25. EXCEPTIONAL WORKING CONDITIONS

1. Climb	2. Stoop	3. Reach	4. Talk	5. Vision	6. Allerg.	7. Other

26. TRAINING CODES
1. 2. 3.

27. WORK
☐ 2. Full time
☐ 3. Part time
☐ 4. Temporary
☐ 5. Seasonal

28. TRANSPORTATION
☐ 1. Auto
☐ 2. Public (Bus etc.)
☐ 3. Other

29. TIME-IN-AREA
☐ 1. Less than 6 mos.
☐ 2. 6 mos. - 5 yrs
☐ 3. Over 5 yrs

30. CITIZENSHIP ☐

31. CIVIL SERVICE ☐

32. SEX (ONLY IF BONAFIDE FACTOR)
☐ 1. Male
☐ 2. Female

33. INEXP. ☐

34. YEARS EMPLOYED	35. EXPERIENCE (months)	36. SCHOOLING (years)	37. VOC. TRNG. (months)	38. YEAR LAST WORKED	39. SPECIAL PROGRAM CODE	40.

41. AGE (ONLY IF BONAFIDE FACTOR)
From _____ To _____

42. HEIGHT
From _____ To _____

43. WEIGHT
From _____ To _____

44. ZIP CODE

45. TYPE (3)	46. DICTATION	47. SPELLING	48. COLOR TEST	49. SAT NO.	50. APP. SOURCE	51. HRD
☐	☐	☐	☐			

52. VETERAN	53. RESUME	54. MAJOR MKT.	55. LIVE-IN	56. SEL. SVC. REJ.	57. WELFARE	58.
☐	☐	☐	☐			

59. EMPLOYER

60. OCCUPATIONAL TITLE

61. OCCUP. CODE

62. TELEPHONE (4)

63. ADDRESS (No. & St.)

64. EMPLOYER TITLE

65. OTHER PH. OR EXT. (5)

City State ZIP Code

66. ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS

67. ACTUAL HOURS (6)
From _____ To _____
From _____ To _____

Other hours

68. ACTUAL DURATION

69. COUNTY (7)

S.I.C.

EMPLOYER I.D. NO.

70. PERSON TO SEE

71. JOB VARIABLES

72. REFERRAL INSTRUCTIONS

73. LOCAL OFFICE OPERATIONS INFORMATION

LOCAL OFFICE ACTION

	DATE	EMPLOYEE NO.
TERMINAL OR LOCAL OFFICE SEARCH		
SUBMITTED TO DATA BANK		
COMPLEX SEARCH		
CLOSING TRANSACTION FORWARDED		

OTHER ACTION AND COMMENTS

	DATE	EMPLOYEE NO.

CLOSING SUMMARY

NO. FILLED	
NO. CANCELLED	
CANCELLATION CODE	
DATE	
EMPLOYEE NO.	

MISCELLANEOUS

REFERRAL ACTION

	DATE	APPLICANTS REFERRED	SOCIAL SECURITY NO.	CALL IN	AGE	SEX	VET	HCP	SPL	CLT	E/U	HRD		RSLT	EMPLOYEE NO. AND REMARKS
1.															
2.															
3.															
4.															
5.															
6.															
7.															
8.															
9.															
10.															
11.															
12.															
13.															
14.															
15.															
16.															
17.															
18.															
19.															
20.															
21.															
22.															

Job training openings are recorded on the same form as if they were job openings. Information concerning the openings, however, is actively sought by the Bureau of Employment, rather than passively waiting for them to be called in.

Follow-up on Referrals Unlike the Baltimore system, Salt Lake does not send a card to the employer to determine the results of the applicant's interview. Instead, the job center interviewer is directly responsible for follow-up by telephoning the employer. If the interviewer has not notified the computer within 5 days as to the results of a referral, then the computer notes this failure on a printed list (see attached follow-up list). The interviewer is then expected to correct his error or explain why follow-up action was not taken.

Job Classification Jobs and applicants are classified on the basis of the DOT 9 digit code (including a three digit suffix) and 34 selectives. The nine digit code defines the job, the selectives specify any special requirements such as age, sex, physical strength, willingness to travel, etc. In a job match, however, the computer considers only the three selectives that the employer or applicant has designated as "musts."

In making a match, the computer first considers jobs using the full 9 digit code and the three pertinent selectives. If no match is made, it then drops to the first 6 digits. If there is still no match, then only the first 3 digits are used. In most cases, a match will have been made by this point. If necessary, however, the computer will continue to examine other digit combinations until it is certain that absolutely no jobs exist in the system which the applicant is in any way qualified for. In addition, if the applicant chooses, he may seek a job solely by selectives (see "Complex Search").

REPORT OF INDIVIDUALS OR ACTIVITIES
WHICH MAY NEED FOLLOW-UP

THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS HAVE BEEN PENDING FOR
FIVE WORKING DAYS:

TITLES	INT. NO.	SOC. SEC. NO.	ORDER NO.
SELECTIONS PENDING CALL-IN	2069	436-70-6300	76175
	2069	507-68-8437	76183
	2069	518-54-4162	76183
CALL-IN PENDING REFERRAL	1667	562-64-1346	70252
	1667	529-42-3224	70254
	1667	529-60-2282	00000
	1667	566-72-7187	70252
	1886	529-76-5418	76231
	1886	528-78-5181	76231
	1886	537-54-5472	76231
	1886	528-80-6352	76231
	1977	528-74-7687	76186
	1977	528-60-9498	76186
REFERRAL PENDING VERIFICATION	0582	521-74-8404	61913
	0582	528-50-9540	76231
	1356	529-72-9943	61839
	1667	486-52-2268	70252
	1667	554-66-4381	70252
	1667	528-70-1308	70252
	1667	259-64-6390	70252
	1667	237-70-8857	70252
	1667	528-72-7936	70252
	1667	529-60-8861	70254
	1667	528-62-9159	70252
	1886	518-12-9887	76231
	1886	528-72-4832	76231
	1886	528-70-0641	76231
	1886	528-40-6730	40666

Complex Search When an applicant cannot or does not desire to seek for a job strictly defined by the DOT code, he may search for a job solely on the basis of selectives. This "complex search," however, cannot be done on a real time basis in the existing system. Instead, when required, a complex search is conducted at night. The applicant and employer are then informed the following morning.

Batch Component Since a real time system does not provide a permanent record of either jobs or applicants, each is keypunched nightly. Each job generally requires 8 cards in order to fully describe it, each applicant requires 11 cards. These cards provide the basis for statistical reports.

Hardware The Salt Lake City system makes extensive use of sophisticated hardware. The 14 terminals in constant use represent only a fraction of the total hardware.

At the Data Processing Center:

Spectra-70/45 Central Processing Unit of 256 K, Multiprogramming and and Multiprocessing.

Duplex processing system of same configuration for back-up.

Five 2311 type discs, one for system storage.

Two mechanical large storage data cells with 1 billion byte capacity. To be replaced by large discs soon.

Normal peripherals, tapes, printers, etc.

At employment offices:

A cathode-ray terminal (RCA).

A teletype terminal attached to the CRT. (cathode-ray terminal)

A medium speed printer attached to the CRT at some locations.

Communication via totally dedicated low speed lines with one wide band line for a high speed printer at the largest office.

From 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., one computer system is utilized exclusively for job matching during which the other computer is largely idle except for checkout of new programs. During the second shift, the batch-processing portion of the job matching system is run. Monthly batch runs are made for other activities of the Utah Employment Security Agency. Prior to the acquisition of the second computer, the hardware was utilized 70%-80% for job matching.

The data can be displayed either on the CRT or printer, or on both.

During nightly data base update runs, a job matching search is automatically performed. The interviewer is notified if a match is discovered. "Complex" searches can be requested for the second shift run.

A number of other factors are checked during update runs such as length of record inactivity, the number of times a record is rejected by the user, the number of unsuccessful referrals, etc. Each situation causes a notification to be sent to the local employment office or the applicant.

A complete transaction file is recorded on magnetic tape for statistical analysis. Weekly and monthly accounting records are kept as to the number of requests made by station and request type. All records are keypunched onto cards for permanent entry into the system. Immediate searches can be initiated on the CRT but no permanent record is created in that way.

Every week a partially descriptive listing of all available jobs is printed on multilith paper for distribution to local offices and other interested organizations such as college placement bureaus.

Software Features

Mini and master files are completely cross-indexed. Communication software is capable of using the full speed of the connecting line for quick video display. Many commercial time sharing systems process only one line at a time and 10 characters per second.

The entire system is coded in BAL, the RCA Spectra-70 machine language. This makes the system very machine-dependent and impossible to transfer to another type of computer. Future work will be done in COBOL, which will avoid this problem.

Data Base Design

Applicant records are stored on two files, a master file and a "mini" file. The master file contains the entire record of the individual with a list of the jobs for which he is eligible by DOT code. This record is retrieved for inspection before making a referral. It remains on the file in two modes, active and inactive.

The mini file contains only numeric data concerning the individual. The file is arranged low to high by DOT code and within DOT code by social security number. Each record contains the selective factors describing the individual and the address of his record on the master file. There is also a flag that is set when a referral or job offer is pending, and another if the interviewer should be contacted before a referral of the individual is made. The mini file is used for job matching.

Job records are stored only on the mini file, arranged low to high by DOT code and "job order number" as assigned by the interviewer. Each record

contains the selective factors describing the job and any prose information for special instructions.

System Design

The system consists of one basic matching operation, the capability to purge and update the data base, and accounting data retrieval. All job matching functions are variations of the basic operation--a file search. The applicant or job mini files are searched for a specified DOT occupation code or some subset thereof. When the DOT code is located, the records for that code are extracted from the file. All those individuals or jobs who do not satisfy the "must" selective factors (up to 3) are discarded. From the remaining, a number of records are chosen (the number specified by the user) which best satisfies the sought after selective features. Ties among applicants are broken by a set of preference routines: disabled veterans are first in preference, general veterans second, and those who have been on file the longest, third. This means that a disabled veteran in the system for only a few days would win in a tie for a job with any other veteran or non-veteran.

Response Time

According to the group head for the project, the longest response on the CRT is 40 seconds. This depends greatly on the number of user at any particular time.

Development Effort

Phase	Time	Manning Level	Total Man Months
Concept Design	2/67 - 10/67	4+ part time	16
System Design	11/67 - 4/68	1 full time 2 part time	12
Programming	5/68 - 12/68	6 full time	48
Total	2 Years		76

Conclusions Most of the criticisms leveled against the Baltimore system (lack of job development, overly strong reliance on the DOT classification of jobs, etc.) are applicable to Salt Lake City. There are aspects to the system, however, which make it superior to the Baltimore system in several respects.

1. Both jobs and applicants files are automated so that an applicant's qualifications can be matched with a far greater number of jobs.

2. The matching is done extremely rapidly.

3. The system is not greatly biased in favor of the employer.

4. The system allows an applicant to seek a job anywhere in the state.

5. Training programs are treated as jobs, thus giving the applicant an immediate option.

6. The applicant can search for a job solely on the basis of selectives.

7. Counseling of applicants who cannot be matched with jobs (after 15 days) is an integral part of the system.

The system, however, is not free of criticism.

1. Programming has been done in a little known machine language applicable only to RCA equipment.

2. The Employment Bureau has far more computer hardware than it actually needs for its operations.

3. Although the system is superior to that in Baltimore in many respects, it should be since much more time and money went into its development.

4. Unlike the Baltimore system, local private agencies do not seem to have direct access to the Salt Lake System.

Wisconsin The On-Line Placement System is expected to start operation during the latter half of 1969 in Madison. Eventually, the system will be expanded to cover the entire state. Even less information exists on the Wisconsin system than Salt Lake City, the two systems, however, seem very similar.

The Wisconsin system is on-line, using visual consoles, operating out of two job centers. As a result planned daily operations are very similar in both systems. The On-Line Placement System, however, uses a variation on standard DOT codes called the Worker Traits Arrangement. Generally, the WTA code first identifies whether the applicant is seeking full, temporary, or part-time work, the job center he has entered, and the page in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles where his job skill is defined. The coding system is thus meant to be flexible and rather general. In addition, considerable weight is given to selectives.

Each night the computer automatically is to search for jobs for applicants who have not obtained a job in 30 days. Similarly any job openings unfilled for 30 days are also matched against all available applicants. Other operations necessary for statistical reports are also performed at this time.

Another matching done periodically will match unemployable applicants with job training programs. This will be done on the basis of the applicant's selectives such as interests, aptitudes, physical condition, etc.

Conclusions At this point the Wisconsin system has probably not been in operation long enough to warrant further study. Establishing contact with the program by mail, however, may be beneficial.

M— Recruitment

Police recruiting with an up beat

Most cities today have a tough time recruiting police. Washington, D. C., which candidate Richard Nixon during the 1968 campaign labeled "the crime capital of the nation," has faced rougher sledding than most. The capital is now 70% black, its police force 70% white, and, as one city official mutters, "the image of the policeman isn't the greatest today."

Now, thanks to a businessman's committee organized last fall at Mayor Walter E. Washington's request, both the image and the recruiting have a sheen they lacked a year ago. The committee put together an advertising-public relations campaign that pulled in more than 800 new police officers and is still paying off thanks to a backlog of good applicants. A special point of pride: More than 40% of the backlog is black.

Just last week, Mayor Washington agreed in a White House meeting to try to find 1,800 policemen this year. He thinks he can meet this ambitious goal because of the goodwill generated by the business-sponsored advertising campaign. Meetings all week concentrated on how the campaign can be cranked up again, and how local businessmen can be involved.

New pitch. The recruiting campaign is being studied by Justice Dept. officials as a possible model for other cities with similar problems. It got its start early in 1969, after a year-long recruiting drive fell far short of its goal. District recruiters had spent 1968 scouring military bases along the East Coast for GIs—mostly white—about to leave the service. The pitch: "Sign up with us, and you get out of the Army 2, 3 months early."

Only 200 answered the call. But President Johnson had authorized an addition of 1,000 men to the force a year earlier. And the police department was faced with the fact that Congress would surely grant all or part of President Nixon's request for still another 1,000.

Last spring, Deputy Mayor Thomas W. Fletcher and top officials met with local public relations men to talk over the problem. The result was a five-week public relations-advertising campaign sparked by Fletcher (now city manager of San Jose, Calif.). It included a series of ads paid for by department stores and other businesses, and radio spots narrated by local actors, including Bob Terry, the city's leading black disc jockey.

The ads took an up-beat, positive approach that stressed the importance of the policemen to the city and its people. Sample from a radio spot:

"Hey, what's a *now* career?"

"That's a job with a beat."

"What kind of a beat?"

"A police beat. You walk it, you drive it, and it's always different."

"Why?"

"Because *everybody* needs you. When you're a policeman, you belong to the city and the city belongs to you."

"How much bread do you get for that?"

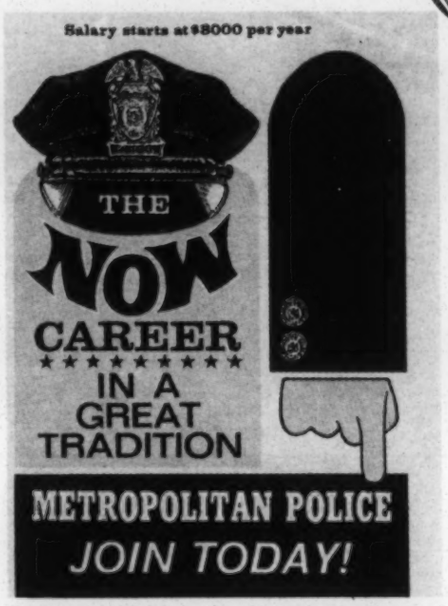
"Bread? Man, it's $8,000 a year for openers."

"Dig it."

Announcer: "Join the metropolitan police, the *now* career in a great tradition. Mobile recruiters are at Oklahoma and Benning Road, Northeast, and at Georgia Avenue and Farragut, Northwest."

Other spots dramatized a policeman delivering a baby or directing tourists to a place for a kosher sandwich, the statue of Samuel Gompers, or the Rochambeau Bridge. Newspaper ads featured police at work.

Black skepticism. At the outset, many blacks were skeptical. William Raspberry. Washington Post columnist, saw the campaign as one trying to capitalize "on the desire of many young blacks to have a hand in making things better. . . . It recognizes that the perception of the police force as an occupying army is more than militant rhetoric." He figured the campaign might not work out "but it certainly makes sense to try."



Posters paid for by businessmen attracted 800 Washington, D.C. police recruits.

One black commercial art company refused to bid on some of the art work; the owners didn't want to work for the police. Soul music stations and the black press did run ads, though, paid for by businessmen.

Still, blacks were actively involved in the campaign right from the beginning. Negro clergymen and Parent-Teacher Assn. presidents were asked to invite policemen to talk to young people's groups and to other policemen and persuade them to join the drive and bring their friends.

Businessmen's role. The campaign that helped make the project a success was put together by Ernest Wittenberg Associates. The businessman's committee, "Citizens for Police Recruitment," was formed to seek funds from businesses and to ask them to run ads.

Robert McElwaine, an ad agency official, was chairman of the committee. Letters went out from such business leaders as Donald S. Bittinger, president of Washington Gas Light Co. As Fletcher notes, this kind of campaign gave the businessmen something positive to do about police protection at a time when many were publicly and privately blasting city officials for failing to cope with sharply rising store and bank robberies, burglaries, holdups, and assaults.

Sponsors. Department stores ran newspaper ads and other businesses contributed to buy space. General Motors Corp. and Ford Motor Co., among others, substituted police recruiting spots for company radio commercials. One estimate is that at least $100,000 worth of time and space was contributed, but none of the sponsors signed its name to the ads. The campaign was stopped when the police had all the applicants they could handle. ■

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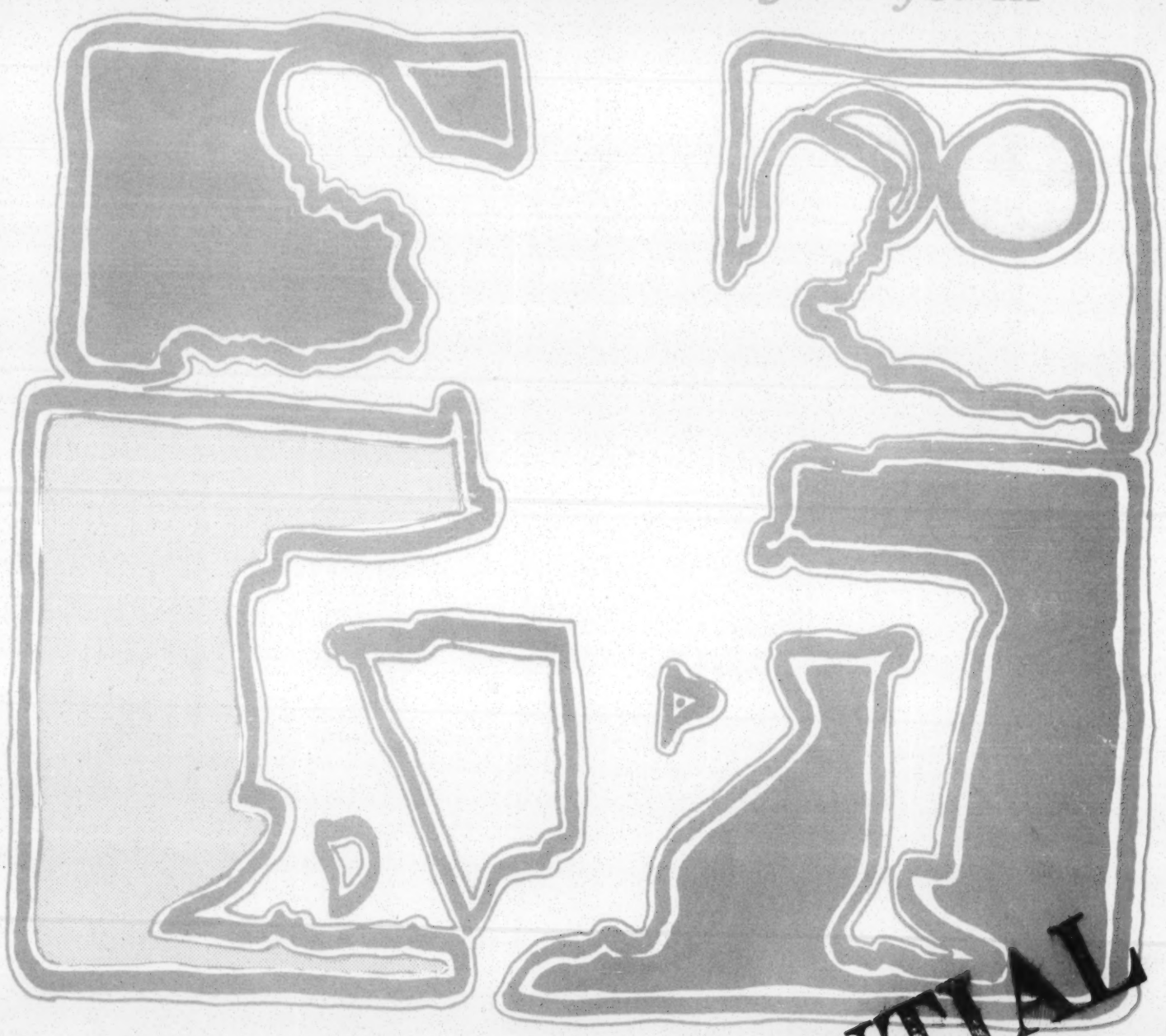
(202) 293-3831 ALVIN ROSENBAUM

=

The Cincinnati Automated Job System



Technical Report No. 2

System Design

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This report was prepared in January, 1970 by David L. Hackett Associates pursuant to a contract with the National Urban League. The contents herein represent Revision 2 of an earlier report entitled A Possible Job System. All of the concepts, procedures, and suggestions offered within this report are subject to revision at the discretion of the National Urban League and its affiliate, the Cincinnati Urban League.

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DLHA

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PROBLEM ANALYSIS

The problem of private sector employment of the urban poor should be viewed as one of institutional relationships between three major forces--private enterprise, which provides the employment reception system (jobs), the ghetto community and the public sector (Federal, State and local agencies and programs), which combine to provide the employment delivery system. Past and current failures in solving urban unemployment and the manpower problems of business reflect deficiencies in past and current relationships between the three key forces. Business, while physically situated in the community, has tended to remain psychologically between the ghetto and the public agencies, but not necessarily of a rational or constructive character. Future progress must await the successful reordering of these basic relationships.

No viable solution is possible to the problem of urban unemployment and underemployment--or to a company's manpower problem--without the creation of a rational overall framework of balanced structures and without the allocation, within that framework, or appropriate roles and responsibilities between key components of the system. Once such a framework has been established and roles have been allocated, rational processes designed to effectuate the system's objectives can be developed. The key need is the design of a rational system, within which the manpower needs of business may be effectively meshed with the employment needs of the community, so as to effectuate a meaningful transfer of capability between the two urban worlds.

Central to the deficiencies, shortcomings, and frustration of past and present manpower programs has been the failure to effectively mesh job seekers with jobs in any really comprehensive and systematic fashion. Thus, in the absence of any meaningful definition of the job market or any truly effective coordination between business, the ghetto, and public agencies, job recruiting has tended to be conducted in a partial vacuum, to often oblivious to the real needs and opportunities existing in the private sector as well as to the special concerns of business, vis-a-vis prospective employees.

The central thesis of this approach is that both the ghetto community and business can play crucial roles in constructing a rational framework for urban employment, by establishing a truly comprehensive and coordinated system to match people with jobs, utilizing a modern information system which accurately defines and describes both the job market and the employment needs of this community, providing technical assistance to facilitate the flow of vital information, and developing a process of cooperative liaison and negotiation between themselves and the public sector. Within such a framework, business could design, develop, and implement a comprehensive reception system (jobs), as well as provide employment opportunities and employee up-grading programs. The multiple functions of the delivery system (including recruitment, screening, motivation, and orientation to employment) would be left primarily to the ghetto community and the public agencies, working cooperatively to provide qualified and trainable manpower for private enterprise. The Cincinnati Automated Job System is intended to be a system which responds to these considerations.

The Cincinnati Automated Job System

Goals

The Automated Job System is meant to serve the needs of unemployed and underemployed persons in Cincinnati by offering them opportunities in:

1. immediate employment
2. improved employment
3. training leading to employment

Basic Characteristics

The System differs from many employment efforts in several respects:

1. The System will actively seek jobs from employers rather than passively waiting for them to be telephoned in.
2. The System will actively seek unemployed and underemployed persons.
3. Once an applicant's characteristics have been determined, he will be rapidly matched with a job, providing a job exists in the System's files.
4. The resulting job will be the job that best matches the applicant's skills and interests.
5. When no job can be found, the applicant can be quickly matched with a training program.
6. An applicant may be immediately matched with a training program if he so desires.

The system should start operations in April, 1970. During the subsequent two months, the system will operate on a demonstration basis allowing time for modifications and improvements in the initial system. By June, 1970 the system should be fully operational.

The Cincinnati Job System can be described as a real time, on-line system. In effect, this means that data concerning jobs or applicants is directly entered into the system and a response is immediately forthcoming.

To do this will require a remote hard copy console located at the Job Center and tied into a computer at another installation by a telephone line. Data is entered into the system by typing on a standard keyboard. Responses from the computer will be automatically typed out. The system will thus provide a paper record of all entries into and responses from the computer.

The computer facilities will not be located at the Job Center but rather at some established installation capable of time-sharing. Establishing a strong working relationship with this independent installation will be crucial to the efficient operation of the system.

Fortran will serve as the basic computer language of the system. The use of this widely known computer language will ensure that the system is not constrained to running only on specific types of computers.

In order to operate the System, Urban League personnel will have to undergo a degree of technical training along the following lines:

1. routine procedures including operation of the console;
2. total system capabilities;
3. basic technical procedures.

Urban League personnel would at no time be expected to perform the tasks directly connected with the computer's operation.

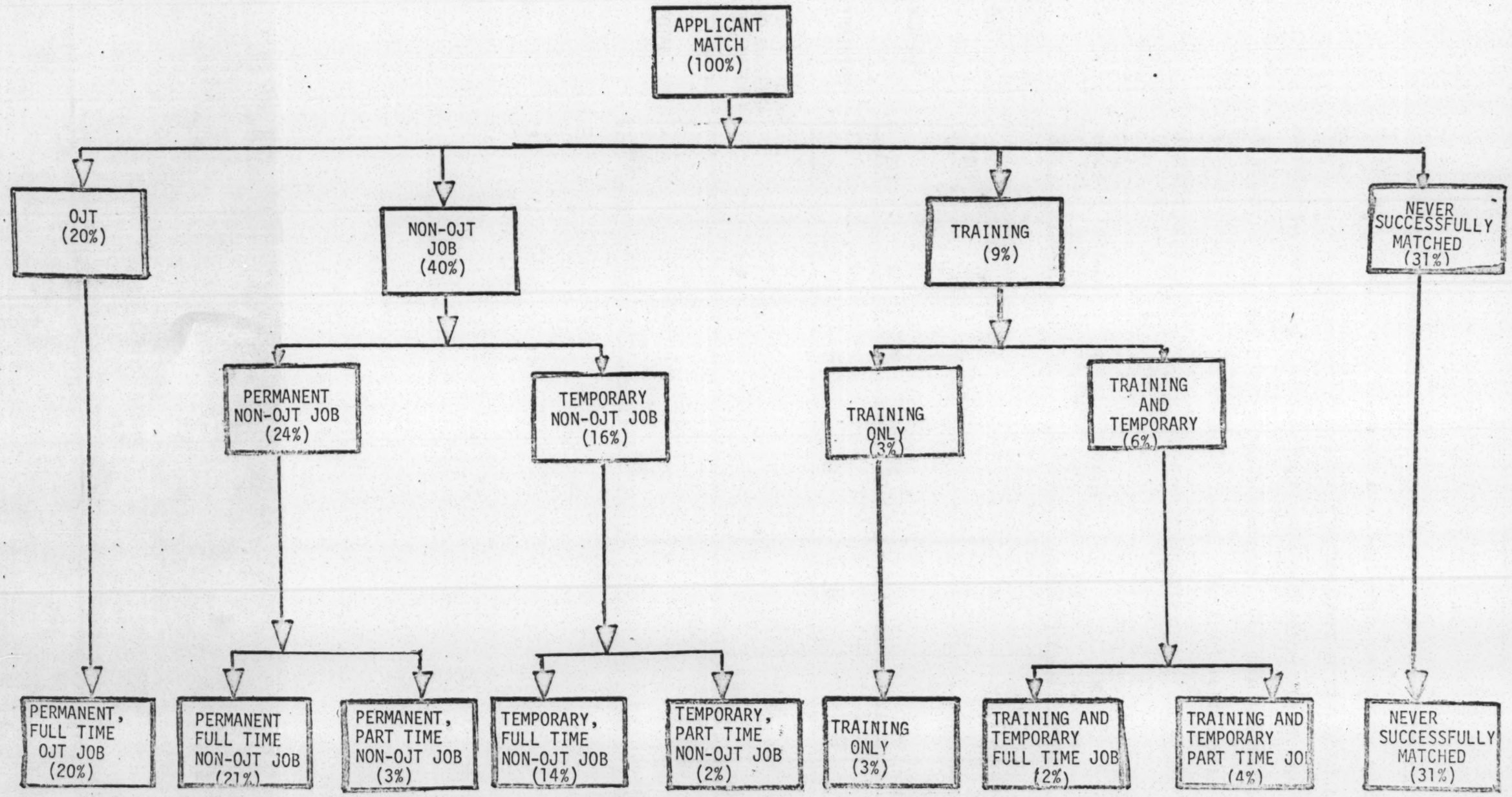
System Outputs

Looking at the Automated Job System from the point of view of the applicant making use ot it, there are a definable number of possibilities regarding his final placement:

1. An applicant may be successfully matched with a non-OJT job which may be:
   a. Permanent
      1. full time
      2. part time
   b. Temporary
      1. full time
      2. part time
2. An applicant may be successfully matched with an OJT job. All OJT jobs should be permanent and full time due to the nature of the OJT Program.
3. An applicant may be successfully matched with a training program. He may require:
   a. Training only if he presently holds a job which will not interfere with his training or does not need a job during the training period.
   b. Training and a temporary job during the training period. The job may be:
      1. full time
      2. part time

4. Every attempt made to service an applicant, but, he may never be successfully matched with a job. He may reject all his possible placements, may be rejected by employers or training organizations, may have serious emotional or physical handicaps, may move from the area or just disappear, may be drafted into the armed forces, find employment on his own, and so on.

Although the above represent the possible outcomes for applicants entering the System, it should be emphasized that not all these possibilities are equally desirable. In practice, the System will be geared to developing full-time, permanent jobs with upward mobility. Realizing, however, that not all applicants may desire, or be remotely qualified for such jobs, the System will contain a complete range of job and training opportunities. The chart on the next page illustrates this situation. The percentages appearting in the boxes are hypothetical.


APPLICANT MATCH (100%)
OJT (20%)
NON-OJT JOB (40%)
TRAINING (9%)
NEVER SUCCESSFULLY MATCHED (31%)
PERMANENT NON-OJT JOB (24%)
TEMPORARY NON-OJT JOB (16%)
TRAINING ONLY (3%)
TRAINING AND TEMPORARY (6%)
PERMANENT, FULL TIME OJT JOB (20%)
PERMANENT FULL TIME NON-OJT JOB (21%)
PERMANENT, PART TIME NON-OJT JOB (3%)
TEMPORARY, FULL TIME NON-OJT JOB (14%)
TEMPORARY, PART TIME NON-OJT JOB (2%)
TRAINING ONLY (3%)
TRAINING AND TEMPORARY FULL TIME JOB (2%)
TRAINING AND TEMPORARY PART TIME JOB (4%)
NEVER SUCCESSFULLY MATCHED (31%)

Although the preceeding chart superficially resembles a flow chart it does not actually show the movement of applicants through the system. Rather it is simply a means of categorizing the types of employment and training possibilities and assigning hypothetical percentage of applicants who might fall in each category and subcategory. The same information can also be displayed in a different format. The chart below cross tabulates each major category with each minor category.

	Permanent Full Time	Permanent Part Time	Temporary Full Time	Temporary Part Time	Training Only	No Successful Match	Total
OJT	20%						20%
NON-OJT	21%	3%	14%	2%			40%
TRAINING			2%	4%	3%		9%
NO SUCCESSFUL MATCH						31%	31%
TOTAL	41%	3%	16%	6%	3%	31%	100%

Now concentrating solely on the types of jobs possible (that is, ignoring the possibilities of "training only" and "no successful match") we find that they may be broken down as follows:

	Permanent Full Time	Permanent Part Time	Temporary Full Time	Temporary Part Time	Total
OJT	30.30%				30.30%
NON-OJT	31.82%	4.55%	21.21%	3.03%	60.61%
TRAINING			3.03%	6.06%	9.09%
TOTAL	62.12%	4.55%	24.24%	9.09%	100.00%

Carrying this approach slightly further, it is then possible to examine this job breakdown in terms of the nature of the jobs. Jobs may be categorized into three broad areas; professional and technical, clerical and sales, and services and direct production. Hypothetically the total number of such jobs which were filled by the system over a period of time might be in the following proportions:

Professional and Technical	=	10%
Clerical and Sales	=	30%
Services and Direct Production	=	60%
Total	=	100%

Relating this information to the earlier determined minor categories of jobs: the following results:

	Permanent Full Time	Permanent Part Time	Temporary Full Time	Temporary Part Time	Total
PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL	6.21%	.46%	2.42%	.91%	10.00%
CLERICAL AND SALES	18.64%	1.36%	7.27%	2.73%	30.00%
SERVICES AND DIRECT PRODUCTION	37.27%	2.73%	14.55%	5.45%	60.00%
TOTAL	62.12%	4.55%	24.24%	9.09%	100.00%

Similarly, the nature of the jobs can be related to the major categories of jobs:

	OJT	NON-OJT	TRAINING	TOTAL
PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL	3.03%	6.06%	.91%	10.00%
CLERICAL AND SALES	9.09%	18.18%	2.73%	30.00%
SERVICES AND DIRECT PRODUCTION	18.18	36.37%	5.45%	60.00%
TOTAL	30.30%	60.61%	9.09%	100.00%

These three factors; major job category, minor job category, and nature of the job define the System's outputs. Although the percentages employed in this exercise have been hypothetical, by the end of the demonstration period actual figures will be obtainable.

Job Development

At the heart of the system is the precept that no attempt will be made to match applicants with jobs until a base of jobs already exists in the system. A target goal in this respect should be 200 jobs by March, 1970. This number should be constantly increased during the demonstration phase.

Initially, job commitments will be secured from as many firms as possible. Every attempt will be made to work in cooperation with organizations such as the Consortium under the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce and the National Alliance of Businessmen. To place approximately 1200 persons a year, however, would require a level of at least 1900 jobs per year. Means of securing this level of jobs must be developed.

At this point there seem to be several job development methods which could be attempted:

1. Jobs will continue to be obtained under the auspices of the OJT Program through existing channels.

2. The Cincinnati Urban League could advertise the existence of the Automated Job System so that employers might telephone in job openings.

3. Jobs could also be sought in the five counties located in the Greater Cincinnati Area.

4. Certain local businesses within the target areas where unemployment is highest could be solicited for job openings.

5. Agencies which regularly receive job orders from employers could be encouraged to fill them through the Automated Job System.

Training Slots Job training openings are also a vital part of the system. In order to determine the dates and characteristics of these openings, the Urban League will regularly maintain a liaison with all training programs in the City. Due to the relatively small number of such programs, this should not be a difficult activity.

Computer Mapping for Job Development The complementary information system currently being implemented in the Cincinnati Urban League, and specifically its computer mapping component, may be extremely helpful in locating likely employers within or near to the target areas. This process can be effected through the use of the Dun and Bradstreet file of local businesses. The file, stored on magnetic tape and aggregated by zip code areas, could be used to produce the following kinds of computer maps:

1. The location of employers within specific areas of the City by the type of business.

2. The location of employers by the number of employees working at the firm.

3. The location of employers by annual sales volume or net worth.

These maps can then be compared with computer maps showing the location of unemployed persons so that priority areas can be specifically

designated on a geographical basis. The names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the firms within these areas can then be extracted from the total file on a printed list so that the individual responsible for job development can contact them directly.

The cost of obtaining the Dun and Bradstreet file is $165 per thousand businesses plus a basic charge of $75. The cost of securing data on businesses within and near to the four target areas should be less than $450. After six months, an updated version of the same file can be obtained for half this amount.

Job Storage Before a job can be stored in the system, it must first be identified and described using a general system. As a start, each job can be identified by the first three digits of the DOT 9 digit code. This general classification would work in the following manner.

In the DOT there are ten basic categories:

0,1	Professional, technical, and managerial
2	Clerical and sales
3	Service
4	Farming, fishery, forestry, etc.
5	Processing
6	Machine trades
7	Bench work
8	Structural work
9	Miscellaneous

Each category is broken down into ten divisions, e.g.:

02 Occupations in mathematics and physical sciences
51 Ore refining and foundry operations
86 Construction occupations

A three digit grouping represents a more specific breakdown of a division into ten subdivisions, e.g.:

050 Occupations in economics
242 Hotel clerks
311 Waiters
861 Brick, stone layers, masons

Each job would then be more specifically described in terms of special requirements and characteristics such as salary, working conditions, job location, and so on. (At this point), it seems feasible to use no more than fifty such characteristics to fully describe a job. (see form after page 3)

Out of these characteristics, the employer would be able to cite no more than three characteristics which are absolute "musts" for the job. For example, a job may require a driver's license, a car for travel, and work on weekends. These "musts" would be used during the matching process, and any applicant who does not fulfill them could not be matched with the job. When a possible match with an applicant occurs, the applicant would be shown all the requirements and characteristics of a job.

Originally, it was planned to use a different variation of a single basic form for recording each general type of job so that the job developer would ask the employer only relevant questions. Another proposed approach was to use branching so that a certain response to a question would prompt the interviewer to skip down the form to the next logical question.

While each of these appraoches has certain merits, neither seems to have a clear-cut superiority over a basic form which allows the job

developer and employer a latitude of discretion as to the characteristics which seem relevant to a job. The prototype form appearing at the end of this section is the result of these considerations.

Once recorded, jobs will be entered into the system at the console terminal. As each job is entered it will be assigned a four digit job order #. These numbers will be routinely assigned sequentially so that the very first job entered into the system will have a job order # of 0001.

During regular operations of the system, as a job is being entered an immediate attempt will be made to match it with an unemployed applicant in the system. Should this attempt be successful the applicant would be telephoned to come to the job center to review the job for which he has been matched.

If several applicants seem to be equally matched for a single job then the computer would choose one of them based on the following preferences:

1. Choose the applicant who has been in the system the longest;
2. If the tie is still not broken, choose the applicant who has dependents;
3. In the unlikely event that the tie is still not broken, choose the applicant who has been unemployed the longest.

The physical storage of jobs will be accomplished by storing them on computer discs, thus allowing a random access. Jobs would be placed on a particular portion of a disc by DOT code. Within a code group, jobs would be stored by job order #. The actual data contained on this disc will be only those items necessary to match the job with an applicant. The example form for a "service" job appearing on the next page illustrates this fact.

AJS Job Order Form

JOB ORDER	OBTAIN	DATE	TYPE	TITLE
0176	2T	3/6	NOJT	Parking Lot Attendant
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

D.O.T. CODE	REL. DATA	REL. PEOPLE	REL. THINGS
915	8	7	3
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)

START	REF.	DUR.	UNION	SEX	AGE	EDUC.	EXP.	HANDICAP	BUS.
3/9	2	PP	NO	M	25-50	R	O	No	YES
(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)

LIC.	CAR	BOND	SEC CLEAR	EMPL EX	PHYS EX	PHYS DEM	WORK COND	TYPE	STENO
YES	NO.	NO	NO	NO	NO	L6	023	N.A.	N.A.
(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)

WORK DAYS	SHIFT	SALARY/WAGES	PERIOD	O/T	HEALTH	SICK LEAVE	VACATION	LOC.
5M-F	5S	2.00/H	W	YES	YES	YES	YES	4
(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)

(39) NAME: ACME PARKING SYSTEM

(40) STREET: 228 CENTRAL PARKWAY

(41) CITY: Cincinnati (42) ZIP: 45202

(43) TELE: 721-6837

(44) CONTACT: MR. THOMAS

(45) REMARKS: SEND NO HIPPIES!

(46) MUST FACTORS:

14	18	20

(AN EXPLANATION OF THIS EXAMPLE FORM APPEARS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES)

Example Form The exact method for filling out a job order is described in Technical Report #4, Operators' Manual. The following is only an explanation of the entries appearing on the example form.

(1) Job Order (0176) -- This is the 176th job to be entered into the system.

(2) Obtain (2 T) -- staff member #2 received this job order by telephone at the center.

(3) Date (3/6) -- Received job order on March 6.

(4) Type (NOJT) -- This is a non-OJT job.

(5) Title (Parking Lot Attendant

(6) DOT (915) -- Job for parking lot

(7) Rel. Data (8) -- The job has no significant relationship to understanding data.

(8) Rel. People (7) -- The job involves directly serving people.

(9) Rel. Things (3) -- The job requires an ability to drive and operate equipment.

(10) Start (3/9) -- The job will be open on March 9.

(11) Ref. (2) -- Employer needs two attendants.

(12) Dur. (PP) -- Permanent part time, job.

(13) Union (No) -- Not a union job.

(14) Sex (M) -- Man desired

(15) Age (25-50) -- Should be within 25 to 50 years old.

(16) Education (R) -- Must be able to read and write.

(17) Experience (0) -- No experience necessary.

(18) Handicap (No) -- Employer will not hire seriously handicapped person.

(19) Bus (Yes) -- At least some employees ride bus to work.

(20) Lic. (R) -- The job requires a regular license for the operation of private vehicles.

(21) Car (No) -- The job does not require ownership of a car.

(22) Bond (No) -- Employee does not have to be bonded.

(23) Employee Sec. Clear. (No) -- Employee does not require security clearance.

(24) Empl. Ex. (No) -- No examination of skills performed by employer.

(25) Phys. Ex. (No) -- No physical examination required.

(26) Phys. Dem. (L6) -- Required to lift no more than 20 lbs. Must carry no more than 10 lbs. Must have visual acuity, depth perception, and an ability to distinguish colors.

(27) Work Cond. (023) -- Work is outdoors and requires an ability to withstand extremes of hot and cold weather.

(28) Type (N/A) -- Typing is not applicable to this job.

(29) Steno (N/A) -- Stenography is not applicable to this job.

(30) Work-days (5 M-F) -- Five workdays per week Monday through Friday.

(31) Shift (5S) -- Five hour split shift workday.

(32) Salary/Wages (2.00/H) -- Pay is $2.00 per hour.

(33) Period (W) -- Pay period is weekly.

(34) O/T. (Yes) -- Time and a half for overtime.

(35) Health (Yes) -- Employer has a health plan.

(36) Sick Leave (Yes) -- Employer allows sick leave.

(37) Vacation (Yes) -- Employer has a vacation plan.

(38) Loc. (4) -- The job is located in area #4 of the city.

(39-45) Self-explanatory

(46) Must Factors (14, 18, 20) applicant must be male, have no physical handicaps, and a driver's liscense.

Outreach for Applicants

In general applicants can be brought into the system in two ways:

1. Establish an employment center, encourage the unemployed to come to the center.
2. Secure referrals from other agencies.

These are not mutually exclusive options since a combination of both might be attempted. Before the system is in operation, however, relatively specific methods for outreach must be developed.

Once an unemployed person has been drawn into the system he and the type of job he desires must be specifically described. In general:

1. Each applicant will be identified by his social security number, address, and telephone number.
2. His desired job will initially be described by DOT code. An attempt will be made to do this using three digits. If this fails, only two digits will be used;
3. Training needs will be described by the first two digits of the DOT. If necessary only one digit will be used.
4. Each applicant and his job requirements will be described using a group of selectives. The selectives available to an applicant will depend on whether the desired job or training can be categorized as professional, technical; clerical sales; services, direct production. Each applicant will be allowed to designate three selectives as "musts."
5. These applicant characteristics will first be noted by an interviewer manually on a paper form. They will then be entered into the system at the console.

Applicant Storage The form used for storing information on applicants is similar in appearance to the job order form and reflects the same considerations of simplicity and flexibility. The sample form on the next page shows the questions asked by the interviewer and the applicant's responses. Subsequent pages more fully explain the entries. The detailed procedure for filling out this form appears in Technical Report #3, Operators' Manual.

AJS APPLICANT INTERVIEW FORM

I.D.	DATE	SOCIAL SECURITY	EMPLOYED	TIME UNEMPL.	TYPE	DUR.
3	2/23	073-34-2825	YES	0	OJT	PF
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)

JOB TITLE	JOB DOT CODE	REL. DATA	REL. PEOPLE	REL. THINGS	EXP.	JOB START
AUTOMOTIVE MECHANIC	620	8	8	1	0	2/23
(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)

TRAINING TITLE	TRAINING DOT CODE	REL. DATA	REL. PEOPLE	REL. THINGS	TRAINING START
(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)

UNION	SEX	AGE	MARITAL STATUS	DEPENDS.	GRADE COMPL.	VOC.	LIC.	CAR	DRAFT	VET.	DISCH.	CONVICT	BOND
NO	M	23	M	3	11	NO	YES	NO	3-A	NO	NA	NO	YES
(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)

SEC CLEAR	HEIGHT	WEIGHT	HANDICAP	PHYS	WORK COND	TYPE	STENO	VERBAL	ATTI-TUDE	APPEAR
NO	6' 1"	190	NO	H7	I	NA	NA		G	G
(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	(41)	(42)	(43)	(44)	(45)

WORKDAYS	SHIFT	SALARY/WAGES	PERIOD	O/T	HEALTH	VACATION	JOB LOC.	APPL. LOC.
5 M-F	D	3.00/H	W	YES	YES	YES	3,4,5	3
(46)	(47)	(48)	(49)	(50)	(51)	(52)	(53)	(54)

(55) NAME: JAMES ADAMS

(56) STREET: 286 WOODGROVE

(57) CITY: CINC. (58) ZIP: 45307

(59) TELE: 721-6831, 687-4862

(60) REMARKS: USE SECOND TELEPHONE # AFTER 12 NOON

(61) MUST FACTORS: 46 | 47 | 52

(AN EXPLANATION OF THIS EXAMPLE FORM APPEARS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES)

Applicant Form

(1) I.D. (3) -- Interviewer's I.D. number.

(2) Date (2/23) -- Conducted interview on February 23.

(3) Social Security (073-34-2825) -- Applicant's social security number.

(4) Employed (Yes) -- Applicant is presently employed as a busboy.

(5) Time Unemployed (0) -- Since applicant is presently employed, his time unemployed is 0 weeks.

(6) Type (OJT) -- Applicant seeks OJT.

(7) Dur (PF) -- Applicant seeks permenent, full time position.

(8) Job Title (Automotive Mechanic) -- Applicant seeks job as an auto mechanic.

(9) Job DOT Code(620) -- Job for auto mechanic.

(10) Rel. Data (8) -- Job indicates no significant relationship to data.

(11) Rel. People (8) -- Job indicates no significant relationship to people.

(12) Rel. Things (1) -- Job indicates percision working.

(13) Exp (0) -- Applicant has no job experience as an auto mechanic.

(14) Job Start (2/23) -- Applicant is prepared to start a new job on Feb. 23.

(15-20) Since the applicant is seeking an OJT job, then the questions dealing with training are not relevant and they are left blank. If an OJT job in the field of automotive mechanics can not be found, then a search may be conducted for a training slot in automotive mechanics within a training program.

(21) Union (No) -- Applicant is not a union member.

(22) Sex (M) -- Applicant is male.

(23) Age (23) -- Applicant is 23 years old.

(24) Marital Status (M) -- Applicant is married.

(25) Depends. (3) -- Applicant has three dependents.

(26) Grade Compl. (11) -- Applicant has completed the eleventh grade.

(27) Voc. (No) -- Applicant has had no vocational training.

(28) Lic. (Yes) -- Applicant has a drivers license.

(29) Car (No) -- Applicant does not own a car.

(30) Draft (3-A) -- Applicant draft classification is 3-A.

(31) Vet. (No) -- Applicant is not a veteran of the armed forces.

(32) Disch. (NA) -- The nature of the applicants discharge from the armed forces is not applicable.

(33) Convict.(No) -- Applicant has never been convicted of a crime.

(34) Bond (Yes) -- Applicant has been bonded in the past.

(35) Sec. Clear. (No) -- Applicant has never received a security clearance.

(36) Height (6'1") -- Applicant is 6'1" tall.

(37) Weight (190) -- Applicant weighs 190 lbs.

(38) Handicap (No) -- Applicant has no handicaps.

(39) Phys (H7) -- Applicant is capable of heavy work in all categories of dexterity.

(40) Work Cond (I) -- Applicant wants to work inside

(41) Type (NA) -- Not applicable

(42) Steno (NA) -- Not applicable

(43) Verbal ( ) -- Space left blank because applicant is not talkative.

(44) Attitude (G) -- Applicant's attitude was good during interview.

(45) Appear (G) -- Applicant's appearance was good during interview.

(46) Workdays (5 M-F) -- Applicant seeks 5 day a week job, Monday - Friday.

(47) Shift (D) -- Applicant seeks a day-time job.

(48) Salary/Wages (3.00/H) -- Applicant seeks a wage of $3.00 per hour.

(49) Period (w) -- Applicant would like to be paid weekly.

(50) O/T (Yes) -- Applicant will accept overtime work.

(51) Health (Yes) -- Applicant would like a job offering health insurance.

(52) Vacation (Yes) -- Applicant would like a job offering vacation time off.

(53) Job Loc. (3,4,5) -- Applicant seeks job in areas 3,4 and 5 of the city.

(54) Appl. Loc. (3) -- Applicant presently lives in area 3 of the city.

(55-60) Self-explanatory

(61) Must Factors (44,45,50) -- Applicant must have a daytime job with 5 day work week, Monday-Friday with an annual vacaction.

Console Operations After the information on a job or an applicant has been manually recorded on its respective form, the data is entered at the console keyboard.

The keyboard operator signals the computer that either a job or an applicant is to be entered and that a match search is to take place. The computer responds by typing the number 1, indicating that the information pertaining to item 1 is to be typed. After doing this the operator presses the end of message key so that the computer may proceed to item 2. This process continues for every item on the form.

Within no more than fifteen seconds, should complete the attempt and automatically start printing the results. If no match is possible, the computer will simply print "no match" and the job order # or applicant social security #. If the match attempt is successful, then information will be printed out line by line. The printed data on a job or applicant will not appear in a code format but will be printed out in full. This will occur despite the fact that the data was originally entered in a code format.

The time required to print out a job order should be no more than 100 seconds. The information on an applicant, due to the larger number of data items, might require as much as 130 seconds.

Once the information has been typed by the computer the keyboard operator will tear off along the perforated line the section of paper containing the entire transaction and pass it on to the staff member who secured the job or interviewed the applicant.

Placement Actions Once the data has been returned from the console to the applicant interviewer or job developer who initiated the match search, several courses of action are possible. First, and most importantly, the initiating staff member has complete discretion as to whether the information should be passed on to the employer or applicant. He may act intuitively and disregard a match or may consult with his counterpart in job development or applicant interviewing for his opinion.

Assuming that the staff member concludes that a successful match has been obtained, both the employer and applicant must be notified. If the search was conducted while interviewing the applicant, then he immediately decides which job or jobs he is interested in. A job interview is then immediately arranged by telephone with the employer.

If the match is made in response to a job order, so that the matched applicant is not present, the staff member should telephone him to determine if he is still interested in a job and this job in particular. When an affirmative answer is obtained, the applicant is told to report to the job center as soon as possible for further instructions. The employer is then notified as to the possible placement and a job interview is arranged.

When the applicant arrives at the center:

1. The job is fully described to him and he is given a copy of the computer printed description of the job.

2. He is given a copy of the computer printed description of himself. This data will help him in filling out any forms that the employer requires.

3. He is given an AJS job Placement Card. This is to be given to the employer when he arrives for the interview. The employer subsequently notes the results of the interview and mails the card back to the AJS Center. (See example on next page.)
4. He is instructed as to how to travel to the interview from the AJS Center. He may also require instruction on how to travel to the job from his home.

At this point, the computer is notified that the applicant has been referred and that his file should not be matched until further notice. When the AJS Placement Card is returned by mail from the employer (should be returned within three work days) the computer is notified as to the results of the referral. If the computer has not been notified within five workdays, then it reports this fact. (See "No Action Notice" under Statistical Reports.

Counseling Counseling is an integral part of the system. Counseling applicants may occur at several phases during the matching process:

1. Some applicants may require counseling or other forms of remedial aid before any attempt is made to match them with a job.
2. Applicants who have been in the system for some length of time (perhaps 10 workdays) may require counseling or a redefinition of their desired jobs.
3. Applicants who have been referred to three jobs and have not been successfully placed may need counseling.

The level of counseling offered by AJS staff members will be ultimately determined by their knowledge and experience. Generally, counseling will probably have to be handled by other agencies in the city.

EXAMPLE: AJS JOB PLACEMENT CARD

EMPLOYER: PLEASE RETURN THIS CARD BY MAIL TO:

CINCINNATI URBAN LEAGUE
AUTOMATED JOB SYSTEM
3539 READING ROAD
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45229
TELE. 861-6500

JOB ORDER	I.D.	DATE	TYPE JOB	DOT CODE

APPLICANT _____
FOR POSITION OF _____

COMPANY _____
ADDRESS _____
_____

TELEPHONE _____
SEE _____
WHEN _____
HOW TO GET THERE _____

EMPLOYER: PLEASE CHECK ONE

HIRE		
REFUSED JOB		
FAILED TO REPORT TO WORK		
JOB FILLED		
NOT QUALIFIED		
FAILED COMPANY PHYS.		
FAILED COMPANY TEST		
TOOK OTHER REFERRAL		
PENDING HIRE		

AJS JOB PLACEMENT CARD

Statistical Reports In general, the system will be capable of the following types of reports.

1. Activity Reports -- These reports could be produced on a weekly, monthly or yearly basis. They could report the level of job placement activities for the last complete time period as well as accumulate all activities since the system began operation. Such reports would contain the number of: jobs entered, applicants entered, searches conducted, referrals made, placements effected, and the current level of unfilled jobs and applicants in the system.

Example AJS Activity Report

Date: 6/12/70

	JOBS ENTERED	APPL. ENTERED	SEARCHES	REF.	PLACE	EXIST. JOBS	EXIST. APPL.
COMPLETED WEEK	28	41	69	19	13	287	208
TO DATE THIS MONTH	61	73	134	52	40	287	208
LAST COMPLETE MONTH	130	109	239	84	61	266	175
TOTAL TO DATE	782	703	1485	806	527		

2. Placements by Job Type and Category -- This report would describe placements which have been effected in terms of the type of job (OJT, NOJT, and Training) and the nature of the job (professional, technical, clerical, sales; and services, direct production). The example report shown below is cumulative to date and is printed weekly.

Example: Placements by Type Job and Category

Date: 6/12/70

	OJT	NOJT	TRAIN	TOTAL
Prof, Tech	16	32	5	53
Cler, Sales	48	96	14	158
Serv. Prod.	96	191	29	316
Total	160	319	48	527

Other variations of both of the above reports are also possible.

3. 5 Day Job Notice -- On a daily basis, jobs which have been in the system for 5 days with no referrals will be printed out. A staff member will then telephone each to ensure that the job is still open and that there are no changes. OJT jobs, because of their contractual nature, will not be included in this report.

Example: 5 Day Job Notice

Job Order # 0468
Entered: 5/27
Title: Sales Clerk
DOT Code: 290
Company: Hamilton Drugs
Address: 64 Main St. 45310
Contact: Mr. Adams

4. Three Unsuccessful Referrals -- Applicants who have been referred to jobs three times without success are reported on a weekly basis.

Example: 3 Referrals

Soc. Sec. #: 047 - 28 - 3748
Title: Cook
DOT Code: 313
Name: Joe Doakes
Address: 72 Woodgrove St., 45681
Tele: 681-7346

If he desires, the staff member responsible for following up on this report could ask for and receive the applicant's complete file as well as the data concerning the jobs he was referred to.

5. No Match After 10 Days -- The names, addresses, etc. of applicants who have been on file for 10 days with no referrals are reported on a daily basis in the same format as above.

6. No Action Notice -- If the results of a job referral are not entered into the system within 5 workdays of the referral date, the computer will notify the staff member who interviewed the applicant so that he may determine the results of the job interview.

Example: No Action Notice

Interviewer I.D. #: 3
Applicant: 026 - 78 - 4217
Name: Sam Jones
Title: Truckdriver
Referred: 3/20/70
Company: Ace Warehouse
Address: 57 Whipple St. 45617
Tele: 671-3421
Contact: Melvin Stantz

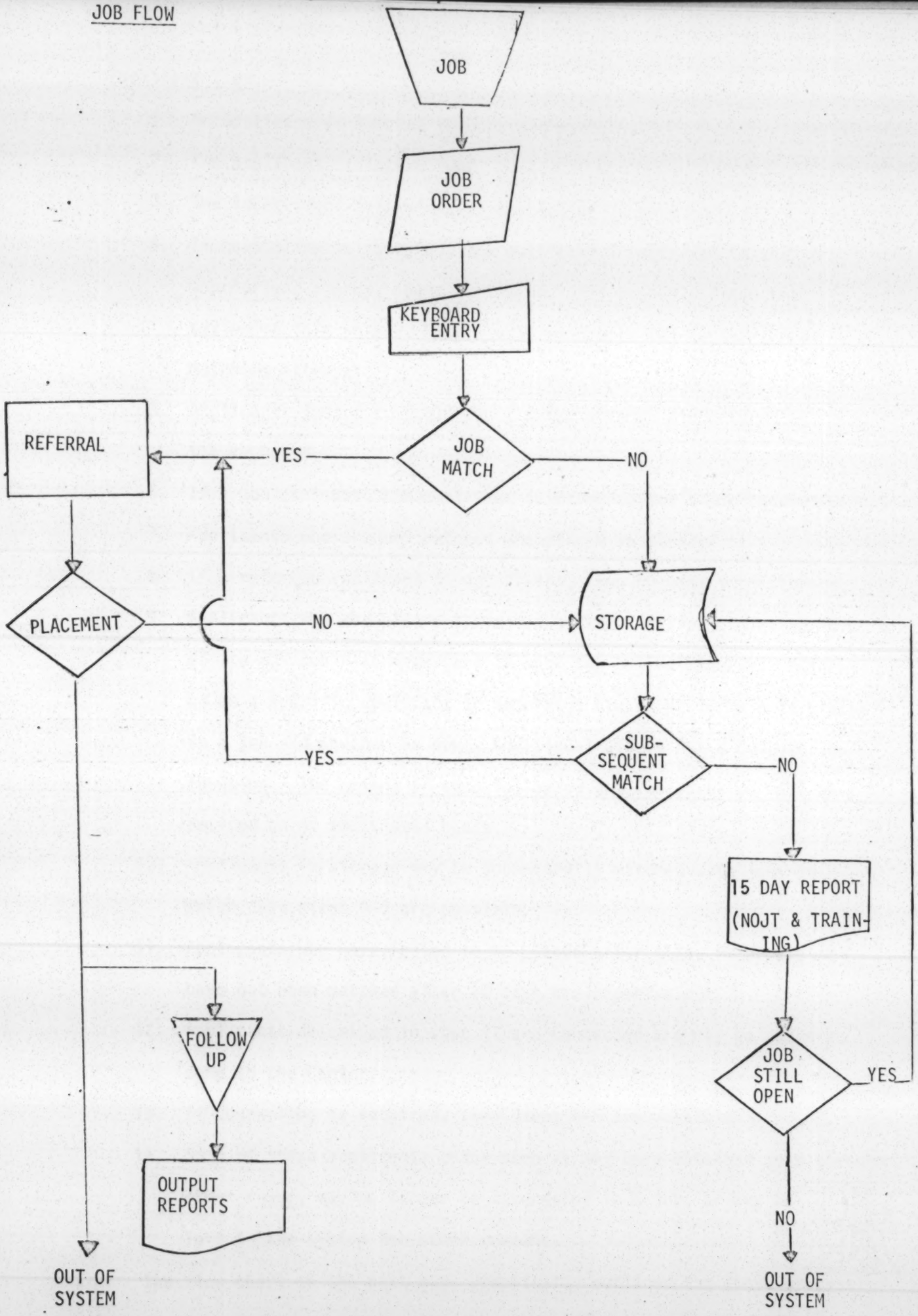
Total System Process The following summarizes the general operations of the Automated Job System. For the purposes of simplicity, the progress of jobs and applicants through the system are treated separately.

Job Flow

1. A job opening is located by the job developer or telephoned into the Center.
2. The job order is manually recorded.
3. The job order is entered into the computer at the console,
4. The computer attempts to match the job with the available file of applicants.
5. If a match is obtained, an applicant referral is made.
6. If no match is made, the job is stored.
7. If no placement is effected subsequent to referral, the job goes into storage.
8. If a placement is successful, the job leaves the system. Follow up is conducted to the extent that the results indicated on the Job Placement Card are used for output reports.
9. A job in storage may be matched at a later date with an applicant in which case steps 5-8 are possible.
10. After 5 days without a match, a job is reported out for updating.
11. If the job no longer exists, it is removed from the system. If it is still open, it is retained in storage. If there are any changes in the requirements for the job, these changes are entered on the console keyboard.

The flow chart on the next page illustrates this process.

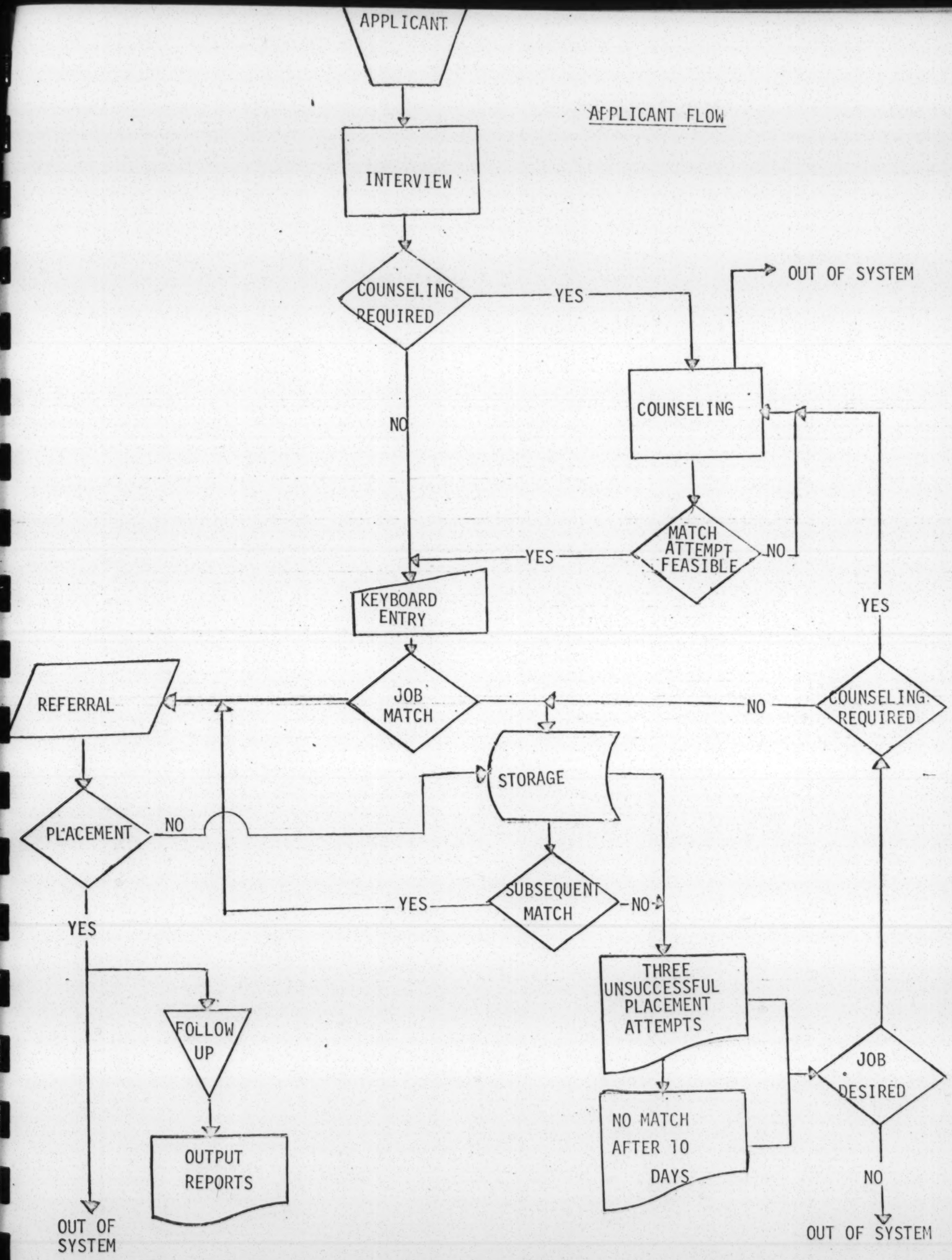
JOB FLOW


JOB
JOB ORDER
KEYBOARD ENTRY
JOB MATCH
YES
NO
REFERRAL
PLACEMENT
NO
STORAGE
YES
SUB-SEQUENT MATCH
NO
15 DAY REPORT (NOJT & TRAIN-ING)
JOB STILL OPEN
YES
NO
FOLLOW UP
OUTPUT REPORTS
OUT OF SYSTEM
OUT OF SYSTEM

Applicant Flow

1. An applicant is located through outreach.
2. The applicant is interviewed.
3. The interviewer determines if counseling is necessary.
4. If counseling is required, the applicant is referred to the appropriate agency. Some applicants will probably leave the system at this point. Others will return to the Center for a matching attempt.
5. Applicants judged suitable for a match attempt are entered at the keyboard.
6. If a job is found, the applicant is referred for a job interview.
7. Applicants who are not matched are placed in storage.
8. If a referred applicant is not placed, then he goes into storage.
9. Applicants who are placed leave the system. Follow up in the form of the AJS Job Placement Card is used for output reports. Follow-up on a specific applicant to determine how he performs once placed in a job and whether he needs additional aid is not a computerized function. The extent of such follow-up and its duration will be decided on an individual basis.
10. Applicants in storage may be subsequently matched with jobs in which case steps 6-9 are possible.
11. Applicants who have failed to be placed after three referrals or have not been matched after 10 days are reported out.
12. Applicants described in step 11 are contacted and may be asked to come to the Center.
13. If counseling is required, then steps 4-5 are possible.
14. Some of these applicants under step 11 may have obtained jobs through other means, may no longer be interested in a job, or may be lost to the system for other reasons.

The flow chart on the next page graphically outlines the above process.


APPLICANT
APPLICANT FLOW
INTERVIEW
COUNSELING REQUIRED
YES
OUT OF SYSTEM
NO
COUNSELING
MATCH ATTEMPT FEASIBLE
YES
NO
KEYBOARD ENTRY
YES
REFERRAL
JOB MATCH
NO
COUNSELING REQUIRED
STORAGE
PLACEMENT
NO
SUBSEQUENT MATCH
YES
NO
YES
THREE UNSUCCESSFUL PLACEMENT ATTEMPTS
FOLLOW UP
JOB DESIRED
NO MATCH AFTER 10 DAYS
OUTPUT REPORTS
NO
OUT OF SYSTEM
OUT OF SYSTEM

3/25/70 Wall St Journal

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST
ATLANTA 3 GA 30303

(P) 15 CENTS

M— Personnel

The Roving Kind

Penchant of Americans For Job-Hopping Vexes Companies Increasingly

Rising Unemployment Curbs Turnover Now, but the U.S. 'Quit Rate' Continues Up

What Makes Charlie Run?

By RALPH E. WINTER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

"I must get satisfaction from my work if it's going to be worthwhile for an employer to have me around," says Tom.

Tom has proved hard to please. Since getting out of the Marines 10 months ago he has had six jobs. He has been a potato chip salesman, an insurance office clerk, a taxicab driver, an iron worker on a construction job, a white collar worker in a steel plant and a youth counselor for a religious group.

"I sort of liked construction work, because I was risking my life every day, which was challenging," says Tom, who prefers to remain anonymous. But he quit that job to take a vacation and hasn't found anything since that he likes as well.

Tom is an exceptionally mobile job-hopper, but his case illustrates a long-term trend that is paining employers across the nation. Americans have been taking advantage of prolonged prosperity and labor shortages to move from job to job, continually seeking a position they like better or one that pays more or one in a more desirable area.

A Temporary Reversal

The recent rise in the unemployment rate—it reached 4.2% in February, up from 3.9% in January—has curbed job-hopping a bit, to the relief of some employers, but labor analysts say the trend can be expected to surge again as soon as the job market opens up. The "quit rate" in manufacturing, the Government's best index of job-changing, averaged 2.7% of the factory work force per month for all of 1969, compared with 2.5% in 1968. The 1969 figure is up 80% from the 1.5% monthly average of 1964.

"The grass has always appeared greener on the other side of the fence," says George H. Hunter Jr., vice president of industrial relations at Whittaker Corp., a highly diversified Los Angeles company. "But people nowadays are less afraid to jump over and try it, because they're looking for opportunity, not security."

The problem isn't confined to workers in manufacturing. John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. says turnover among the 6,000 employes at its home office in Boston was 35.5% last year. The rate in 1964 was 20.7%. The far-flung Bell System had a quit rate of 21% in 1969, half again as high as the rate five years earlier.

Professionals and executives are restless, too. The American Management Association and the National Industrial Conference Board say management turnover statistics are hard to come by, but personnel men assert that many trade conferences turn out to be primarily recruiting gatherings.

Can't Be Choosy

The relative tightness of the labor market during the prosperity of recent years has forced employers to lower standards for hiring. This contributes to instability. "We're hiring people we wouldn't ordinarily let in the door," says Frank Gleason Jr., chairman of Copeland Refrigerator Corp. in Sidney, Ohio. "As a result, the turnover is so bad that we don't give physical examinations until the end of the third week of employment. By that time eight out of 10 have quit anyway."

Another factor has been Government pressure on companies to hire and train the hard-core unemployed. These workers aren't used to the discipline of going to work regularly, and the turnover among them is great. For instance, Armco Steel Corp. last year took 80 men into a program for the hard-core unemployed in Kansas City. Forty men finished the six-month training program. (Of those, however, 36 still are employed by the company.)

Turnover tends to be higher among younger workers. And unskilled workers have a higher turnover rate than skilled workers. The latter trend is reflected in employment statistics of foundries, which hire many unskilled laborers. A total of 141 foundries responding to a survey of the National Foundry Association reported that during 1968 they hired 18,500 persons, equal to 59% of their 31,000-man work force. As of April 1969, only 4,800, or 26% of those workers still were on the payroll.

Many specialized jobs, including some on higher levels, have become interchangeable from company to company. A computer programmer, for instance, can handle insurance policies, paint inventories or steel payrolls without shifting gears.

PR Is Fluid

Public relations is another field where work is largely interchangeable and job-hopping is prevalent. When Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co. recently sought a public relations director, it got 89 resumes. The man finally selected, Anthony J. Torticini, is only 27, but the Cleveland-Cliffs job is his fifth.

The growing number of working wives—16,361,000 wives exclusive of farming, were in the labor force as of last month—builds turnover, too. Employers say many women work temporarily to meet a temporary financial crisis in the family, or to buy a luxury item like a color television set, then quit. Others leave their jobs when they become pregnant.

The urge to change jobs is giving employers fits. For one thing, it's expensive to recruit new workers. R. G. Barry Corp., a Columbus, Ohio, maker of slippers, says it costs an average of $273 to fill the least skilled positions, such as materials handler, and $1,712 to fill positions requiring some skills, such as maintenance mechanic.

On the executive level the cost soars. The cost of replacing a sales executive or division manager can be $25,000 or more, personnel men say.

High turnover hurts efficiency. "You can't maintain regular production when you have 25 new faces every Monday morning," says a spokesman at Midland-Ross Corp., which had to hire more than 2,500 men to keep a 1,000-man work force during a 20-month period at its

Please Turn to Page 24, Column 4

The Roving Kind: Job-Hopping Penchai Vexes Many Compani

Continued From First Page

Maumee, Ohio, auto frame plant. The comp figures the resultant inefficiency cost it n than $6 million.

At the Mt. Vernon, Ind., plant of Babcoc Wilcox Co.,the turnover last year was al 65%. The company maintains that this cau it to fall so far behind on building pressure sels for nuclear power plants that custom pulled out 14 of the 36 on order and sent the ders to other contractors. Babcock & Wil particularly mourns the loss of welders. costs more than $5,000 to train such a m company officials say.

Employers use a broad range of tactics reduce turnover, but most report only moc ate success. One Milwaukee company has "buddy system" that pairs a new worker w a more senior employe to ease the newcor through the critical first few weeks. Hous Lighting & Power Co. adjusts working ho for working wives to suit their convenience

Companies try to improve communicati with their workers. Many interview work who are quitting to find out their problems. I this has limited success. "We get 'good' r sons, not the real reasons," frets one exe tive.

Companies say hanging on to the peo they want isn't easy. "It's an extremely co plex problem," says a Bell System person man. This is because there are many r sons for leaving. Many companies, howev have discovered that "the little things" oft are the reason for a departure. The irritatio range from the location of the parking lot the use of a time clock to a personality cc flict with a supervisor.

We Want Him

Employers acknowledge that they contr ute to turnover by eagerly pirating worke they want from other companies. Gone is t day when a man with several job changes his resume was considered suspect. Executiv now accept the principle of moving around get ahead.

Review the track record of C. E. (Charli Stump, a middle management data-processi executive. Mustered out of the Air Force 1964 with several years of computer expe ence,he signed on as a computer operator wi Mutual of Omaha Insurance Co. at $375 month. Seventeen months later he was maki $406, not enough for an ambitious young m with four children. And Charlie wanted to g into programing.

He took a vacation in March of 1966 to jc hunt and hired on with Glidden Co., Clevelan now part of SCM Corp., as a programmer an analyst at $610 a month. "I really liked Gli den," Charlie says, "but I became dise chanted because handling their payroll showe me people with college degrees were makin more than I was even though they didn't seer to be making as great a contribution."

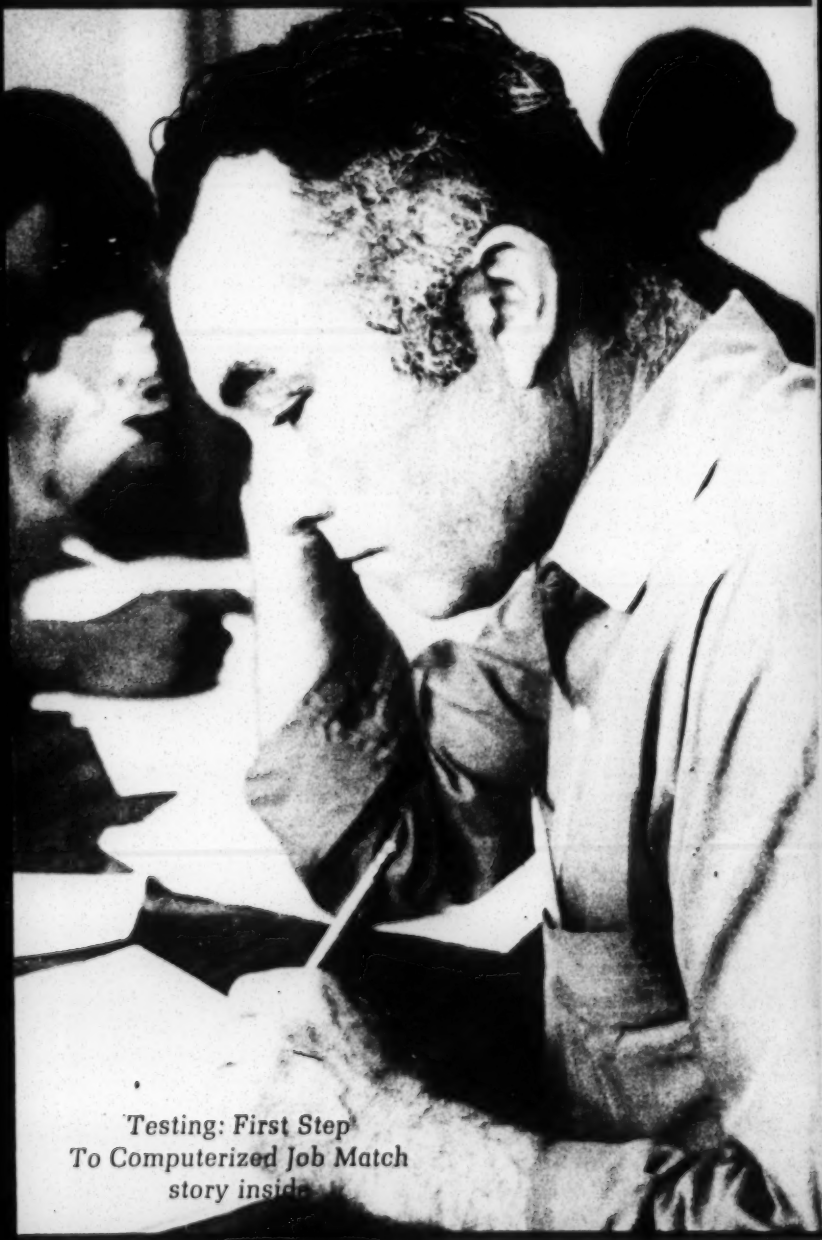
Statistical Tabulating Corp., a compute service company that Charlie had been moor lighting for, offered a full-time job. "I arbitra ily threw out the figure of $10,000 a year," h says. Impressed with the work he had done fo them, they agreed. Within four months he wa a program manger earning $10,500 but workin 90 to 130 hours a week. That left no time at a for his hobby, picking a banjo in a bluegras band.

Then Medical Mutual of Cleveland, a healt insurance firm establishing its own compute center, offered him a job as manager of sys tems and programing at $12,000 a year. H decided to jump again. That job lasted tw years and might have been a career excep that top management "wasn't really comput er-oriented," he decided.

By that time, Charlie figured he was ready for general manager of a computer department anyway, so last July he gave six weeks notice and went job hunting. "That wasn't very good timing because everyone was on vacation," he says. But eventually he landed a job as administrator of the Cleveland branch of Computer Service Centers Inc. at "a substantial increase in salary." He has since been told his prospects are bright to become president of a service bureau within the corporation.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MANPOWER



Testing: First Step
To Computerized Job Match
story inside

DIGEST

WALL STREET JOURNAL
MONDAY NOV 21, 1966 PAGE 20

Relocation-Integration Project in Minnesota Is Reported Successful

* * *

Fifty Families, Mostly Negro, Moved to All-White Town After Armour Plant Closing

CHICAGO — (UPI) — Fifty packinghouse workers and their families—most of them Negroes—were relocated without incident in a small Minnesota town despite growing racial tension in some parts of the nation and a local housing shortage, it was reported.

The workers' families were relocated in previously all-white Worthington, Minn., a town of 8,000 about 60 miles east of Sioux Falls, S.D. The 50 families were moved to Worthington during the summer of 1965 following closedown of an Armour & Co. plant at Kansas City, Kan.

George P. Shultz, dean of the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business and cochairman of the Armour-union Automation Fund Committee, released a report on a program for helping 1,900 workers displaced by the Kansas City shutdown. The report was prepared by University of Wisconsin economist James L. Stern.

The committee prepared the way for introduction of Worthington's first Negroes, the report said, by meeting with business, civic and political leaders and real estate interests long before the families moved.

The town's newspaper, the Worthington Globe, "helped immeasurably" with sympathetic reports on committee activities, and by organizing meetings to prepare the townspeople for the 35 Negro families and three families of Latin American ancestry, the report said.

"Integration of this number of minority group members into a town of 10,000 isn't a problem of the same magnitude faced by urban centers today, yet the accomplishment shouldn't be underrated," Mr. Stern said.

Of the 1,900 workers who were displaced in Kansas City, 801 found jobs with other employers there, 101 were hired by another Armour plant there, 183 were transferred to Armour plants elsewhere and 220 were placed on pensions, he said.

Of the remainder, some were in retraining programs, some have withdrawn from the labor force, some have left the area and the status of about 10% is unknown, Mr. Stern said.

The Automation Fund Committee is a joint labor-management agency established in 1959 under agreement between Armour and two AFL-CIO unions, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America and the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers.

Manpower – Relocation

Relocation Allowances Help Jobless Workers

[10-19-68]

[from AFL-CIO News]

Experimental relocation of jobless workers to areas where they are able to find and keep jobs has proven successful, according to the U.S. Dept. of Labor.

A review of 18 relocation projects for 3,141 disadvantaged workers shows that 88 percent of the relocations were successful. The average individual allowance cost for the participants in these projects was $325.

The projects covered the 12-month period ending June 30. Compared to the previous two years, there was marked improvement in the percentage of successful relocations, coupled with substantial reduction in average individual allowance costs.

During 1965, there were 705 relocations with a 70 percent success rate. In 1966 and 1967, there were 2,488 relocations and the success rate climbed to 82 percent. The average individual allowance costs for those years was $442.

A higher success rate also was achieved in 1968, in spite of the fact that the workers involved were those with lower educational and skill levels, the Department said. They also had poorer employment records and a much higher percentage of them were collecting welfare or unemployment insurance benefits.

The success of the experimental relocation programs was also demonstrated by higher wages and improved occupational categories.

Although all participants were unemployed when they entered the program, the average wage they earned on their last regular job has been $1.80 an hour. The average wage on their new job rose to $2.25 an hour. Also, most of the individuals moved from unskilled and entry level jobs into semiskilled, skilled and managerial jobs.

M— Relocation

5

Major Unemployment Factor

Labor Dept. Focusing On Drinking Problem

Washington (AP) — The Labor Department says it is putting new emphasis on alcoholism as a major cause of ghetto unemployment.

"Alcoholism is a factor to be faced in placing participants in national manpower training and development programs which aim at full employment in an expanding economy," the department's Manpower Administration said in a statement.

"A good job is also a factor in helping such persons to battle their problem."

The statement said increasing attention will be focused on the problem in surveys into causes and cures for high rates of unemployment in big city ghettos.

"A typical study, made in Milwaukee by case workers and counselors, revealed that among people in the slums who were not working, 15 percent were alcoholics or heavy drinkers, affecting their employability," the report said.

"In St. Paul, Minn., an alcoholism counselor was added to the public employment staff to work especially with alcoholics.

"In six months, 225 alcoholics were placed in jobs, and 75 percent of them are still at work and making good."

There are an estimated six million aicoholies in the United States — roughly three percent of the population — who cost the economy $4 billion a year.

The nationwide system of federal-state employment offices already offers special help to alcoholics, who are officiall designated as handicapped persons in job applications, th statement said.

A job applicant must designate himself as an alcoholic, or present a medical report with a doctor's diagnosis to be so designated.

"The department strengthened these efforts by drafting a comprehensive guide for counselor and interviewers dealing wi h alcoholics in the more than 20 0 local public employment offices," the report said.

Negroes Are Urged To Stay in Delta

Mound Bayou, Miss. (UPI)—The poor Negroes of the Mississippi Delta are being urged to turn to the rich earth of their own delta to help keep their children from flocking to the North's urban ghettos.

Dr. H. Jack Geiger, head of the Tufts University Delta Community Health Center and a prime mover in the stay-where-you-are campaign, said a survey of the area's high school graduates this year showed that 80 percent were out of the state by September.

"The day after graduation all you see are the people and their kids, with suitcases, standing along the highway waiting for the next bus," Geiger said.

Geiger, who is white, and his fellow officials at the center, John Hatch, a Negro social worker, and sanitation engineer Andy James, also a Negro, deplore the end result of this migration.

Geiger said the movement must be reversed because "the big cities tend to crush those over 30 and make the young wild.

"Here a man may be a deacon in his church," he said. "In the city he may be materially better off, but he loses that sense of belonging, his sense of dignity and of identity."

He is using a small number of high school students in laboratory work at the center, attempting to spur an interest in higher education. James also employs younger men in his work for the same purpose.

But more importantly the Tufts' team members were the leaders in formation of a cooperative farm, a 120-acre project that grew enough greens, beans, potatoes and cantaloupes to feed the 12,000 hungry people who live in northern Boliver County.

Ultimately, the men hope that a cannery they want to operate in conjunction with the farm will provide food needed and make the project self-sufficient.

WASHINGTON POST DEC 16 1968

New-Type Farmer Bows at Bureau Session

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Occasionally, at the American Farm Bureau Federation's 50th annual meeting here this week, you saw a man whose ill-fitting clothes looked like they came from a mail-order house. And, some of the wives, especially the older ones, were dowdy and a trifle hefty.

But by the looks of most of the delegates, the cornball ear in American agriculture appeared over. The men wore well-cut suits of good-quality cloth. The wives were often fashionably dressed, and a few of the younger ones were in miniskirts. One or two wore the same silly, elegant hairdos you see at Washington cocktail parties. Many of the delegates have college degrees, and they speak with fluency, though with rural twangs.

No doubt the kind of people who attend national farm conventions at roomy, comfortable hotels like the Muehlebach here are more prosperous and better informed than many of their neighbors.

Reflects New Type

But conversations with farm-related trades and professions at this convention left the impression that the new style in clothing reflects a new style in farmers.

Those here, at least, were not dirt-farmer or sod-buster types, although the Agriculture Department tells us that more than half the Nation's 3.1 million farmers can't really make a living.

For the most part, those interviewed were well-informed, skillful businessmen who knew an astonishing lot about modern technology and Federal laws and programs affecting their crops and livestock.

They were men who handle a great deal of money each year, use a great deal of money each year, use a great deal of machinery, make thousands of decisions requiring considerable knowledge and judgment, and manage properties that in value would be counted a fortune by an urban executive with a higher net income.

One farmer from a plains state, for example, a youthful, well-dressed, crew-cut man who modestly described his operation as "not so big," said he and his brother farmed 1500 acres worth about $250 an acre, or $375,000. They have $80,000 worth of machinery. They raise wheat, corn, beans and cattle, with annual gross sales of $200,000—which puts them up very high compared with the vast majority of farms. They charge a lot of expenses to the business, take a salary of $700 a month and end up with a net of $12,000 each.

Share Outlook

This farmer and others with sales ranging down to only a tenth as great all seemed to share the same outlook: A fierce sense of being an independent, self-reliant businessman; a man who "makes decisions" and "runs things," and a taxpaying, responsible person in the community, who thinks he can do better in agriculture if Government aid is phased out and who says he is anxious to try.

Another thing they seemed to share was a conservative outlook. For example, the policy resolutions adopted by the convention came out against communism, in favor of free enterprise, a smaller central Government, a balanced budget. The resolutions favored overturning the one-man one-vote requirement for State legislatures. They deplored leniency in welfare matters and they did not mention civil rights at all.

And, in one program statement that was warmly supported by everyone interviewed, they called for summary expulsion and dismissal of students and faculty members involved in campus disorders, if necessary putting them "under peace bond not to return."

Why the conservatism? One suggested answer is that despite their increasing modernism in dress, education and business techniques, today's farmers still retain a strong measure of the old rural ethics of an earlier day, reinforced by their pride, as businessmen, in standing on their own feet.

(cont'd on p. 6)

NEW TYPE FARMER
(continued)

Don't Like Aid

Though they may take it, farmers don't really like Government aid. They feel revulsion at being classified, in the public mind, as panhandlers feeding at the public trough, along with "welfare bums who are not doing any work, "as one man put it.

Then, too, they aren't familiar in the flesh with day-to-day urban problems. Discussing the Farm Bureau's failure to include in its resolutions any civil rights provisions, one staffer said that most of the Midwestern farmers who make up one of the two great blocs in the Farm Bureau (the other is Southerners) "have never confronted a Negro in their lives, so they listen to the Southerners' view on civil rights" when they come to the convention to draft resolutions. "They just have no experience on this," he said.

The views of Farm Bureau members are not typical of all farmers, though the Bureau is the biggest of farm groups with 1.796 million "farm families" claimed as members. More liberal onees join the National Farmers Union and other organizations. (The farm population as a whole is only 6 per cent of the national population.)

There was a lot of hoopla at the convention about farm worker unions and strikes, stimulated by the national consumer grape boycott in support of efforts by Cesar Chavez to organize California grape pickers.

Deeply Fear Strikes

Farmers — particularly in states like California and Michigan that grow a lot of fruits and vegetables—deeply fear strikes because a work stoppage of only a few weeks at a crucial time like harvest can destroy a whole crop of perishables.

The Farm Bureau's traditional posture has been against Government recognition of farm worker unions. But this year, at California's request, the Farm Bureau proposed a fallback position in case the issue should get hot in Congress: The Farm Bureau might be willing to have Federal law recognize open-shop unions, with the law enforced by the courts rather than Federal agencies. But as a quid-pro-quo, the Congress should include a flat ban on all secondary and product boycotts and strikes that endanger perishable commodities.

The most important issue at the convention was basic farm policy.

For years, the Farm Bureau has been preaching the gospel that agriculture must do away with the current system of Government price supports and production controls on grains and some other crops, and let the supply-and-demand mechanism of the market place take over.

Demand Repeated

The same demand was repeated at this year's convention. "We could do it in five years for the grains," said one official estimating the time needed for the transition, adding that it would reduce the $6-billion Federal farm budget by at least $2 billion a year.

Opponents of this view, like the National Farmers Union and successive Democratic administrations, have always argued that without the Government programs, enormous crop surpluses would build up, driving market prices sharply down and throwing many medium and small farmers out of agriculture and into urban unemployment lines.

The Bureau's counter-argument is that the existing system of controls and supports locks thousands of inefficient, marginal producers into the production cycle and helps to create the very surplus threat that the system is seeking to avoid.

With long-term programs of paying farmers to retire some whole farms from production, the Bureau believes, surpluses could be held down while controls were taken off the remaining farms. Persons who aren't really making a living out of farming could be trained for other jobs. And the efficient, low-cost producer would survive and prosper.

Expect Nixon to Act

Farm Bureau delegates assembled here this week like a congress of victors. Nixon, as the new president, more sympathetic to their views, would, they said, do what no other had: wipe out the hated system of controls, constraints and what they regarded as price-fixing.

But some dissensions in the Bureau's own ranks pointed toward the soft underbelly of its hopes and prospects. A big bloc of the Bureau's members are Midwestern grain farmers, but another big group are southerners. Perhaps more heavily than any other region, the South depends on Government aid programs for its premier crops—cotton, tobacco and peanuts. Many Southern farmers—big and small, rich and poor— simply don't think they could do as well in a market economy.

Even here, in the stronghold of free enterprise, the Georgia delegation recommended against eliminating the Government programs and there was strong minority sentiment along the same lines in the delegations from Alabama and some other Southern states.

NEW YORK TIMES DEC 1968

Organization Is Set Up to Help Local Groups Applying for Aid

By JOHN KIFNER

The Ford Foundation announced yesterday a $3.5-million grant to be used mostly to help local community groups get money from government and private agencies.

The Ford grant was to a new organization that is to be called the Center for Community Change. The center will also work to focus national attention on issues related to poverty and will press for government programs and practices responsive to the needs of the poor.

The nonprofit center was formed by the merger of three existing private organizations in the antipoverty field: the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, the Citizens Advocate Center, and the Social Development Corporation.

Much of the organization's work, Ford officials said, will be devoted to assisting local community-based groups in developing specific programs and to aiding them in writing proposals for funds from government and private agencies.

Self-help groups of urban and rural poor people frequently are not aware of what funds might be available for their projects or lack the expertise to write a proposal that would be attractive to those passing on applications for grants.

"American society has begun to form new patterns of social and economic change at the community level," said McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, in announcing the center's formation. "We are slowly learning that grave problems like unemployment and underemployment, civic decay and despair, and miseducation demand both massive mined community competence, public resources and deter-

"We believe that the Center for Community Change is a powerful new instrument for helping community groups to gain the skills they need to deal productively with public and private funding sources and to take effective action in such fields as housing, business, employment, education and health," he continued, adding:

The president of the new organization is Jack T. Conway, former executive director of the Industrial Union Department of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and former deputy director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Members of the center's board of directors include Julian Bond, a Negro member of the Georgia Legislature; Frank Mankiewicz, former press secretary to Senator Robert F. Kennedy; Burke Marshall, former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights; Martin Meyerson, president of the State University of New York at Buffalo, Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, and Paul Ylvisaker, Commissioner of the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs.

The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty was founded in 1965 with a $1-million grant from the United Auto Workers as a private counterpart to, and a watchdog over, the Government's antipoverty program. It has trained community workers, successfully lobbied against the cutting off of funds to a politically controversial Mississippi Headstart program, and sponsored a study of hunger and malnutrition.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MANPOWER RESEARCH BULLETIN NUMBER 15 MARCH 1967

M — Training

SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

A Pathway to Regular Employment

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR: W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

Manpower Administration

ILS

RESEARCH
SERIES NO. 2

Mayrear - Tracy

Social Psychological Factors Associated With Responses to Retraining

Final Report of
Research Grant
91-52-66-56

THE INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES
APPALACHIAN CENTER
WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY
MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA

Manpower — (Training)

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Saturday, October 5, 1968

HEW Rules Out Burson's Job Plan

By ACHSAH NESMITH

State Welfare director William H. Burson is withdrawing his proposal to establish job programs to employ welfare mothers and dropouts because of a threatened cut-off of federal welfare funds.

Miss Mary Switzer, administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, wrote Burson that "Georgia will no longer have an AFDC (Aid to Families of Dependent Children plan, which can be approved for continued federal financial participation" if he goes through with his proposal, Burson said.

Burson had planned to have his department contract with schools, and hospitals and other public non-profit institutions to employ welfare mothers and their teen-age children not in school as teacher, nurse, dietician, recreation, child care and social work aides. The child care aids, particularly, would help make it possible to provide enough day care centers to allow other mothers now receiving welfare to work.

He announced July 3 that he would conduct the program in counties not designated as "target counties" by the U.S. Secretary of Labor for its work incentive program, and pattern the Georgia program after that program, which is scheduled to begin next July 1 in not over 15 Georgia counties.

Burson said Miss Switzer took the position that only the Secretary of Labor could establish and conduct such programs and that his proposal was "inconsistent with . . . congressional intent."

He added that her decision "to cut off federal funds for welfare payments to dependent children if we implement my plan to place the able-bodied welfare recipients in meaningful and dignified employment leaves me with no alternative but to withdraw the proposal.

"We dispute Miss Switzer's contention that Congress did not intend for state welfare departments to operate job programs where state labor departments do not or cannot operate them," he said, but added that he could not afford to jeopardize the $38,832,700 in federal funds for dependent children this year.

"As important as is the point we wish to make through establishing employment for welfare adults, it is more important that we assure the provision of the necessities of life for children who cannot help themselves," he said.

He said the purpose of his proposal was "to serve the social-economic best interest of the State of Georgia by making it possible for all its 159 counties needing and desiring work incentive type programs to have them," adding that it would "make our welfare dollars do double duty."

LOS ANGELES HERALD - EXAMINER
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
OCTOBER 1, 1968

Saugus Center Pact OKd

Los Angeles has formally entered into a contract with the Watts Labor Community Action Committee under which the Saugus Rehabilitation Center will be operated on a year-round basis as a training and recreation center for youngsters.

Mayor Sam Yorty signed the contracts which allow WLCAC to operate a three-point program at the 581-acre Saugus facility.

Elements of the program are:

- A 12-month work-training program aimed primarily at giving recently discharged veterans who have no trade training in construction work and marine cook and steward work.
- A weekend program of recreation, work and remedial education for 14-and 15-year olds in the Neighborhood Youth Corps as well as so-called disadvantaged school youngsters.
- A summer program next year for underprivileged youths similar to the program WLCAC operated this year for 4000 children.

At the same time, WLCAC will engage in a research and planning program to develop further uses for the Saugus acreage.

In a parallel development yesterday, City Council's Public Works Committee ordered a study of the possibility of freeing Los Angeles from the real estate tax. It now must pay taxes on the Rehabilitation Center.

Under a technicality in the law, the city is billed for real property taxes on the Saugus land because it is located in the county and outside the city limits.

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR Fri., Oct. 4, 1968

$40,000 Provided Low-income Citizens

More than $40,000 in loans and outright grants to help low-income Minneapolis residents buy homes or start new businesses have been approved under two new programs.

The two programs have been operating for about 45 days using money which has been anonymously contributed by a group of Minneapolis families. Applications for the loans and grants are reviewed and approved by two task forces of the Minneapolis Urban Coalition.

Grants of up to $700 are available for down payments on homes. Harry Jensen, a vice-president of Northwestern National Bank who co-chairs the task force in charge of the down payment grants, said the grants are enough to obtain financing for homes costing up to $17,000.

Jensen said at a coalition meeting Thursday that so far his task force has received 100 applications for down payment grants and approved 51. The applicants each, and the total amount received an average of $443 approved is $22,583.

51 Recipients

Of the 51 recipients, 35 were black, 12 were white, five were Indian and one was Mexican, Jensen said. AFDC mothers account for 27 of the recipients.

They have an average of four children. Thirty of the recipients have four or more children, he said.

The loan program, which provides "seed money" to start new businesses, has so far loaned $17,900.

Borrowers have been able to use the money to get $65,000 more from the Small Business Administration and other sources of financing.

The money which has been loaned so far as been used to start five new businesses, according to coalition officials. They include a restaurant, a tailor shop, a beauty shop and two others that officials did not identify by classification.

SCHOOL FAILURES (continued)

Mr. McLaren has found this observation supported by students. Often children with learning disabilities are highly sensitive to the nuances of the graphic or pictorial arts or they achieve their most satisfying rewards in such areas.

The most serious problem, Mr. McLaren says, is recognizing the child with a learning disability before his future is seriously jeopardized. Without early diagnosis, many children iwth learning disabilities never achieve their full potential. Even though they are intelligent enough to assimilate college material, they are refused entrance to college or unable to keep pace with their classmates.

To accommodate these students, Mr. McLaren would like to see special programs in colleges to provide for the needs of those with learning disabilities. As another remedy he suggests that special schools could be extended to the college level using methods that have been used successfully in secondary schools.

A recently formed commission, the National Advisory Committee on Dyslexia and Related Disorders, has been investigating approaches to the problems of learning disabilities. Dr. Clements, who is acquainted with members of the committee, says that the indications are that the group will recommend that H.E.W. become active in the sponsorship of research and work in this field.

OVER →

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1968

Elizabeth's Welfare Burden Is Like Cities' Across Nation

By BILL KOVACH
Special to The New York Times

ELIZABETH, N. J., Oct. 4—The problem of dealing with those unable to help themselves is deeply imbedded in the daily welfare operation of this city and reaches out to touch, in one way or another, the lives of everyone here.

A decade of increasing concern at the state and Federal levels for the disadvantaged and the urban centers in which they congregate has led to new and constantly revised laws. These laws have come to rest here, at the point of implementation, with local government.

Elizabeth, then, like most industrial cities, is confronted with what is becoming a national welfare dilemma. As more funds and civic energy are poured into welfare, less is available for rebuilding the cities' rottening slums and deteriorating schools.

Migration from Country

As the flow of rural imigrants—many of whom go on welfare—to the cities has increased, so too has the outward movement of the middle-class population to the suburbs, thereby draining the city not only of needed tax resources but also of much of its creative force.

In Elizabeth, 17 per cent of the welfare caseload is from out-of-state applicants and the number will be higher next year. The caseload has jumped from 3,900 to 5,320 in the two years between 1965 and 1967, and each case represents at least four persons.

"We have become a sponge to absorb all the problems of an urban society," is the way John J. McGoohan describes the situation in which a local official now finds himself.

Although he speaks for Elizabeth, his words are echoed by city officials across the country dealing with people caught up in problems they cannot solve alone. These people and their problems are a primary concern of almost every city in America today.

Each city has its specialist charged with solving this problem and each has his particular title.

For Mr. McGoohan, the title is Director of Health, Welfare, Housing and Inspectors. It is a job as large as its title, but it is around the word "welfare" that his problems tend to center.

"When you deal with the welfare of people—the basis of their living—you always find yourself involved in the whole range of city life," he said in an interview this week.

Then, waving to a pile of correspondence and an appointment book filled with the cumbersome titles of public and private agencies of urban concern, he added:

"We here are on the firing line every day, attempting to implement laws passed at the federal and state level for the purpose of solving urban problems.

"The indications are clear that we can't effectively enforce the laws that have been passed to ease these problems."

Recipients Caught in Web

Those on the other end are caught in a web themselves.

One woman welfare recipient who feels trapped by the system said:

"If I could, I would go back to Missouri. That's where my people are. But the welfare checked and they told me the law there is that I can't come back there to go on welfare—so I'm stuck here and there's nothing I can do and no place I can go."

This hopelessness of people and the conflict between needs and laws is the universal point upon which the welfare programs of cities across the country constantly stick.

The New York Times · Oct. 5, 1968

Elizabeth, except briefly in the flickering spotlight of early American history—the first Colonial Congress was held here in 1668; Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton were educated here, and John Hollard built the world's first successful submarine here—has developed much the same as other cities across the country.

Fronting on Staten Island Sound and Newark Bay, 14 miles west of New York City, it was a natural site for the development of an industrial city.

Light manufacturing, chemicals and oil industries came at the turn of the century, setting the pattern for the city's development as an industrial center. For a half century or so, the city was kept busy tooling up for war production, soaring on the winds of prosperity or fighting its way out of despression.

Through it all, as the city grew to its present size of 120,000 people, currents moved unnoticed. Almost half of its houses were built by 1929 and many were decaying. A vast migration of people—unskilled, uneducated and untrained—had been moving from the South to the industrial centers of the North.

Elizabeth, like cities all over the country, had become a part of the "urban crisis." Nineteen per cent of all her housing was labeled substandard; a shift to the suburbs by the population was draining tax resources; welfare case loads for the city alone jumped from 3,990 to 5,320 cases in two years (1965-67).

Almost any card in the welfare caseworker's file tells the story, as does the following case.

Nearly two years ago, a welfare family (the wife, husband and 11 children) was dislocated from adjacent Hudson County when their home was condemned. They moved into an unoccupied house in the heart of an urban-renewal project in Elizabeth.

Whole Set of Problems

"When we found them there," says Mr. McGoohan, "we came up against a whole effort to rebuild the city."

He could not move them from the house unless he could find alternative housing—and there was none available. Acquisition of this, the last remaining piece of private property within the renewal area, had to be delayed.

Meanwhile, Mr. McGoohan required the landlord to make repairs to make the house safe to live in. The net effect was to increase the rent and thereby the amount of public assistance the family required. It also could raise the cost of the property to the city when it was eventually acquired for the renewal project.

And there the problem rests, nearly two years later, hung on the twin problems of substandard housing and welfare.

Victor W. Liotta, director of the Union County Welfare Office, offered further insight into the city and its welfare predicament.

"The cities act as a magnet, drawing people without jobs, or without good jobs, from all over the country," he said. "When they come, if the jobs don't work out, they wind up on our welfare rolls."

People without means must establish a residence to apply for welfare. The only residence most can afford are the very cheapest of houses. These are found in city tenements.

Once they are established in such dwellings, the city assumes their responsibility. Without enough low-cost housing, the city finds there is no place to move them without prohibitive costs.

"The simple fact is the cities are not and cannot move fast enough to clear substandard housing of people and replace them with adequate low-cost units," Mr. Liotta said.

These are problems, Elizabeth's welfare experts agree, that the city is hard put to solve, no matter how much financial aid is offered by federal and state governments.

In a county that now pays $14.37 per capita to support welfare costs of $8,209,996 this year, Elizabeth has a city tax rate of $7.51—higher than 13 other communities in the county. To go higher might prompt even more taxpayers to move from the city.

"In the last analysis," Mr. McGoohan said, "if we could somehow maintain a relatively stable population of relief cases we might be able to attack the problem sensibly.

"As it is now, substandard housing refills faster than we can vacate it and programs designed to deal with 500 people usually must be applied to 800 people because of the influx occurring between the time the program is conceived and put into effect."

The movement of transients to New Jersey and other northern states with liberal welfare programs is seen by the County Welfare Director, Mr. Liotta, as welfare's central problem.

"There is a desperate need for a national reorganization." Mr. Liotta said. "There must be some national standards set so that a welfare recipient in any given state is as well off as he would be in any other.

"Under the present system — with states determining much of the basic structure of the welfare program—a state like ours that sees its job as one of meeting existing and necessary needs tends to become a recipient state."

Both Mr. Liotta and Mr. McGoohan are encouraged, however, by signs that these local problems are being recognized higher up.

Easing the city and county financial burden, coupled with better national coordination, "could help stabilize the problem," Mr. Liotta concluded.

Week of September 30, 1968

Manpower — Training

7,000 TO BE TRAINED UNDER RECORD
$9.1 MILLION URBAN LEAGUE CONTRACT

WASHINGTON -- Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has announced approval of a $9.1 million contract with the National Urban League, the largest single contract in the six-year history of the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The on-the-job training contract will provide for the training of 7,000 hard-core disadvantaged in 26 cities.

Urban league Director Whitney M. Young, Jr. and Secretary Wirtz signed the record agreement.

The Labor Secretary expressed confidence that "the Urban League would continue in its successful efforts to place the disadvantaged jobless into worthwhile and permanent jobs.

"The Urban League has proven to be one of the most productive organizations in reaching those disadvantaged individuals who will benefit most from job training and placement programs", Wirtz said.

"More than 18,000 jobless or underemployed persons have been placed in jobs to date through Urban League programs," he added.

The Urban League has been given 75 contracts in the past four years to train more than 22,000 persons in 45 cities.

Mr. Young said that "the new contract will assure many more minority citizens in this country the economic means for fuller participation in the actuality of the American dream."

(MORE)

"Such confidence between public and private agencies means not only jobs but enhances the leadership and motivation in Black communities nation-wide. The true spirit of partnership is manifest here today," he said.

The new contract calls for training slots requiring anywhere from 4 to 52 weeks of on-the-job instruction. Practically all types of semiskilled and skilled occupations available in a big city will be developed for 6,580 jobless persons and opportunities for 420 persons who need their skills upgraded to earn a decent wage.

The Labor Department contract earmarks $8.8 million for distribution through subcontracts to Urban League affiliates in the 26 cities, with the balance of $331,799 being retained by the National Urban League for administration of the program over an 18-month period.

The largest trainee and dollar amount has been allocated to four Urban League affiliates in California with 1,250 trainees and $1.5 million. The affiliates are in Los Angeles, 550 trainees, $691,430; San Francisco, 400, $502,850; Oakland, 200, $251,430, and San Bernadino, 100, $125,718.

New York State also has four Urban League cities with a total of 950 trainess and $1,194,286 in funds. The cities are Buffalo, 350 trainees, $439,999; New York City, 200, $251,429; Rochester, 200, $251,429; and Westchester, 200, $251,429.

(MORE)

The other cities are:

City	No. of Trainees	Cost
Washington, D.C.	200	$251,428
Atlanta	350	440,000
Chicago	500	628,572
Gary	500	628,571
Louisville	150	377,143
Boston	300	377,143
Baltimore	200	251,428
Lansing	100	125,714
Kansas City	200	231,420
St. Louis	250	314,293
Akron	200	251,429
Cincinnati	300	377,143
Columbus	200	251,429
Tulsa	200	251,429
Philadelphia	300	377,142
Memphis	400	502,856
Seattle	300	377,142
Milwaukee	150	188,571
	Total Sub-contracting funds	$8,800,000

Some of these cities have uncompleted Urban League contracts. New subcontracts from the National Urban League will not be awarded until these contracts are completed.

(MORE)

NEWS DIGEST - 9/30/68
7,000 TO BE TRAINED - P.4

In addition to the on-the-job training programs, the Urban League has been active in Apprenticeship Outreach programs in 11 cities, assisting young unprepared Negro men for apprenticeship examinations in four-week "cram" courses. The AFL-CIO building and construction trades councils in these cities are assisting the Urban League in this effort. More than 100 men have been placed by the League in apprenticeship programs to date.

# # #

M - ~~Skilled~~ Training

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1968

Chrysler Initiates Training of Negroes

By DICK HEBERT

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Chrysler Corp. jointly announced here Tuesday an agreement to bring automotive money, training and dealerships to Atlanta's Negro community.

The package agreement involves three actions by the nation's third-largest auto-builder:

1. The corporation deposited $100,000 Tuesday in Atlanta's Negro-owned bank, the Citizens Trust Bank, and agreed to deposit that much monthly. The money is part of the corporation's federal tax payments, paid into a U.S. Treasury account at the bank for periodic withdrawals by the federal government.

50 MECHANICS

2. A massive training pgoram has been started for Negroes to prepare them for jobs as auto mechanics. The nationwide program hopes to place some 3,000 minority youths in apprenticeship positions, 50 of them in Atlanta.

Urban affairs specialist for Chrysler, Albert J. Dunmore, said his company is having "a problem finding 50 recruits for the apprenticeship program here" because the youths must be "willing to give up six months to a year for training."

3. The corporation now is training six Negroes for new-car dealerships in the country and is making a preliminary survey of sales potential for a possible Negro-owned dealership in Atlanta.

Dunmore, a Negro hired a year ago, said the nation now has only eight Negro-owned new-car dealerships, five of them dealing in Chrysler Corp. cars. "Atlanta may be six months away or it may be two years away, he said, depending on whether the person found to begin the operation already has experience or needs a full two-year training program.

BUY, SELL CARS

Depositing tax mony in Ngro banks—as Chrysler has done in a few other cities—means a loosening of credit for expansion of the economy in the black community, he asid.

SCLC President Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy issued a statement from his Atlanta hospital room, saying that the "black community, like any other community, wants its own financial institutions, because such institutions have a better understanding of community needs, and if only they have the funds, they will serve those needs.

"Black people also feel that, if they buy cars, then black businessmen should have an opportunity to sell the cars and black workers should have an opportunity to build them."

Abernathy is hospitalized recovering from penumonia. He termed the announcement a "milestone agreement."

BEGAN IN SPRING

The agreement came from private talks that began last spring, SCLC said. Abernathy's statement said the procedure "was one of quiet, private deliberations among reasonable men (which) show that SCLC is willing to apply our philosophy of non-violence without public confrontation if the other party is willing to accept a fair settlement."

Dunmore said the talks began and were carried on "without even the threat of a picket or a boycott."

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1968

Jobs Decline in State; Loss Confined to Farms

Employment dropped in Georgia in October to 1,768,700, a loss of 19,700 from the September level, the Georgia Department of Labor reported Tuesday.

The loss was blamed on a seasonal reduction of 20,300 in agricultural workers. A small gain (600) was recorded in non-farm employment in the state.

Unemployment declined for the fourth straight month. A drop of 9,200 was recorded in the ranks of the unemployed from the September figures.

That was a reduction of 3,000 from the October a-year-ago level.

The rate of joblessness this month equaled the all-time low for the period since the Department of Labor began publishing statistics on this category.

In the Atlanta area employment increased slightly to 623,-900, marking the second straight month that a new all-time employment high has been registered.

The level represented only a 100-job gain over the September figures but would have been substantially higher except for a labor dispute, the department reported.

Unemployment in the Atlanta area fell moderately to 14,200 from the September count of 15,-900. The October figure represented 2.2 per cent of the labor force compared to 2.5 per cent for September.

The outlook for the Atlanta area is for another record peak in mid-December with the accelerated pace of the Christmas trade activity contributing to the upswing.

NEW YORK TIMES
DEC 6 1968

BORROWING ASKED FOR JOB TRAINING

$30-Million Capital Budget Item Proposed by H.R.A.

By SETH S. KING

The borrowing of $30-million to finance a new system of job training and counseling for the city's unemployed was requested yesterday by the Human Resources Administration.

By shifting this type of welfare cost to next year's capital budget, the Lindsay administration would remove a major item from its pay-as-you-go expense budget and instead would finance the new program by borrowing.

Deputy Mayor Robert W. Sweet also disclosed that the Human Resources Administration would ask for a supplemental appropriation of $9-million fro mthe capital budget for its manpower training program in the current fiscal year.

Mr. Sweet said the use of capital budget funds for manpower training was made possible for the first time last spring by the Legislature through an amendment to the local finance law.

The new job-training and counseling program was discussed by Mr. Sweet and the Human Resources Administrator, Mitchell I. Ginsberg, at a news conference in City Hall. It was held soon after the City Planning Commission announced a proposed $1.128-billion capital budget for 1969-70, the largest in the city's history.

'Human Renewal'

"The placing of manpower development expenditures in the capital budget," Mr. Ginsberg said, "embodies the principle that it is at least as important to invest in people as in buildings or machines, and New York is making a real investment in human renewal."

The new plan is an effort to end the fragmentation of job-training and employment programs administered by the city.

Mr. Sweet said: "These programs were found to be uncoordinated and were carried out by scores of agencies that did not know what the others were doing."

Part of the funds will be used to establish six new "opportunity centers" throughout the city, to be staffed by counselors and manpower specialists. They will also include facilities for vocational training and basic education courses.

Neighborhood Centers

The United States Labor Department now operates such a center in the South Bronx. Two other centers, financed with Federal funds, are scheduled to open next spring in East Harlem and Central Harlem.

The Human Resources Administration's Manpower and Career Development Agency will take over operation of these facilities and they will become a part of the city's opportunity center network.

Cyril D. Tyson, manpower and career director, said the new centers would be housed in rented space in nine neighborhoods. Two other centers will be added, he said, if they can be organized.

The opportunity center system would provide training facilities for 12,000 unemployed people. About 10,000 are already being trained at other locations under the manpower program, Mr. Tyson said.

If the $9-million supplemental appropriation is approved by the City Council and Board of Estimate, the total manpower costs in the current year will reach $38-million. Of this, the Federal Government is providing $7-million.

In the next fiscal year the city's share of the program will be set at $30-million.

By the middle of 1969 there will be facilities for processing about 100,000 people seeking jobs or job training, Mr. Tyson said.

NEW YORK TIMES
DEC 6 1968

Florida Jobmobile Project Is Halting Hiring in Slums

MIAMI (AP)—Dade County's jobmobile, an experimental traveling employment office is being discontinued after nine months of service among slum dwellers.

Operated jointly by the county and Florida State Employment Service, the jobmobile fell short of its goals.

"It was experimental; you can't say it isn't effective. You can't say what was par," Harry Tyson, director of the employment service, said.

The project operated from a bus and was designed to reach residents who might otherwise miss out on job opportunities.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR DEC. 6 1968

UAW, Teamsters urge 'no raiding' to AFL-CIO

By Ed Townsend
Labor correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

The United Auto Workers (UAW) and International Brotherhood of Teamsters have jointly proposed a "universal no-raiding agreement" with the AFL-CIO, to cover the federation's 130 unions.

The federation, the country's biggest labor grouping with more than 3.25 million members, warns that the alternative could be "internal warfare" and "dissipation of labor's resources in negative and destructive raiding activities."

But the AFL-CIO is wary of the surprise peace offer from the founding unions of the new Alliance for Labor Action (ALA).

George Meany, president of the federation, and other top officers of the AFL-CIO are giving the plan "careful consideration," and, they say, a decision will be made at a federation executive-council meeting this month in Washington or in Miami Beach in February.

Safeguards stressed

Some top leaders of the AFL-CIO are willing to accept the proposal — but only with safeguards. Others flatly oppose an agreement as "just another undercutting move by Walter Reuther," a device to continue his war against his arch-foe, Mr. Meany. But most, so far, say they're undecided.

The joint proposal to the AFL-CIO and its unions was worked out at a recent Washington conference of Mr. Reuther and other UAW people and their counterparts in the Teamsters, Frank E. Fitzsimmons, acting president, and members of the union's board.

The two allies in ALA agreed on the draft of a letter to Mr. Meany and to the president of every AFL-CIO affiliate, to restate the purpose of ALA ("not a competing labor federation," they say) and to offer the agreement to "join with others . . . to refrain from seeking to organize workers who are presently organized and represented by a bona fide union as their authorized bargaining agent."

Committee suggested

The letter added, "such an agreement will put an end to all the speculation and uncertainty that the labor movement is moving toward internal warfare and will instead insure that the resources and the goodwill of the labor movement will not be dissipated in negative and destructive raiding activities," the letter said.

It urged that a committee representing the AFL-CIO, UAW, and Teamsters go to work quickly on the specific provisions of a plan having "an effective and appropriate enforcement mechanism, including a terminal step."

A "universal no-raiding agreement" is the only answer to today's needs, Messrs. Reuther and Fitzsimmons said in the letter carrying at its top the official seals of their two unions.

Within the AFL-CIO, the fact that the letter was sent to every union nettled many officials. Mr. Reuther similarly broadcast letters of complaint about the Meany leadership of the federation in his long campaign for changes in the AFL-CIO, before UAW withdrew from the federation earlier this year. After the withdrawal he sent out letters about UAW's reasons for the break and, later, about UAW-Teamsters plans for the new ALA.

Many in top leadership ranks in the AFL-CIO strongly resent Mr. Reuther's apparent efforts to circumvent Mr. Meany's objections to Mr. Reuther's proposals. One said early this year, and repeated this week, "Walter is quick about resenting employer's efforts to go directly to auto members, to get around the union, but he doesn't hesitate to do the same sort of thing when it serves his purposes."

The Reuther-Fitzsimmons letter explained that since the proposed no-raiding pact "concerns all of the affiliates of the AFL-CIO, we are addressing it to each affiliate. . . . We would appreciate your advising us of the attitude of your organization concerning our proposal."

Dilemma posed

Many in the AFL-CIO interpret this as an invitation for individual unions to sign peace pacts with ALA if AFL-CIO doesn't accept the universal agreement. Mr. Meany and the federation's executive council have declared ALA a "dual organization" and have barred AFL-CIO affiliates from having anything to do with ALA — or UAW and the Teamsters. They could be expelled if they do.

Ordinarily, a no-raiding pact isn't construed as dealing with an enemy. Before the merger of the AFL and the CIO in 1955, the two major labor bodies had a no-raiding agreement, and the AFL-CIO has never acted to upset agreements between its affiliates and the Teamsters, expelled from the federation in late 1957, despite its official position against joint action of any kind with the Teamsters.

Officially, Mr. Meany and his executive council (scheduled for a special meeting Dec. 16) face the problem of accepting or rejecting what would be a beneficial no-raiding arrangement with the ALA. By accepting they could, in effect, weaken their position that ALA was established as a divisive labor center, threatening the AFL-CIO. But by rejecting the peace plan, they would leave the AFL-CIO and its present leadership open to strong criticism and, perhaps, loss of some support among affiliates.

One executive-council member said privately that the Reuther-Fitzsimmons move was "a good public-relations gimmick—we can lose but they can't.

He added, "Walter is a smart strategist. He made us suspend UAW, and then pulled out of AFL-CIO without being accused of splitting our ranks. He set up ALA with Fitzsimmons in a way that doesn't appear on the surface to be a new federation but could be at any time.

Policing discussed

"George Meany blocked that ploy by making memberhip in ALA a cause for expulsion from AFL-CIO. Now Walter's found a new way to approach our unions. If we don't accept the peace plan, Walter will exploit the rejection. The next move is up to Meany."

Another council member, P. L. (Roy) Siemiller, president of the International Association of Machinsts, which recently has fought off UAW and Teamsters raids, said he wouldn't oppose a no-raiding pact with the two unions—provided the agreement contained effective methods for policing the plan, an arbitration system, and bonding arrangements to hold a violator financially and organizationally liable for violations.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER.
DECEMBER 6, 1968

C of C Praises Shafer's OK on Trainee Funds

Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce on Thursday praised Gov. Raymond P. Shafer for allocating $200,000 to provide living allowances for trainees in Philadelphia's apparel industry.

John P. Bracken, Chamber president, said the governor's action marked a breakthrough in the Chamber's five-year campaign to provide job training in the labor-short apparel industry.

Shafer's announcement last week will make available to 800 trainees weekly allowances of $35 for seven to eight weeks as soon as a contract is signed between State and Chamber-affiliated Greater Philadelphia Foundation. It will take four to five weeks to negotiate the final contract.

3000 JOBS AVAILABLE

Spokesmen for the four major trade associations in the apparel industry — the city's largest — and three unions pointed out there are more than 3000 entry jobs for those trained with the necessary skills. Approximately 200 men and women can be trained for jobs at a time.

Recruitment and placement of trainees will be through the offices of the Bureau of Employment Security, Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry.

The Opportunities Industrialization Center, the Urban League, Northcity Congress, the Black Coalition and other neighborhood organizations will be asked to encourage men and women to apply for training.

APPLY LOCALLY

Bracken suggested that interested individuals and organizations apply to the local Pennsylvania State Employment offices.

William Davis, regional coordinator for Eastern Pennsylvania, Department of Community Affairs, is coordinating the project.

Meanwhile, it was announced Friday that the Chamber has submitted new proposals to the Shafer Administration requesting $459,238 for the funding of two more programs to aid minority groups in the business and employment fields.

The programs would provide management counsel to minority groups setting up businesses for the first time and free child-care centers to needy mothers who want employment in labor-short industries.

manpower evaluation report

NUMBER 8
DECEMBER 1968

THE INFLUENCE OF MDTA TRAINING ON EARNINGS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

U.S. Lab Dept

14 NEW YORK TIMES MAR 1

Mild Labor Secretary

George Pratt Shultz

By DAVID R. JONES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28—George P. Shultz was savoring the luxury of a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavorial Sciences last Dec. 3 when a telephone call came from Arthur Burns, the economist, an agent for President-elect Nixon. Before the day was out, Mr. Shultz was on the telephone with Mr. Nixon. Eight days later, whisked from his California academic retreat to the blazing lights of nationwide television, a stunned Mr. Shultz found himself being introduced here as the new Secretary of Labor.

Man in the News

The 48-year-old former labor relations professor now appears to have overcome the shock of that sudden transformation.

But to this day he insists he has "no idea" why Mr. Nixon, whom he had never met, plucked him out for the Labor post.

That selection was not so mystifying to Mr. Shultz's many supporters, who give him high marks as a pragmatist as well as a scholar. "George is a guy who's moderate and open-minded," said a close friend. "George isn't an intellectual. He can operate in an intellectual environment, but he tends to think pragmatically."

Much Like Old Job

Secretary Shultz, who is calling for a drastic change in the administration and funding of the Federal manpower programs to permit greater flexibility and local control, sat before a crackling fire in his paneled conference room here the other day and discussed his new job. A bespectacled man who is mild both in appearance and manner, he spoke slowly, directly, and barely audibly.

The problems of administering the Labor Department, he said, are not notably different from those of running the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business, from which he took leave as dean last year to study in California. "The great difference is the groups that you work with, which demand a major effort for a newcomer to understand," he said.

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Support From Both Ends

Mr. Schultz—a Republican—has yet to face his first major test as Secretary, but he is taking over with support from both ends of the political spectrum.

Businessmen were among his stronger backers for the post. Organized labor, while preferring someone more liberal, is still pleased to get off so well under Mr. Nixon.

The Secretary's only serious gaffe so far has been to beat George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, at golf.

"As an economist, he's a moderate," said a close friend. "He accepts the necessity of government action in some areas, but he doesn't see government as a cure-all." An academic acquaintance said Mr. Shultz was "somewhat more distrustful of big government than many liberals."

George Pratt Schultz was born Dec. 13, 1920, into a prosperous New York family, son of a history Ph.D. who began the New York Stock Exchange investor education program.

Mr. Shultz was reared in New Jersey and was graduated from Princeton University with honors in economics in 1942. After three years as an officer in the Marine Corps, with which he served in the Pacific, he earned a Ph.D. in economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1949.

He served on the M.I.T. faculty until 1955 as an industrial relations professor and was a senior staff economist for the President's Council of Economic Advisers in 1955 and 1956. He then went to Chicago as a professor in the graduate school, rising to dean in 1962.

He also served as co-chairman on the Armour Automation Fund Committee, an experiment in easing the impact of automation on workers.

'Golf and Tennis Nut'

The new Labor Secretary is no table pounder. A friend characterized him as "a low-key guy" who "controls himself and won't over-react." But he can sometimes be stubborn, a Chicago associate said, and "some faculty members who went in to see Schultz said they are going to get a pipe so they could puff back at him."

A friend said that 6-foot, 190-pound Mr. Schultz is a "golf and tennis nut," covering the links in the summer in the low 80's and playing indoor tennis in the winter. He is partial to martinis on the rocks, an associate said, and "one of his big recreations is his friends."

The new Labor Secretary was married in 1946 to Helena M. O'Brien, a former Army nurse he met in Hawaii. He and "Obie" have five children: Margaret, 21; Kathleen, 19; Peter, 16; Barbara, 11, and Alexander, 9.

Mr. Schultz owns a vacation home at Swift River, Mass., and for a while he was saddled with two other houses as well: the one he was renting in California and his permanent home in Chicago. But now those two have been replaced by a big red brick house in suburban Arlington, Va.—where the brown winter grass has been sprayed green by his real estate agent.

Manpower — EEO — Govt.

BALTIMORE SUN MAR 1

Stymied By Civil Service, OEO Fails On Vow To Poor

By ARNOLD R. ISAACS

[Washington Bureau of The Sun]

Washington, Feb. 28—The Office of Economic Opportunity has been unable to make good on its promise to the leaders of last spring's Poor People's Crusade to let down hiring barriers so that "several hundred disadvantaged poor" could join the agency's staff.

Officials of the anti-poverty agency confirmed today that an adverse opinion from the Civil Service Commission staff has blocked efforts to eliminate normal testing procedures for "hard-core" poor recruits. "We have to reassess," one official said.

December 31 Opinion

The unfavorable opinion was submitted December 31, but was not publicly announced. The Poor People's Crusade organizers who were given the original promise apparently were not informed. An OEO spokesman explained: "They haven't returned even to ask about it."

Mrs. Marian Edelman, who is serving as Washington liaison agent for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said in a telephone interveiw:

"The last correspondence we had from them (the OEO) was in July, 1968, and we assumed the commitment still stood."

The Atlanta-based group, headed by the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, played a leading role in organizing the Poor People's Crusade.

Brief OEO Statement

Bertrand M. Harding, the acting OEO director, issued a brief statement in response to an inquiry. "We will continue to press forward with this effort to bring poor people into government service," he said. "I am confident means can be found to accomplish this goal."

The OEO was asking authority to waive civil service examination requirements for jobs in the national headquarters in Washington and in its seven regional offices. Local anti-poverty agency workers are not federal employees and would not have been affected.

The request arose from a pledge Mr. Harding gave Mr. Abernathy last June, after the Poor People's Crusade leaders had presented a list of demands.

Harding's Promise

"We will work toward a goal of several hundred OEO positions to be filled by persons in this category," Mr. Harding wrote the SCLC leader. The agreement contemplated hiring poor people who show potential talent for anti-poverty work but do not meet regular civil service standards.

The Civil Service Commission never formally decided on the test waiver, but on the basis of staff consideration, O. Glenn Stahl, then the director of the commission's bureau of policies and standards, sent a reply which ended:

"It would take presidenttial action to provide these authorities and we do not believe we could justify asking the President to provide such favored treatment for this group."

Sympathy Expressed

Mr. Stahl has now left the commission. Stanley Berg, the chief of the bureau's merit-system section, said the commission was sympathetic, but had suggested working within the normal civil service system to bring poor people into the agency.

Mr. Berg said that the regular merit system is flexible enough, and should not be used "on a handout basis."

2,900 Employees Covered

But Glenn Johnson, deputy personnel director at the OEO, said elimination of the testing requirement "was critical to us. This was how we'd get people in." The agency's plan was to furnish special training for those hired under the special authority.

The OEO has approximately 2,900 employees who fall under federal civil service.

NEW YORK TIMES MAR 1

SOME GAINS FOUND FOR URBAN NEGRO

U.S. Report Shows Income and Education Improving

By PETER KIHSS

Negro youths have been catching up to whites in school attenrance. Negro women's earnings are just about matching those of white women in year-round jobs. And the rise in Negro family has been faster than the whites."

These are among the brighter nationwide findings reported in a special Bureau of the Census study of social and economic trends in the 212 major metropolitan areas since 1960.

But the study also shows gloomier findings for Negroes living in the central cities:

Negro men's earnings lag behind whites', as much as 16 to 35 per cent in various categories. Negro teen-agers unemployment has worsened, from 22.7 per cent in 1960 to 30.4 per cent last year. And 39 per cent of Negro children lived in homes lacking at least one parent last year, an increase from 29 per cent in 1960.

For new York City, the study reported that 266,000 families, or 13 per cent of the city's total were at the poverty level in 1959 while 208,000, or 10 per cent, were at this level year.

New York City's white poor families shrank from 198,000 to 128,000 — but its nonwhite poor families rose from 68,000 to 80,000. In Los Angeles and Llong Beach, Calif., where over-all poverty also declined, nonwhite poor families rose from 24,000 to 30,000; in Chicago, the poverty total was virtually unchanged, but nonwhite poor families rose from 55,000 to 71,000.

The census study, making no effort to assess causes, was a 67-page comparison of data generally derived from a March, 1968, population survey, with 1960 census data. The analyses generally were for all metropolitan areas, broken down to central cities and other segments as a whole, rather than citing individual cities.

The Census Bureau said data on educational attainment, employment status and type of residence in the study referred to "the time of enumeration, March, 1968, and April, 1960." The time period covered by income and poverty statistics referred to the 1967 and 1959 calendar years.

Migratory Report Cited

A report on the migratory pattern of Negroes into urban areas which was released on Thursday, showed that the influx of Negroes into central cities has slowed dramatically in the last year.

David Canty, director of Urban America, one of the groups that sponsored that study, said yesterday that there was no way of telling of how the report related specifically to the New York metropolitan area. "We worked with aggregate figures supplied by the Census Bureau, and these were never localized," he said.

In the later report, the Census Bureau said:

"Most of our indicators of well-being point toward progress in the cities since 1960. However, the rates at which positive changes are taking place will be open to differing interpretations. Likewise, where deterioration rather than progress is indicated, the impact of such negative trends is open to debate."

On the other hand, one longtime analyst of wage and welfare trends, Nicholas Kisburg, legislative director of Teamsters Joint Council 16 here, termed the study one of the most significant and "depressing" Federal statistical documents ever issued.

Mr. Kisburg said:

"What is happening in the Negro community is that simultaneously with fantastic progress on the part of many, there is unbelievable retrogression on the part of others."

Mr. Kisburg contended that the 30 per cent unemployment rate for Negro youths was an outgrowth of broken families and unsound welfare programs. The report showed unemployment among whites aged 16 to 19 years had also risen in the central cities — from 9.8 per cent in 1960 to 12.3 last year.

Current policies, Mr. Kisburg contended, could create "a lumpen proletariat—completely declassed people with no loyalty to a community, to a family or to themselves," including "whites who think they can be Lenins and Trotskys, Hitlers and Mussolinis for the black, declassed youths."

Greater Urban Populations

The census study, prepared by Arno I. Winard, of the Poverty Statistics Section, Population Division, said there were 128 million people living in metropolitan areas last year, up 14 per cent from 1960.

Of these, 58.2 million were living in the central cities, for a 1 per cent increase, and 69.9 million were living in the suburbs, a 28 per cent rise. More than half the metropolitan residents were suburbanites.

In the central cities, 45.5 million were whites, a 5 per cent decline, and 11.9 million Negroes, up 25 per cent. Negroes rose from 16 to 20 per cent of central cities' population, remaining at only 5 per cent in the suburbs.

The total population is becoming more youthful. Most of the 2.4 million increase among Negroes in central cities involved people under 25 years of age — 1.8 million. The median age of whites — half being older, half younger—stayed about the same, 32.3 years, but the Negro median age dropped from 25.6 to 21.7.

"The increase in the number of families headed by a woman indicates that more children are growing up in broken homes," the Census Bureau reported.

The study fount that 85 per cent of central-city white families had a husband and wife last year, down one point from 1960, but Negro husband-wife families shrank from 73 per cent to 66.

Thirty per cent of the Negro families had women as their heads, an increase from 23 per cent in 1960. White families headed by women rose from 10 per cent to 12.

For central-city Negro families, separation or divorce accounted for 55 per cent of the absences of a male head, and death of a husband for 25 per cent. Among white families headed by a woman, 47 per cent involved widowhood and 37 per cent separation or divorce.

While 88 per cent of white children under 18 in central cities were living with both parents, a three-point decline from 1960, the proportion of Negro children living with both parents slid from 71 per cent to 61 per cent.

The difference in schooling between whites and Negroes was described as having "narrowed substantially between 1960 and 1968."

Central-city Negroes 25 to 29 years old had completed a median 11.4 years of school in 1960, and increased this to 12.2 years last year. White educational attainment remained virtually unchanged at 12.6 years.

Sixty-one per cent of Negroes of these ages had had four years of high school by last year, as against 43 per cent in 1960. The white percentage rose from 66 to 77.

Unemployment dropped from 5.8 per cent in 1960 to 4.3 per cent last year for central-city residents 16 years and older. Negro unemployment was 7.8 per cent, compared with 3.5 per cent for whites.

However, unemployment for youths aged 16 to 19, including both races, increased — from 11.8 per cent to 16.1.

Almost half of the white men employed in central cities — 47 per cent — had white-collar jobs last year, as compared with only 21 per cent of Negro men. There had been little change in occupational distribution in either group.

By contrast, the proportion of Negro women in white-collar jobs rose from 21 per cent to 33. Their former 34 per cent employment as private household workers declined to 20 per cent.

Central-city Negro families' median income rose 28 per cent from $4,397 in 1959 to $5,623 in 1967 — based on dollars of equivalent purchasing power. White families' income, while at a higher base, rose less—16 per cent, from $7,160 to $8,294.

The Negro families' income was 61 per cent of white families' in 1959, climbing to 68 per cent in 1967. By 1967, Negro families with two earners had a total median income of $7,225 — "roughly equivalent," the study noted, to the $7,285 for white families with one earner.

The Census Bureau found "a dramatic increase in the proportion of Negro families with higher incomes." By 1967, a total of 18 per cent in central cities had incomes of $10,000 or more, compared with 7 per cent in 1959. Such incomes were reached by 38 per cent of white families in 1967, compared with 27 per cent in 1959.

One regional oddity showed the Northeast as the only region where the Negro family income declined in comparison to the whites — a one-point decrease to 68 per cent of white income in 1967 — although dollar value rose from $4,790 to $5,385.

Mr. Kisburg, the union economist, noted this indicated a narrowing of the difference between Negro incomes in the Northeast and the South. In 1959, Negro family income in the Northeast was $1,336 above the South; in 1967, the gap was only $370, as Southern Negro family income rose from 52 per cent of Southern white income to 62 per cent.

Central-city Negro men who worked year-round in 1967 had median earnings of $5,179, or 71 per cent of whites —about the same as in 1959. But Negro women raised their proportion from 59 per cent of white women's earnings in 1959 to 73 per cent in 1967, with median earnings of $3,020 —the low total reflecting low pay for domestics.

For 1967 Negro year-round workers' median earnings in central cities, the study gave the following data:

Category	Earnings	Per Cent of White
MEN		
Professional and managerial	$6,208	65
Clerical and sales	5,515	80
Craftsmen and foremen	5,962	79
Operatives	5,414	84
Nonfarm laborers	4,492	84
Service workers, excluding private household	4,159	75
WOMEN		
Professional and managerial	6,209	105
Clerical and sales	4,425	103
Operatives	3,296	92
Private household	1,410	160
All other service	2,905	95

Of the nation's 26.1 million people below the poverty level in 1967, the study reported 8.3 million were in central cities and 4.9 million in suburbs. The national number of poor people had dropped one-third since 1959—38 per cent for whites, 21 per cent for Negroes.

The poor in central cities in 1967 included 4.7 million whites, or 10 per cent of their white population, and 3.5 million Negroes, or 30 per cent of their Negro residents. These represented decreases from 7.1 million whites and 4.1 million Negroes in 1959.

By 1967, 42 per cent of the central-city poor families were Negroes, as against 36 per cent in 1969.

The new study, entitled "Trends in Social and Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas," Series P-23, No. 27, is to be available for 70 cents a copy from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

U.S. Lab Dept

14 NEW YORK TIMES MAR 1

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By DAVID R. JONES

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Manpower — EEO — Court.

BALTIMORE SUN MAR 1

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By ARNOLD R. ISAACS

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The Atlanta-based group, headed by the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, played a leading role in organizing the Poor People's Crusade.

Brief OEO Statement

Bertrand M. Harding, the acting OEO director, issued a brief statement in response to an inquiry. "We will continue to press forward with this effort to bring poor people into government service," he said. "I am confident means can be found to accomplish this goal."

The OEO was asking authority to waive civil service examination requirements for jobs in the national headquarters in Washington and in its seven regional offices. Local anti-poverty agency workers are not federal employees and would not have been affected.

The request arose from a pledge Mr. Harding gave Mr. Abernathy last June, after the Poor People's Crusade leaders had presented a list of demands.

Harding's Promise

"We will work toward a goal of several hundred OEO positions to be filled by persons in this category," Mr. Harding wrote the SCLC leader. The agreement contemplated hiring poor people who show potential talent for anti-poverty work but do not meet regular civil service standards.

The Civil Service Commission never formally decided on the test waiver, but on the basis of staff consideration, O. Glenn Stahl, then the director of the commission's bureau of policies and standards, sent a reply which ended:

"It would take presidenttial action to provide these authorities and we do not believe we could justify asking the President to provide such favored treatment for this group."

Sympathy Expressed

Mr. Stahl has now left the commission. Stanley Berg, the chief of the bureau's merit-system section, said the commission was sympathetic, but had suggested working within the normal civil service system to bring poor people into the agency.

Mr. Berg said that the regular merit system is flexible enough, and should not be used "on a handout basis."

2,900 Employees Covered

But Glenn Johnson, deputy personnel director at the OEO, said elimination of the testing requirement "was critical to us. This was how we'd get people in." The agency's plan was to furnish special training for those hired under the special authority.

The OEO has approximately 2,900 employees who fall under federal civil service.

U.S. Department of Labor
Manpower Administration

THE MANPOWER DAILY REPORTER

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Monday, March 3, 1969

BALTIMORE SUN
MAR 3

LABOR SUPPLY DIP FORESEEN

Nation's Manpower May Not Meet Needs Of 1970's

By RODNEY CROWTHER
[*Washington Bureau of The Sun*]

Washington, March 2—There will not be enough workers in the country to fulfill the objectives of the generally accepted national policy goals set for the 1970's, the National Planning Association said today.

The association's Center for Priority Analysis has concluded that to encompass virtually all aspects of the private and public sectors of the economy would require employment of 101 million workers—about 10 million more than are expected to be in the civilian labor force in 1975.

New Goals

The consequence, according to the association, will be that "the nation must establish priorities to determine how much of the available manpower should be devoted to each present goal, as well as to any new goals that may be added by our society in the early 1970's."

The findings were published by Dr. Leonard A. Lecht, director of NPA's Center for Priority Analysis, in a new book "Manpower Needs for National Goals in 1970." The study was made for the Labor Department's Office of Manpower Research.

Far from facing shrinking labor demand and consequent unemployment due to automation, the National Planning Association study found that to meet national goals will require more, not less, employment.

Some of the major roadblocks to achieving national goals, Dr. Lecht found, may be occupational deficiencies such as the lack of doctors, dentists and nurses in the field of health. The country is going to need 18,000 more doctors annually, but medical schools expect to graduate only about 8,750 a year.

Need Dentists

An annual increase of 5,000 dentists a year is needed, but only about 3,200 a year were graduated in the 1960's.

Fulfilling the social welfare goal calls for about 20,000 social workers compared with a yearly than have been produced in recent past.

In the field of housing and urban development, far more skilled craftsmen will be needed than have beenproduced in recent years.

The national goals were first set forth early in the 1960's by the President's Commission on National Goals.

WASHINGTON POST MAR 3

Report Says Manpower Shortage Will Threaten Economy by 1975

A new study of the Nation's manpower needs suggests that bottlenecks in key sectors could plague the Nation's progress in the next decade.

It focuses attention on health, education and urban development as areas where personnel shortages may be particularly critical. The present shortage of physicians is likely to persist, the report says, and large new investment in urban development projects—more schools, hospitals and housing—could be frustrated by manpower deficiencies in important crafts such as carpentry and electrical work.

The report, released yesterday, was prepared by the National Planning Association, a private nonprofit research group, and was partially financed with funds from the Labor Department.

Without thoroughly investigating the Vietnam War's impact on the economy, the study does conclude that a sharp decline in war-related expenditures would probably increase unemployment, at least in the short run.

Money spent in nondefense industries would create more jobs than the same amount of money spent for defense orders, according to the report. It questions, however, whether this spending would be great enough to create sufficient employment to absorb all the men leaving the armed forces and the growing numbers of young men who would be looking for jobs, rather than going into the services.

There would also be a problem, the report says, because the mix of skills required for the defense industries differs from the skills needed in the non-defense sector. This situation could be eased, the report advises, by siphoning more men into appropriate training programs, but it emphasizes that the best hedge against joblessness is a "dynamic economy."

The report concentrates on predicting manpower needs to fulfill national goals in 16 areas, ranging from agriculture to urban development. It says that the available manpower pool in 1975 will not be large enough to achieve objectives in all these areas—thus, it predicts an overall manpower shortage.

At the same time, it concludes that limiting the extent of the shortage depends on the compatability of education and job training for the supply of workers with the expected demand for new skills. Manpower shortages and unemployment can exist side by side, the report says.

Called Manpower Needs for National Goals in the 1970's, the full report has been published commercially by Frederick A. Praeger.

NEW YORK TIMES MAR 3

POPULATION TREND REVERSED IN SOUTH

WASHINGTON — Migration into some southern States during the 1960's has resulted in a reversal for the South, as a whole, of its traditional position as a region of population out-migration, the United States Department of Commerce's Bureau of the Census finds. Simultaneously, the bureau reports, losses because of migration from the North Central States have increased.

During the first 7¼ years of the present decade, the South has gained a million people by in-migration, while the North-Central states have lost nearly a million through net out-migration, according to estimates, by the bureau. The South's net gain in the 1960's is a dramatic reversal of the 1950-60 pattern, when it lost more than a million people by out-migration. During the first half of the 1950's, when the net loss was 1.7 million, during 1955-60, the South registered a small net gain.

On the other hand, the North-Central states began to show a net loss because of out-migration during the second half of the 1950's, and the pattern has continued into the 1960's.

Over all, the population of the North-Central states has continued to climb during the 1960's. The 1960-67 increase was estimated to be 3.6 million people, a total that resulted from 8.2 million births, 3.8 million deaths, and the previously mentioned loss of nearly a million because to net out-migration.

Manpower — Training

2 NEW YORK TIMES MAR 1

JOB AID REVISIONS SOUGHT BY SHULTZ

He Wants Financing of All Plans Under a Lump Sum

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28 — Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz plans to submit legislation to Congress to change drastically the Administration and funding of the Federal manpower training programs to achieve greater flexibility and local control.

There are now about a dozen manpower programs costing $2.5-billion a year, funded separately by Congress and administered by various agencies.

Under Mr. Schultz's plan all of the programs would be funded together. States and local governments would be given a lump sum of money for manpower training, and they would then be able to use the programs in whatever combination needed to achieve the desired result.

This is in line with the new Administration's intention to decentralize Federal services and improve the "delivery system."

Nixon Seeks Coordination

In his message to Congress last week regarding reorganization of the Office of Economic Opportunity, President Nixon said:

"One of the priority aims of the new Administration is the development by the Department of Labor of a comprehensive manpower program, designed to make centrally available to the unemployed and the underemployed a full range of Federal job training and placement services. Toward this end, it is essential that Federal manpower programs be integrated and coordinated."

Secretary Schultz disclosed some details of his plan last night in an address before the National Governors Conference.

"Fixed sums would not be specified for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Operation Mainstream, New Careers, Work Incentive Program, or programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act." he said. "Rather, a lump sum conceivably could be made available which would be deployed flexibly to meet the most urgent local needs for service rather than to meet nationally conceived program goals."

Included under the package would be the human development programs outside the Labor Department such as vocational rehabilitation, vocational education, adult basic education and Indian training.

Bigger Local Role

Mr. Nixon has made it clear that the Labor Department will be responsible for overseeing the administration of the programs. And Mr. Shultz told the Governors that the role of local and state officials must be strengthened in the manpower training area.

A Labor Department spokesman said that no date had been set for submission of the legislation, and various officials are being consulted regarding the form it will take.

Mr. Shultz's plan is in line with the recommendations of the National Manpower Policy Task Force, composed of manpower economists from universities and of which Mr. Schultz was formerly a member.

The task force said in a recent report that the present programs had been created "piecemeal" to meet a separate need but should now be coordinated "to allow states and communities to plan and implement their programs according to their own needs."

At least eight Federal agencies are involved, and the programs vary widely in size and purpose. Vocational education, for example, is administered by the Office of Education and has an annual appropriation of $296 million. New Careers is administered by the Labor Department. trains disadvantaged adults and has an appropriation of $36-million.

In his message to Congress last week, President Nixon directed that the Job Corps, which runs work camps for disadvantaged youths and is budgeted at $285-million, be transferred from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Labor Department effective July 1.

WASHINGTON POST MAR 2

SS Disability Easing Sought

Sens. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) and Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) called yesterday for a looser definition of disability under the Social Security laws.

In a joint statement, Bayh and Metcalf said they had introduced a bill to make a person eligible for Social Security disability benefits if he cannot find a job because of chronic poor health or injury. The old definition, they said, makes a disabled person ineligible for benefits if he could perform any job "which exists anywhere in the national economy."

WASHINGTON EVENING STAR MAR 2

John Boone

Ex-Cons Hail Group's Aims

By PHILIP SHANDLER
Star Staff Writer

The group calls itself PAAC — Positive Action Against Crime. It is an amalgam of middle-class business, professional and neigborhood groups, organized to work with, and for, ex-convicts.

Yesterday, about 20 of its members listened intently to several former prisoners as well to as District officials on a panel at All Souls' Unitarian Church, 15th and Harvard Streets NW.

They responded with applause and assurances of aid in rehabilitation.

The officials included John Staggers, a special assistant to Mayor Walter E. Washington; Allan B. Avery, newly appointed director of the Lorton Reformatory; his assistant for training, Samuel Rosser, and M. Brent Oldham, executive director of the Reconstruction and Development Corporation, which is coordinating the rebuilding of riot-town areas of the city.

The discussion was moderated by Metropolitan Police Sgt. Booker Kent, a veteran Robbery Squad officer who was praised by one of the ex-cons as the rare kind of person to whom a man leaving prison could turn to for counsel and help.

The PAAC members clearly were aware that a big need in combating crime — according to several recent studies — lies in helping to reduce recidivism, crime by repeaters.

In the District, the recidivism rate has been estimated at as high as 50 percent.

So they knew what ex-con George Hart was talking about when he described how he "made it" after a term in Lorton "only because I had a friend" in Sgt. Kent.

The group's members also gave a big hand to Virgil Keel, who was released from prison last year, when he declared:

"The President may think a few more judges can lick crime, but he hasn't talked to me yet."

Incarceration only "puts off the problem" if it doesn't include meaningful rehabilitation efforts, he said.

"Serving time doesn't help a man who went in with a weakness, Keel said.

Praising the reform effort that has followed violence and disclosures of weak administration at the city's reformatory, Keel said, "I wasn't being led to anything better (than crime) in Lorton."

Keel, who wore T-shirt, sneakers and sweat jacket, told his coat-and-tie audience of several recent social experiments.

He criticized, for example, the kind of thinking that led to the use of scrip instead of cash as an answer to the problem of busholdups.

All this did, Keel asserted, was to "drive the robbers to banks."

"Maybe the next step is to convert the U.S. monetary system to scrip," he commented.

Lorton Director Avery said that he, too, was glad that a spotlight finally was being focused on his institution. He cited the problems of overcrowding and few facilities for skills training.

Mrs. Geneva Valentine said PAAC is concentrating on establishing a center to coordinate citizen efforts at rehabilitation and job referral.

Staggers said this could be helpful—the District is developing a program for a one-to-one relationship between ex-convicts and citizen volunteers, similar to a project in Denver, Colo., he said.

But both he and Keel emphasized that several programs are underway here to which a citizen could lend assistance immediately. They cited Bonabond and EFFEC—Efforts From Former Convicts—with which Keel is working.

Keel mentioned that EFFEC, trying to help more than 300 ex-convicts, meets every Thursday night on the second floor of 3308 14th Street NW.

A question about seeking help from trade unions triggered a blast from Oldham, and a warning of not to expect too much from them. He said District officials have found the unions "rigid" on the involvement of neighborhood residents in the reconstruction of the riot-ravaged sections.

Staggers echoed the attack, declaring: "We have to be honest, we have to quit playing games. The trade unions haven't done a doggone thing in a long time."

Mrs. Valentine said another meeting would be held shortly to plan the next steps.

(US Labor Dept News) Manpower - Training (Job Corps)

Week of March 3, 1969

NIXON DELEGATES JOB CORPS
TO LABOR DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON -- President Nixon has announced that the Job Corps will be delegated to the Department of Labor effective July 1.

The President called the move "a first step" toward better antipoverty program management.

Integration and coordination of Federal manpower programs are "essential", he said, if the Labor Department is to develop a comprehensive manpower program designed to make a full range of Federal job placement and service centrally available to the underemployed and unemployed.

President Nixon called the development of such a program "one of the priority aims of the new Administration."

The President said that the move will "add another important manpower service component" to the Department and will "make available additional training and service opportunities" to Job Corpsmen.

The step "also makes it possible to coordinate the Job Corps with other manpower services, especially vocational education, at the point of delivery," he said.

In addition, the President said he expects that "important economies" will result from the delegation of the program to the Cabinet agency.

The Labor Department already refers enrollees to the Job Corps, provides it with job market information, and helps locate Job Corpsmen in the areas of greatest opportunity.

The Departments of Interior and Agriculture will continue to have operating responsibility for Job Corps centers concerned primarily with conservation, according to the announcement.

# # # #

Howard Rosen

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Manpower Administration

The enclosed material is sent to you in response to your request.

GPO 16—79038-1

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

M- Training

JOB TRAINING OF BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS: IMPLICATIONS FOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE*

Howard Rosen
Director
Office of Manpower Research
Manpower Administration
U. S. Department of Labor

Although many of the 27.5 million blue-collar workers in our society play crucial roles in our economic development and survival, it is surprising how little is known about how many of these workers--who account for a third of the work force--get their training. 1/ This paper is primarily concerned with how many of the 10 million craftsmen among the blue-collar workers get their training and the kind of vocational guidance needed to alert our young people to the employment opportunities available among the skilled trades.

The craftsmen we will concentrate on are the carpenters and bricklayers who build our homes, the tool and die makers who make the jigs and fixtures in factories so that automobile, refrigerator, and radio parts can be mass produced cheaply and quickly, the mechanics who repair our automobiles, and the

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1/ Blue-collar workers include craftsmen and foremen; operatives (semi-skilled workers); and nonfarm laborers.

*Presented at the American Personnel and Guidance Association Meeting, April 2, 1969, at Las Vegas, Nevada.

many other skilled workers who perform the other jobs needed to keep our complex, dynamic economy functioning.

Most of us recognize the importance of these workers--especially when they're not around when we need them the most--but we are not too familiar with their training. Part of this oversight exists because of our excessive interest in the rapidly growing professional and technical field of employment. As parents, educators, and counselors we have been concentrating on the glamour jobs and have not devoted enough of our time to the bread and butter jobs which may lack dramatic appeal but do provide satisfying employment at decent wages to millions of our fellow citizens. One observer of the educational process has explained our lack of interest in the vocationally-oriented student by noting that, "American education is designed for one basic purpose--to prepare the student for subsequent schooling....anyone who drops out of the educational stream prior to graduate school is regarded as a failure." 2/

2/ The Transition from School to Work, A report based on the Princeton Manpower Symposium, May 9-10, 1968, organized by the U.S. Department of Labor; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; National Manpower Policy Task Force; and The Woodrow Wilson School and the Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

A. The Training of Craftsmen

Recent research findings about the training of craftsmen have contributed significant information which should be brought to the attention of those who provide counseling to American youths. I am specifically referring to some of the research projects sponsored by the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor which is charged with the responsibility of developing information about the adequacy of the supply of the American labor force. 3/

Let us look at the first nationwide effort to learn about how some of our workers learn their skills. The Office of Manpower Research in the Manpower Administration asked the Bureau of Labor Statistics to conduct, in 1963, a survey of the vocational training background of workers between the ages of 22 and 64 who had completed less than 3 years of college. The purpose of this study was to establish base line information about the training of the nonprofessional segment of our labor force. 4/

3/ Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended through October 24, 1968 (42 U.S.C. et seq.) Sec. 102 (3) "The Secretary of Labor...shall appraise the adequacy of the Nation's manpower development efforts to meet foreseeable manpower needs and recommend needed adjustment...."

4/ Formal Occupational Training of Adult Workers (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, December 1964), Manpower/Automation Research Monograph No. 2.

Only about 40 percent of the craftsmen said they had learned their current jobs through formal training, including apprenticeship. The extent of formal training varied considerably by occupation. Thus, almost 3 out of 4 compositors and typesetters and electricians had learned their trade formally. Only about a fourth of the painters and a third of the carpenters had received formal training.

If so many of the craftsmen had not learned their trade through formal training, then how did they acquire their skills? According to this study, most of them had "just picked up" the necessary skills through informal on-the-job training and by exposure to a variety of work experience.

In a more recent study being conducted for the Department of Labor of the labor market experience of young men, the author reports that only 12 percent of the young white men 14-17 years of age were enrolled in vocational and commercial curricula and 15 percent of the Negroes were in these curricula.5/ Of the 4.4 million white men 14-24 years of age with 12 or fewer years of education who were not enrolled in school in 1966, some 2.4 million had no vocational training outside regular school.

5/ Herbert S. Parnes, Robert C. Miljus, Ruth S. Spitz and Associates, Career Thresholds: A Longitudinal Study of the Educational and Labor Market Experience of Male Youth 14-24 Years of Age (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, Center for Human Resources Research, Spring 1969, for the U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower Research).

Of the 890,000 Negro youths in this category, about 680,000 had no vocational preparation outside regular school.

Two scholars at Northeastern University have been taking a detailed look at how tool and die makers learn their trade. 6/ This occupation was selected for close examination because these craftsmen are a relatively small but crucial group of skilled workers in our economy. The researchers first tried to discover how a selected sample of superior workers learned their trade.

No particular training path produced the most competent workers. The kind of person attracted to a program was more significant than the training paths selected. Apprenticeship is considered by many to be the traditional and best training for craftsmen; yet less than 30 percent of the men had served apprenticeships either as machinists or as tool and die makers.

6/ Morris A. Horowitz and Irwin L. Herrnstadt, "An Evaluation of the Training of Tool and Die Makers" (Boston: Northeastern University, Department of Economics, for the U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower Research, in process).

Six training paths were identified as those which were followed by tool and die makers in learning their trade. They were:

Training Paths	Percent
On-the-Job Training	22.5
Vocational High School	22.3
Picked-up-the-Trade	15.5
Apprenticeship	14.3
Vocational High School Plus On-the-Job Training	11.3
Vocational High School Plus Apprenticeship	9.8
Miscellaneous	4.3

Two points should be stressed about the training of these skilled workers. First, the diversity of the training paths should be noted. No one or two paths dominated. Second, this exacting and complex trade is not picked up casually. More than 80 percent of the men had some formal training, either in school or at work. Many workers either studied or acquired on-the-job, various subjects of direct use in their work.

The three shortest paths in terms of training were:

1) Vocational high school (an average of 2.7 years)

2) On-the-job training (2.9 years)

3) Apprenticeship (3.4 years)

Only one training path, vocational high school combined with apprenticeship, scored high on most measures of effectiveness. The more systematic types of training seemed to require fewer years of working experience to become an all round tool and die maker. The "pick-up" method was, by far, the most time consuming path to become a journeyman. Informal types of training, on the other hand, seemed to accelerate the classification as a tool and die maker.

Men with apprentice training appeared to have been upgraded faster than other men. This upward mobility may have been due more to the kind of individual selected for apprentice programs, and to company promotion policies rather than to the training received.

The 400 tool and die makers in the Northeastern study emphasized that working experience was extremely important. A substantial minority of the tool and die makers had been school dropouts who managed to become expert craftsmen through various training paths.

In another study of the shortage of skilled and technical workers in Chicago and St. Louis, conducted for the Manpower Administration in mid-1965, the authors concluded that, "In none of the four industrial occupations studied is there a

single well identified route to entry." 7/ Apprenticeship and combinations of junior college, technical and vocational school training, individual courses, company training programs, and informal on-the-job training were the routes through which people entered the occupations.

The researchers studying shortage occupations reported that many employers selected workers for training from among their lesser skilled employees. Thus, the internal labor market was an important port of entry for some skilled workers. Men who were already working in the plant as semi-skilled machine tool operators were often selected by employers for training as tool and die makers. Aptitude for the work, interest, and motivation were considered by some employers as more important criteria for success than the usual requirement of a high school diploma. Employers were more inclined to lower their criteria for admittance to training for their own employees than for nonemployees.

7/ Walter Franke and Irvin Sobel, The Shortage of Skilled and Technical Workers (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, June 1968, for the U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower Research).

Some of the tool and die makers and employers indicated that the reputation of a training institution was important. Graduates of some schools found it very difficult to find jobs while graduates of schools with good reputations were sought out by employers and generally found it easier to secure employment.

Before turning to what we have learned about vocational guidance, or the lack of it, from these or other studies, we should get some perspective about how many young men could have profited by some good vocational guidance and training. Let us use the year 1966 as an example. In that year some 560,000 young men entered the labor force as high school graduates who were not going on to college, or dropouts who failed to complete their education.

Some of these young men had a pretty good idea where they were going. The 130,000 who had graduated from Agricultural, Technical, and Trades and Industry Courses who were "available for placement" and the 54,000 more mature young men who had completed registered and nonregistered apprenticeship training were on a directed path to employment.8/ Most of the balance of the young men entered the labor force without special training or knowledge about the world of work.

8/ Vocational Education: The Bridge Between Man and His Work, General Report of the Advisory Council on Vocational Education (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1968).

If we take into account the graduates of technical institutes and junior colleges we probably let well over 300,000 young men pour into our labor force in 1966 with little training for employment and badly in need of vocational guidance. This explains why the unemployment rate in 1966 for young men 18 and 19 years of age was 10.2 percent while the rate for all males was 3.2 percent.

We wring our hands about the high unemployment rates of teenagers knowing full well that our institutional arrangements in regular high schools and vocational schools are not set up to prepare a large percentage of the new entrants to the labor force for the world of work. We are aware that many of our vocational schools are " dumping grounds" for the youths who cannot be educated by the regular schools.

This means that many vocational schools that are trying to do a professional job are facing an insurmountable task in trying to serve two masters at once. The time has come for us to recognize that the good vocational schools are capable of making an important contribution in developing the supply of our skilled workers. However, the only way they can really carry out this function is to separate out those students who need special treatment by developing a new institutional arrangement so that they can be taught in different schools. The time has come for school authorities

to acknowledge that some of the youngsters they are expected to teach need remedial education if they are to benefit from training at all and many of these students should only be given limited training. Those students who cannot absorb the full range of training should be provided with basic skills that will make them employable and be given the kind of orientation that will enable them to respond to the discipline required in an industrial society.

B. The Need for Vocational Guidance

Our researchers, students, workers in the trades, employers, and vocational advisory councils looking at the work experience of our youngsters all agree that we do not do an adequate job in providing professional, expert guidance for most of the vocationally-oriented youngsters. Let us document this statement.

The Northeastern University study of the training of the tool and die makers pointed out students with vocational inclinations were given little or no occupational guidance when they had to make important decisions on educational programs. The researchers stated, "...there was a strong tendency of

counselors in school to denigrate vocational education." 9/ Considerable time was wasted while youngsters floundered in school and in the labor market because of lack of sufficient occupational guidance and counseling.

The Northeastern University researchers stressed that better guidance should be provided at the junior high school level by counselors knowledgeable about the labor market and sympathetic to youngsters without high academic aspirations if our youths are to be trained for occupations where good employment opportunities exist. The tool and die makers commented that, as youngsters, the schools failed to tell them that tool and die making was a rapidly expanding trade with high wages and interesting work.

The youngsters who were interviewed in the Northeastern study indicated they received little or no counseling. Whatever counseling that was received was sporadic, passive and directed toward immediate problems. Counseling was job oriented not career oriented. The longrun was never discussed and students were not exposed to a full exploration of a variety of job possibilities, career ladders and the advantages and

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9/ Horowitz and Herrnstadt, op.cit.

disadvantages of these jobs. They did not learn about earnings or working conditions from the counselors.

Even though some schools provided placement services, most students sought jobs on their own. The school facilities were used as a last resort. The authors concluded, "There apparently was no systematic administrative arrangement, except in the cooperative schools, by which the school kept itself informed of the employment status of its student." 10/

The examination of the shortage of skilled workers showed that, "...almost 60 percent of the tool and die makers participating in the study in Chicago and St. Louis had received no counseling." 11/ The tool and die makers had obtained information on their own initiative or had, by accident, found out about the trade. Very few of the school officials interviewed in these two cities felt that high school counseling was adequate. They complained that counselors were poorly qualified, knew little about the skilled occupations and placed too much emphasis on college careers.

10/ Ibid.

11/ Franke and Sobel, op.cit.

In looking at what workers, educators, and counselors knew about employment opportunities in shortage occupations, it became apparent there is a great need for the development of more adequate occupational information at the local level. The researchers stressed that this information must be disseminated more effectively to decisionmakers in the local labor market such as employers, workers, the unemployed, students, and vocational and other educational planners. Youngsters who are going through the process of occupational choice are in particular need of information in making curricula choices.

The Advisory Council on Vocational Education reported that only about 50 percent of the American high schools provide any form of vocational guidance. The Council called for some form of vocational guidance during a large part of a person's educational career. Work experience was identified as extremely important to vocationally-oriented youths.

The Council stated, "There is too much guidance of a clerical type, an information giving and receiving process with little concern or knowledge of the demands of occupations and the world of work." 12/

In a recent study of the potentials of vocational education, Professors Kaufman and Lewis of the Pennsylvania State University found two major weaknesses of vocational guidance and counseling in the vocational schools they studied. 13/ First, the counselors were poorly prepared in vocational areas and second, ratios of students to counselors were too high. The counselors were well prepared in guidance and guidance techniques but did not have the special preparation and knowledge of the nature of blue-collar jobs necessary for vocational counseling.

12/ Advisory Council on Vocational Education, op.cit.,p.8.

13/ Jacob J. Kaufman and Morgan V. Lewis, The Potential of Vocational Education: Observations and Conclusions based on a Study of Three Selected Cities in Pennsylvania (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, The Institute for Research on Human Resources, May 1968).

Although most of the vocational education graduates in the Kaufman-Lewis study who recalled receiving counseling, appeared to be satisfied with the guidance they received, about one-half of the vocational graduates reported they had no discussions about course choices with a counselor and more than three-fourths of the graduates indicated they never discussed their job plans.

The Penn State researchers believe that youngsters with disadvantaged backgrounds are entering our schools without basic orientations toward work that have been assumed to be there in the past. Thus, the schools are being asked to give those students the training in vocational values and work habits that have been previously provided by the home. Unless the schools develop new techniques and methods they will not be able to carry out this assignment. The researchers recommended that a more comprehensive concept of guidance is necessary. They called for vocational development that begins in elementary school and provides occupational knowledge, training in decisionmaking with the opportunity to explore many job possibilities while keeping open options for future choice.

The problem of counseling rural youth is compounded because so many of them are trained in one environment which they eventually leave when they move to the cities. Some researchers have pointed out that noncollege bound youngsters being counseled in rural schools, "...do not receive much in the way of counseling services." 14/ Many of the rural youths who move to the cities do not know about the full placement services provided by the Employment Service offices.

What implications for vocational guidance flow from these recent research studies?

C. Implications and Recommendations for Vocational Guidance

1. Those concerned with providing vocational guidance for noncollege bound youngsters should be aware of the employment opportunities available in the skilled trades. This means that they should learn about the number of job opportunities in the skilled occupations, the wages received, working conditions, and above all, the variety of training paths available for entering the craft jobs.

2. The counselor must be able to convey to the vocationally-oriented student not only the variety of paths, but must get the student to realize that these are options that can be followed even if he may have failed in school, dropped out of school,

14/ Guy H. Miles, Phase I - Optimizing the Benefits of Neighborhood Youth Corps Projects for Rural Youth (Minneapolis: North Star Research and Development Institute, 1968, for the U. S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower Research).

or even been blocked from entering formal training paths by discrimination or unrealistic hiring standards. School dropouts have been able to learn the requirements of some of the most skilled jobs. They have been able to acquire the mathematical knowledge and have demonstrated their ability to conceptualize and think logically in performing their jobs. We know that some employers are now willing to forget about credentials if the job applicant demonstrates aptitude and desire to learn a trade. Although combinations of formal training paths may be the most efficient way to learn a trade, the "pick-up" method has been used effectively by a significant proportion of the skilled labor force.

3. Counselors should become aware of the reputation of both public and private vocational schools. They should advise students, wherever possible, to check the reputations of schools with employers or workers already in the occupation.

4. Vocationally-oriented youngsters need the same kind of career counseling as the college bound person. Emphasis on job placement alone, rather than consideration of the career can result in floundering and detours which may affect earnings and eventual success. This calls for a thorough knowledge by counselors of career patterns in craft jobs.

5. Better local, as well as national labor market information must be provided in a systematic fashion to students, employers, educators, and parents. Better ways of disseminating this information must be devised if it is to help those who are making decisions about careers and educational planning.

6. Vocational guidance should be introduced early in the school curriculum for the vocationally-oriented youngsters. This should be offered on a continuing basis throughout the educational process.

7. More work-study opportunities should be provided for vocationally-oriented young men. They should be exposed to a variety of work experiences and be permitted to explore a wide range of occupations.

8. Counselors must not concentrate on the college bound youngsters nor denigrate the blue-collar jobs in our society. Our society cannot remain democratic if it fails to recognize and respect the importance and contribution of all of its workers.

At GM training center, instructor Frank Matthews (third from right) explains the mechanics of a truck engine to GIs.

LABOR

M — Training

How GM helps itself by helping the GIs

GM dealers need mechanics, men due to leave the services need job skills. Result is training program Pentagon hopes will become a model for more companies

A General Motors project to train servicemen in a civilian skill—and to help GM auto and appliance dealers get the mechanics they desperately want—is helping to provide a model for U.S. industry. The nation, says the Pentagon, must have a broad-gauge program of corporate-sponsored, pre-separation training for the growing stream of Vietnam veterans heading for civilian jobs.

Project Transition, begun by the Defense Dept. in 1967 and conducted by a list of blue-chip companies that includes Ford, Sears, Montgomery Ward, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Mobil Oil, Dictaphone, and others, aims directly at the soon-to-be-released serviceman. Its primary target is the less skilled and less educated man who, unless he gets vocational training, runs a serious risk of joining the hard-core unemployed. Under Project Transition, the company trains him in a skill he can use in civilian life while the Defense Dept. is still paying his salary, board, and lodging.

As it works out for GM—which trained 1,000 servicemen last year and expects to train 1,200 this year—the program is a functional combination of patriotism and corporate self-help.

Shortage. According to the National Automobile Dealers Assn., franchised dealers of all auto manufacturers now have 200,000 mechanics—and need just double that number to provide adequate service to car owners. Independent garages, used car dealers, and service stations need another 620,000 (again, the number they have now), NADA estimates. That adds up to 820,000 jobs that need filling.

Of the 1,000 servicemen trained by GM last year without charge, about half wound up actually working as mechanics, most of them at GM dealers—a good enough record to justify this year's increase in trainees, the company figures.

Nothing in the Project Transition contract requires GM to offer a trainee a job or requires the trainee to accept it. But, with mechanics as scarce as they are, GM is prepared to offer any successful graduate a job in just about any city he fancies.

"I've never seen a better group of students," says Paul E. McDonald, who manages GM's 30 training centers. "They are mature and know what they want to do. They are so highly disciplined in contrast to the 18-year-olds just out of school that it's unbelievable. They absorb everything quickly."

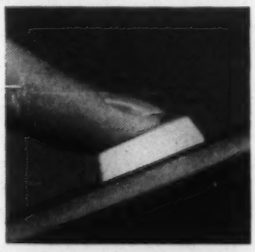
Signing up. Three-quarters of the trainees are Army men, the rest Air Force, Navy, or Marines. All must be within six months of separation and have no plans to reenlist. The latter is a sticky point. Some base commanders reportedly offer less than wholehearted cooperation because they feel Project Transition cuts down reenlistments; a man may have no plans to reenlist, but change his mind if there's no job in sight.

Military staff personnel administer the required aptitude tests. The successful candidate, says GM's McDonald, usually has "good motivation and mechanical adaptability," although prior experience is not needed.

The serviceman's base also provides

..Now the very same pushbutton reservation system is available to every business office.

It's called Telemax.



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transportation to the nearby GM training center, where company personnel take over as instructors. The 240-hour course is usually sliced up into six weeks of eight-hour days and five-day weeks, or sometimes 12 weeks of half-days. The decision is the base commander's, and he may insist that the serviceman spend at least half his day on military duty. GM won't accept less than a half-day trainee. "There is too much inertia involved," McDonald says.

Eager dealers. GM finds a potential employer in the trainee's area of choice right at the start, so that the serviceman knows the specific job that's waiting for him long before he's equipped to fill it. If the dealer is located near the training center, the trainee may meet him personally—a procedure GM regards as ideal, since it reduces the chance of a switch to a competing employer. Every such switch costs GM $1,000, the expense of training a serviceman.

GI student gets individual explanation of Cadillac engine component.

Training consists mainly of "hands on practice" in work areas that resemble dealers' service areas; only 20% of the course is classwork.

The company prefers to recruit trainees as close to the end of their military duty as possible, to shrink the gap between the learning process and experience on the job. McDonald describes the typical graduate as an advanced trainee, although a few do well enough to qualify as auto mechanics. Generally, it takes a year longer to turn an advanced trainee into a full-fledged mechanic. During that time he will take additional classes at one of GM's 30 training centers; only 15 are used in Project Transition because the

others are too far from military bases.

The dealer will be grateful even for an advanced trainee, McDonald says. "If he can do 25 or 30 relatively simple operations, he frees the dealer's regular mechanic for more serious tasks," he notes. Simple operations would include seeking out short circuits in a car's complex wiring system or repairing small motors such as the one that operates windshield wipers.

The graduate starts work at $1.75 to $2.25 an hour, with prospects of increases that may lift his income to as much as $15,000 a year.

Recruiting. GM expects Project Transition plus other training programs to produce 3,700 new mechanics for its dealers this year. Ford also plans to expand its participation; in addition to training mechanics, it will also train potential auto salesmen and is considering training non-commissioned officers to become foremen at assembly plants.

McDonald—and others connected with the program—concede that there are problems. For one, the Army apparently has decided to restrict eligibility for duty-time training to the disabled and those with no civilian skills. This knocks out motor pools as sources of applicants. For another, some of the most populous bases are too far from GM centers to make training feasible.

The Defense Dept., too, feels there is room for improvement. Project Transition trained 45,000 men last year, far less than the 150,000 originally envisioned. The department's own failure to reach potential trainees was a major reason; only 280,000 of the 800,000 released from service last year were told about the transition program. The Pentagon recently hired a consultant to improve the counseling situation, especially outside metropolitan areas. It also expects to increase the number of participating bases from the current total of 250.

Hard core. The Defense Dept. also worries that the program hasn't always reached its primary target, the uneducated, unskilled man. In the first Project Transition program at Fort Knox, where men were trained as service station dealers by Humble Oil & Refining Co., all of the trainees were high school graduates. This has been the pattern more often than the Pentagon likes.

Officials say that industry's natural desire to recruit the best-qualified trainee possible is only part of the reason. Industry is showing "an ever improving attitude" on the need to waive traditional requirements in order to attract uneducated recruits, but "some of these guys are leery," says a Pentagon man. "They don't believe that industry really wants to help them." **End**

Labor's knottiest talks

Price gyrations in West Coast lumber and plywood produce the industry's most complex contract fight in years. Stiff union demands raise threat of strike by 140,000 workers

The zigzag market for West Coast plywood and lumber has made negotiations for a new three-year contract to cover the industry's 140,000 workers the most complicated and strike-prone in years.

Last year was a solidly profitable one for the industry; taken together with the first quarter of 1969, it was dizzyingly peculiar. The index grade of sanded plywood climbed from a moneymaking $76 per 1,000 sq. ft. last June to a sensational $144 in February, then started a fall that plunged it below $70 this week. This is way below the break-even point at today's soaring log and timber prices. Lumber prices followed a similar zigzag, though not as sharply.

As a result, company and union representatives came to the bargaining tables this week with two separate sets of background facts and two sets of expectations. Bargaining is getting under way on contracts due to expire June 1.

Arguments. The unions have a battery of arguments: 1968's profits; the wage lag of their members behind auto, steel, and even the pulp and paper workers employed by the same companies that employ them; and the contract pattern established earlier this month for 21,000 pulp and paper workers—75¢ over two years, or close to 9% each year, including fringe benefits. They say they want better than that in order to catch up, and they want it now.

The companies tell it another way: the money-losing days of 1967; their present tight spot; and their fears that plywood and lumber prices will drop further if tight money cuts into residential building. Management spokesmen say the companies don't deny their 1968 profits, but regard them as a windfall; they can't afford to commit themselves to lavish increases on the assumption that there will be more where those came from.

They also point to contrasts with the pulp and paper industry, which has had an unspectacular but increasingly firm market last year and this. Presumably, this stability accounts for the substantial settlements that followed strikes at 10 mills earlier this month.

Now, a plywood company executive says: "The lower the market for plywood, the harder the fight over the contract, and the more I look for a strike."

Teamwork. The two unions involved are working in harness this year as they did three years ago. They are the Lumber & Sawmill Workers, affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, a former AFL union, and the International Woodworkers of America, a former CIO union.

Their cooperation in the 1966 negotiations—after years of warfare that weakened the bargaining positions of both—produced a 55¢ increase over three years. It was a record gain then but is now overshadowed by contracts negotiated in other industries during the intervening three years.

Their present demands call for wage boosts of 50¢ an hour the first year and 8% for each of the next two; increases in health and welfare benefits, vacations, and shift differentials; and higher job rates for certain skilled and semiskilled jobs. The unions have put no money figure on the total package, but some company spokesmen estimate its cost at 15% for each year of the three-year contract.

Travel time is also an issue, as it has been in almost every previous negotiation since loggers stopped living in bunk houses in the woods. The companies have resisted the demand for extra pay for the time spent reaching logging country—usually by private car and company bus—but their attitude is reported to be changing as logging areas grow more distant and loggers grow harder to recruit.

Table talk. The unions opened negotiations last week with the Timber Operators Council, which represents 200 independent companies, and the lumber industry's Big Four: Weyerhaeuser, Crown Zellerbach, Rayonier, and International Paper. Negotiations were due to begin this week with Simpson Timber Co., U. S. Plywood-Champion Papers, and Georgia-Pacific.

Plywood and lumber workers currently average an estimated $3.25 an hour. Fringe benefits add another 25¢ to the bill. **End**

A- Training

Sun., May 18, 1969 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

New Training Program Assures Jobs at End of Instruction

By ROBERT ADAMS
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

For some who need jobs, going through an off-the-job training center may feel a little like rolling dice: There is no guarantee that the gamble will pay off with a paycheck.

But 10 young men who finished a course at the Employment Training Center at 4300 Goodfellow Boulevard last week avoided that gamble. Under an informal arrangement that the center had never tried before, Western Electric Co. had agreed before they began training five weeks ago to hire the 10 as telephone equipment installers.

Tomorrow they start their jobs. Whether the experiment is a success will depend on how well they do.

But the results have been so encouraging to poverty war officials than another class of 10 has been started.

Contract Trainer

"We think it's worked well for everybody," commented William F. Seymour, manager of the Northern Systems Co. operation in St. Louis. The firm runs the Goodfellow center under contract with the Human Development Corporation.

"The trainee has a job waiting for him. He doesn't have to sit home even one day. And the company benefits. They know who they're getting and they know their new employes want to work for them."

Those involved in the program note that the idea of getting a commitment for a job is not new. Under federal manpower programs, a company can sign a contract to hire a certain number of the hard-core unemployed.

Then the company trains them and is reimbursed for expenses.

But such programs, antipoverty officials contend, are not always popular with employers. Northern Systems is attempting to combine the best features of all the programs.

"We've found that some companies aren't anxious to put their names on a dotted line even if reimbursed," a spokesman for HDC said. "They may be hesitant about hooking up with the Government. Or they think we're trying to beat them into something.

"The commitment here was essentially a moral commitment. Nobody waved any papers in their faces. It seems to be an arrangement in which all sides can feel uncomfortable."

No Uncertainty

And although Northern now claims a placement rate approaching 100 per cent, the arrangement removes uncertainty and any waiting after training is done.

It also ensures that basic training is done off the job, which many feel is less threatening than an on-the-job situation.

"We hired 10 hard-core unemployed in an on-the-job training program earlier this year," noted John A. Weiss, personnel investigator for Western Electric.

"We kept only four of the 10. That's a 60 per cent dropout rate. We felt we'd better try something else."

What Western did was agree in advance to hire 10 hard-core trainees from the center. The agreement was worked out between Western Electric, Northern Systems, and Work Opportunities Unlimited, the job-placement arm of the local poverty program.

Fifteen applicants were sent to Western and tested. Ten were picked. The rest were offered the regular training program.

Visits by Executives

The 10 then began a five-week program at 4300 Goodfellow. Throughout the period, Western Electric officers, with no reimbursement, dropped by to answer questions and talk.

The 10 — there were no dropouts — were graduated Friday. Tomorrow they begin at Western with a two-week training session geared to their jobs.

And if enthusiasm is any indication, they should do well.

"We have our jobs already," said Michael Williams, 18 years old. "We won't have to go hunting for one. I think this is a great idea."

"We won't be strangers when we get there," said Curtis Boyd, 24. "We still have a lot to learn about Western. But we know a lot, too. We aren't going in blindfolded."

What Northern is doing has not been without its detractors. An official in a vocational education program in St. Louis believes that the idea may be impractical because few employers are likely to go along with the arrangement.

But another official in vocational education says he has used such a system for years and wonders why the Goodfellow center was so slow in trying it.

Seymour is optimistic.

"Everybody talks these days about voluntary co-operation between government and business," he says. "Well, that's what we're doing. We have 70 or 80 people training here at any given time. I hope eventually we can do this for all of them."

BRACE YOURSELF
(continued)

ultimately less restraint on inflation—than past recessions.

Further, the spread of service-type jobs suggests to many analysts that labor costs, which kept climbing briskly in most past recessions, will climb more briskly than ever in future economic setbacks.

Wage rates move in only one direction—up. The last yearly decline in hourly wages in production occurred in 1933, at the pit of the Depression. However, the rise of production wages in the past has been largely offset by the installation of labor-saving machinery that increases the hourly output, or productivity, of individual workers.

In service-type jobs, however, such labor-saving measures are much more difficult. You cannot—yet—automate a haircut. Indeed, many new services seem to require more rather than less human effort. New types of surgery often require large operating teams. (On the other hand, it's true that the trend to self-service has helped hold down labor costs in such service industries as retailing.)

Growing unionization in service occupations also will add to inflationary pressure in any future downturn, many analysts predict. Production workers traditionally have used union power to win big wage boosts. But now such service workers as teachers, nurses, sanitation men and even policemen are turning to union-stye militancy to win big pay increases—whose cost cannot readily be offset by automation.

There is at least one bright aspect to the postwar price record, some economists say. Although prices continue to climb in recessions, the early periods of most subsequent expansions are relatively inflation-free. When economic activity started to pick up after the 1957-58 slump, consumer prices remained flatter than in the recession. The same thing happened after the 1960-61 slowdown.

Economists say one reason for this pattern is that the trend of retail prices of such durable goods as appliances and furniture tends to lag behind the trend of prices at factory level. Factory prices usually decline in recessions, but many months elapse before the declines are reflected at the retail level. By then, economic recovery has frequently been under way. The growing role of services, however, leads some analysts to downgrade the significance of this price pattern in future recessions and recovery periods.

Thus many economists claim that the U.S. now faces an extra long period of sluggish business if inflation is to be licked. "A lot of people seem to think we can have a little slowdown and then the unpleasant matter of inflation will be set straight," says Bernstein-Macaulay's Mr. Bernstein. "But the record indicates that it will take a prolonged period of slow growth—maybe even of recession—to do the job."

How long? Perhaps as much as four years, Mr. Bernstein suggests.

But political observers say no Administration would ever allow such a long stretch of economic sluggishness. They admit, though, that there is but one alternative: More inflation.

Sun., May 18, 1969
ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Senator Urges Tougher Child Labor Laws

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., May 17 (UPI)—Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. (Dem.), New Jersey, said this week that the nation must strengthen its child labor laws to protect 228,000 children of migrant farm laborers.

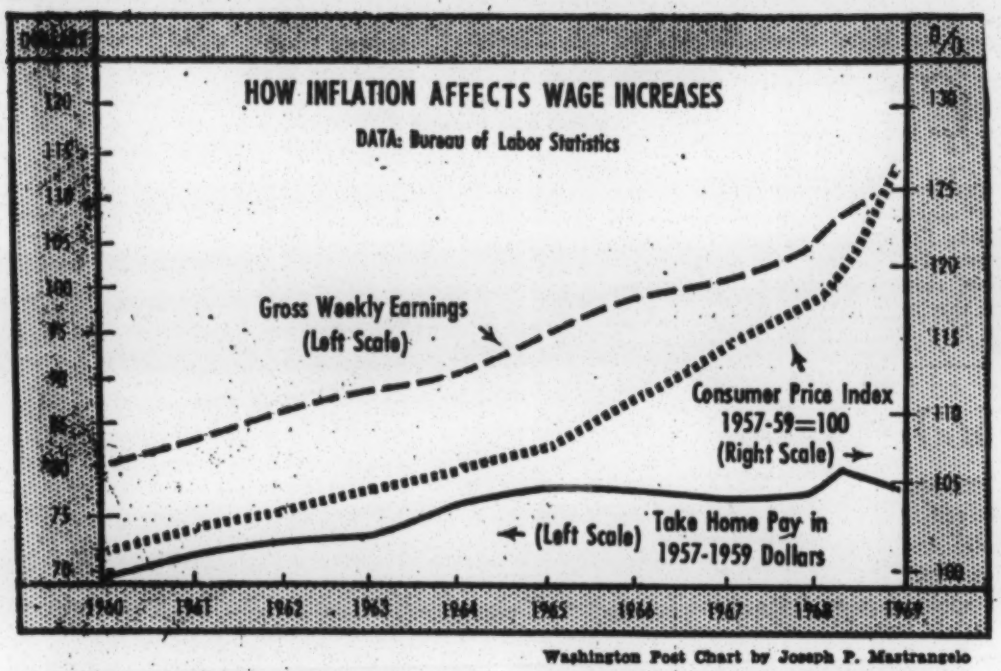
In a speech at the national convention of state directors of migrant education programs, Williams said, "existing child labor laws make it difficult — and in some cases, impossible —to do a thorough job of educating migrant children."

"Most state laws are still inadequate and federal protection goes only to children under 16 during school hours," he said.

"Children who belong in school should not be allowed to drift out of the classroom and into the brutalizing life of harsh, exhausting labor — often only moments after school lessons."

Williams spoke before some 200 specialists in the education of children of migrant workers. They represent all states except Alaska, Hawaii and Rhode Island.

Williams recently introduced a bill in the Senate to prohibit the hiring of children on farms unless the child is 14 or older and has parental consent to work on a farm no more than 25 miles from home.



Washington Post Chart by Joseph P. Mastrangelo

Solid line represents average weekly pay of a private, non-farm employe in terms of 1957-59 dollars and after deductions for income taxes and Social Security. It shows purchasing power rose steadily until 1965, then flattened out into a plateau unbroken since then except for a short-lived rise last year. The other two lines give the reason why. The accelerating rise in the Consumer Price index (as well as taxes, which are not shown) gradually offset the increase in gross weekly earnings. Prices have been rising faster than wages so that purchasing power has steadily dropped.

Cost of Living Continues to Rise; Inflation Fighters Are Disheartened

PRICES, From A1

Assistant Commissioner of Labor Statistics Arnold Chase listed a number of areas where prices have held relatively steady in the past 12 months. Floor coverings rose only 1.6 per cent in the period; gas and electric rates, 1.6; appliances, 1.4; soaps and detergents, 1.9; new cars, 1.6, and drugs and prescriptions, 0.8 per cent. Fruits and vegetables as well as radio and TV sets were even down a bit.

"In those areas where there seems to be strong competition, prices have been held in check," Chase said.

Larger than average increases from a year ago include 5.8 per cent for restaurant meals; 6.6 for housing 10.6 for home ownership; 6.1 for clothing and upkeep; 7.5 for public transportation and 8.4 per cent for medical services.

Ironically, the biggest single inflationary increase—24 per cent in home mortgage costs—stems directly from the Government's own battle against inflation. Monetary policy has continued to force up interest rates.

For April alone, large increases appeared in services (0.8 per cent); medical care (0.7); food in general (0.7); meats, poultry and fish in particular (1.6); clothing (0.6); and gas and electricity (0.5).

NEW YORK TIMES
MAY 23 1969

U.S. HELPS STUDENTS TO WORK FOR TUITION

WASHINGTON—The Federal Government will make more than $78.8-million available during the last six months of this year to help 221,000 students work their way through college.

Divided into two awards, the money will be used in the July-December period to provide part-time employment for students under the College Work-Study program.

The first award, grants funds totaling $75,744,315 to 1,842 colleges and universities planning to continue their participation in the program. These institutions are situated in all 50 States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and will provide jobs for 211,000 students.

The second award involves grants of more than $3-million to 300 colleges and universities taking part in the program for the first time

The Federal Government pays 80 per cent of the salaries of College Work-Study students, many of whom are from low-income families. Employment may be on campus in libraries, laboratories, college business offices, cafeterias, or in maintenance work—any job that advances the purposes of the college—or off campus with public or private nonprofit agencies in such areas as health, welfare, education, and recreation.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
Sun., May 18, 1969

Two-Year Program Of Nurse Training

The DePaul Hospital School of Nursing will begin a two-year nurses' training program next fall. Students currently train for three years before receiving degrees.

The new program is designed to help meet a severe shortage of nurses.

Sister Marie Doerr, director of the school, said new teaching methods would be used to provide an accelerated program without sacrificing quality.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
MAY 23 1969

Survey Finds Consumers More Hopeful Than in '68

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK—Consumers are cheerier than a year ago about prospects of boosting their income and for a better business climate over the next six months, a survey of the National Industrial Conference Board shows.

According to the survey taken in March and April, 34% expect higher incomes within the next half year, up from 29% with such hopes in the spring of 1968. Also, 41% look for "good" business conditions within the next six months, up from 39% with similar expectations a year earlier.

The survey of 10,000 families in more than 200 major U.S. cities was made for the board by National Family Opinion Inc., a Toledo, Ohio, market research firm.

Specifically, it shows that 10% of the households interviewed plan to buy an automobile in the next six months, up from 9% with the same plans a year ago. Those with home-buying plans rose to 3.3% from 2.7% in the spring of 1968. And about 40% of the households plan to purchase a major appliance, up from 35% a year earlier, the survey shows.

NEW YORK TIMES
MAY 23 1969

Some Inmates in Chicago Go Out to Work Each Day

CHICAGO (AP)—Some inmates of the Bridewell, the Chicago city jail, are put on a work-release program that allows them to keep their jobs while serving sentences.

The men are housed in a cell block separate from other inmates and come and go by a separate entrance. They are not required to wear prison clothing.

They are required to sign papers releasing their salaries to their wives or families and must pay $3.50 a day to the Bridewell for room and board.

parents. Like for insist [sic], last Christmas I had enough money to buy my mother a coat which she was much in need of."

Carlotta wrote: "When you are out in the world working you feel more grown up. You feel like you are somebody. Making the money, you don't have to ask anyone to give you anything. You really have become a young lady."

Unsigned: "It's really a great opportunity. Ever since I've been in co-op I've made quite a change, not only in making money but in appearance and really in manners. You learn to speak in a different way with business people."

Not everybody was as enthusiastic as the majority. Inez wasn't. Asked, "What do you like about the job?" she answered, "What I like about the job is not much. My job is okay, but I'm sure I can get paid more for wat [sic] I'm doing."

Another girl found she didn't enjoy office work and was glad the experience had shown her what it was like. She'll find herself another career, she wrote. But the great majority expressed strong approval of the program.

Even where the program succeeds, however, it raises problems. A major one is finding jobs that not only pay wages but which are of real educational value. Business naturally wants production from its employees. The school agrees it should get value for the wages it pays, but it is concerned also that the student gets a broad education while he produces.

"We've battled and battled for educational jobs," said N. T. Whiteman, principal of Patterson Cooperative High School in Dayton. He has had considerable success in his struggle.

Some employers, on the other hand, complain that school people are so eager to find jobs for their students that they are not selective enough.

Another problem is union relations. Federal labor laws determine minimum wages for children over 16 years of age on the same scale as that used for adults. The law also states that a student worker must not displace a regular full-time employee.

Unions are vigilant to see that these provisions are observed.

Perhaps the greatest problem is to reach the children most in need of high-school co-op experience. Even in New York City, with its open-enrollment policies, a small proportion of those eligible participate in the program. Mrs. Sherline estimates that in a typical high school of 4,000 enrollment only about 150 students would be "co-ops."

Coordinators see prestige reasons

Why so few? Coordinators I met in New York say it is mainly because of the poor image of vocational education. Parents want their children enrolled in college-preparatory courses for prestige reasons, whether they expect them to enter college or not. Educators think a way must be found to change prevailing attitudes toward work-experience. Co-op rarely bears a stigma when offered in colleges, and it should not in high-school circles.

Another problem exists in rural areas where jobs in business and industry are few. Children in the Southern mountains and in areas of poor farmland and abandoned mines greatly need the opportunities offered by cooperative education. But 81 percent of the opportunities for co-op school jobs are in the inner cities, reports Dr. Trudy Banta of the University of Tennessee. "Children in small towns need this experience just as much as city kids, if not more," she points out.

It is to be hoped that when funds begin to flow to the states in July, according to terms of the Vocational Amendments Act of 1968, those states which have the problem of educating disadvantaged children for useful careers will give particular attention to areas which are too poor to carry on cooperative education without government aid.

Rare Success

A Job Program That Works

By Dick Meister
Labor Correspondent

It's there in the face of a black youngster playing happily in a little playground that just yesterday was a useless vacant lot . . .

In the brisk, eager movements of a young Latin-American, just out of his teens, learning to work for the first time in his life . . .

In the surprise on the face of a tough-talking employer when he tells you, "They're making it—by God, they're making it" . . .

And, most especially, in the overwhelming enthusiasm of the white union labor leader, Bud Johnson, and the black community leader, Orville Luster.

PROGRAM

These are the signs of success: Happiness, surprise and enthusiasm over a job program for deprived minority people that actually seems to be working the way all of the thousands of job programs are supposed to work, but rarely do.

Luster, the man who runs Youth for Service and who should know, says there is nothing quite like it, anywhere.

"I mean it," he insists, waving one of those big cigars that seem as much a part of Luster as the long, thick fingers that grip them. "They're coming from all over the country to take a look."

GOAL

This is something called the Adult Work Training Program.

It started in March of last year with about $160,000 in Federal anti-poverty funds and the rarely realized goal of finding permanent jobs for those family men in the city's minority community—and there are thousands who usually draw unemployment and welfare checks, rather than pay checks.

In the first seven months, 119 men were enrolled and 81 found permanent jobs. Fifty-six are still on the job, in construction work and city government, at airlines and aboard ships, in hospitals and restaurants and in sales and office work, and none at less than $2.25 an hour.

The Government was impressed enough to put $252,000 more into the program for another year's operation. Today, half way through the second year, 60 more men have been found jobs, about 75 are enrolled in the program and spots for 125 more are being readied.

DIFFERENCE

Program sponsors attribute this success to the fact that their effort is different from so many other such programs. They are aimed mainly at providing training that, hopefully, will lead to jobs. But this program stresses jobs above everything.

"We're not a training program at all," explained Paul Schmidt, who directs the program out of a cluttered office at Youth for Service's McAllister street headquarters.

"Our function is to find jobs. We don't guarantee anything, but we do give a guy a chance to show he can do the work thing."

The men, that is, are not being taught a specific job skill as they are in many other programs. They are being given the chance, through coaching, to exhibit the ability to hold down one of the permanent jobs that are found by program sponsors and, while on that job, to learn the skills that go with it.

LABORERS

It's not easy. But if a man can make it through the program, said Johnson, "he's pretty sure of getting a real job. We have plenty of employers who are eager to hire a man who's willing to learn what they want him to learn."

Johnson's big Laborers Union local—at 6000 members one of the city's largest—has a lot do with the program's impressive record. Among other things, three dozen of the men who were found jobs are working out of the Laborers' hiring hall here at pay of $4.40 to $8.93 an hour.

Continued on Page 6

OVER →

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JOB PROGRAM (Continued)

The men in the program are recruited through the Adult Opportunity Centers in the city's poverty areas, referred to Youth for Service for counseling and given two weeks of orientation by the State Employment Service.

Then they are sent to city agencies or to such facilities as the University of California Hospital to work at temporary jobs for $2 an hour for 10 to 12-week periods.

TRIAL

Somethime they are sent directly to the employers who program sponsors hope will give them permanent jobs eventually. These employers need only agree to hire the men for trial periods of four to eight weeks, during which their salaries are paid through the program, then decide whether to hire them permanently.

The men attend classes in basic education eight hours a week at Youth for Service and work 32 hours on their temporary jobs as hospital aides, maintenance men, clerks and as laborers at unique construction sites that are being developed for the City's "mini-park" program.

These work sites are an important part of the program—like that vacant lot transformed into a playground for the black child in the Bayview District, and others like it in other neighborhoods where they don't have many playgrounds.

It is here and at other work sites—cleaning up public housing projects or building the impressive Centro Social Obrero in the Mission District—that the men practice the basic work habits they need desperately to find permanent jobs:

"Reporting to work on time, working well with other employees, doing work willingly and with a minimum of direction."

What if a man reports to work late? "We tell him to go home and come back tomorrow," declared Joe Vargas, the Youth for Service supervisor in charge of the Bayview District playground.

"That's the only way they're going to learn how a man earns his living," he explained the other morning as he stood closely watching two young men sprucing up the playground at Palou avenue and Phelps street.

The land is leased to the program for $1 a year by the Southern Pacific Railroad, and the old telephone poles, railroad ties and other equipment that went into the imaginative play structures were donated by S.P. and other firms.

Vargas is certain that at least half of the enrollees eventually will be sent to permanent jobs, once their basic training at the work sites is concluded.

There is more to it than just the work sites, however. Many of the men have legal problems to unsnarl—arrest records to explain, traffic tickets to pay—and perhaps health problems or the need for lunch money and transportation.

The program takes care of these things, too. "When we deliver a guy," said Johnson, "everything's behind him; the hangups are gone. We can guarantee that he's ready, willing and able—and the employers will take him."

Sat., May 24, 1969
ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Jobs Pledged For Youths

Permanent jobs for 3883 disadvantaged high school youths and summer jobs for 1927 others have been pledged in the National Alliance of Businessmen campaign here.

John Fox, chairman of the NAB in the metropolitan area, said employment pledges from business firms were being received at an encouraging rate. However the NAB goal is to place 4000 hard-core unemployed persons in regular jobs in the next 12 months. The summer job goal is 2200.

"The actual placement of 4000 hard-core unemployed in jobs will require more than 4000 pledges to compensate for fluctuations in business conditions and other variables," Fox said. The solicitation of job pledges will end June 30.

Fox said, "One of the most notable developments in the 1969 NAB campaign is the increase of about 50 per cent over last year in the number of pledges for jobs which will be implemented under Government contracts reimbursing employers for extraordinary costs incurred in training, counseling and other supportive services."

Fox, who is board chairman at Mercantile Trust Co., urged employers who could provide summer jobs for ghetto youths to call the NAB office at 231-3500, Station 841.

Tuesday, May 27, 1969
HOUSTON CHRONICLE

English Help Slated For Latin Tots

Austin (AP) — The Texas Educaton Agency announced Monday three programs designed to help educate children of migrant farm workers, as well as other Spanish-speaking youngsters.

More than 15,000 Texas children who have grown to early school age speaking only Spanish will be introduced to basic English this summer in 129 schools.

The preschool program is designed to give each youngster a working knowledge of the basic words he will need to begin the first grade in September.

Teachers assigned to the classes will have fluent command of English and experience in teaching children whose first language is not English.

Each child will receive at least two hours of insturction each day and 120 hours during the program.

This plan, authorized by the legislature in 1961, is financed by the minimum foundation program. All non - English-speaking children who will reach age six by Sept. 1 and who will enter the first grade are eligible.

Ten summer institutes designed to update the teaching of migrant children will be sponsored by the TEA in three universities and one education service center.

About 625 public school administrators, teachers and teacher aides will attend sessions at the University of Texas at Austin, Texas Tech in Lubbock, Texas A&I University in Kingsville and Region I Education Service Center in Edinburg.

The special summer program, which began in 1966 with two institutes for teachers only, is supported by federal funds.

THE KANSAS CITY TIMES
Thursday, May 29, 1969

JOBS GRANT BOOSTED

U. S. Awards $128,443 More for Summer Youth Program

An additional grant of $128,443 for summer jobs for disadvantaged high school age youth has been allocated to Kansas City, George P. Shultz, secretary of labor, announced yesterday.

This brings to $458,843 the total allocated to Kansas City for the Neighborhood Youth corps summer program. The latest grant will permit adding 321 new job opportunities.

A total of 336,000 jobs will be available nationally for disadvantaged high school youth this summer through the N. Y. C. programs, Shultz said.

The N. Y. C. program is part of the Comprehensive Summer Youth program co-ordinated by the President's Council on Youth, whose chairman is Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew.

The Dallas Morning News Tuesday, May 27, 1969

Schooling OK'd For Prisoners

AUSTIN—Any prison inmates without a high school diploma may attend prison schools entirely at state expense under a bill passed recently by the Legislature, Atty. Gen. Crawford Martin ruled Monday.

Education Commissioner J. W. Edgar requested the opinion on whether the State Public School Fund, which pays 80 per cent of public school costs, must be used to send inmates to prison schools.

"We answer your question in the affirmative," Martin replied. Any prison inmates, regardless of age, may attend state-supported prison schools if he is not a high school graduate, according to the new law.

6-69

Research Summaries

Monitoring manpower programs

GERALD G. SOMERS

DATA NEEDS for the monitoring and evaluation of manpower programs are qualitative as well as quantitative, and the greatest deficiencies now lie in the former rather than the latter. Quality can be improved not only through improvements in the availability and utilization of existing data, but through the acquisition of new data by means of interview surveys and experimental evaluation-research projects, as described below.

Improvements in existing operating data and in their utilization. The direct approach to the elimination of data gaps in operating forms is through the education of operating personnel. They should be instructed concerning the importance of asking the right questions.

Since it is unlikely that a program of education can be successfully applied in all manpower programs across the country, a more realistic approach might be the insistence on excellence for a carefully selected probability sample. Special efforts could be made, through instruction and surveillance, to insure that the forms were properly completed. This sample could provide benchmark data by which the reporting forms of all other programs could be evaluated. Such a compromise between the unobtainable goal of full and accurate data in all operating programs and the alternative of a continuance of present difficulties should be feasible without undue cost.

Improvements in the operating data produced by the programs themselves should be supplemented by better utilization of social security data on earnings and employment of enrollees and of selected control groups. Although we are all aware of the limitations of social security data, especially with regard to the cutoff in reported earnings, these data, when appropriately adjusted, are far superior to the earnings data now acquired through the short term and haphazard followup of manpower programs by operating personnel.

Plans are now underway to utilize social security earnings data in the ongoing evaluation of MDTA training. This is a significant departure, and it should be watched carefully with an eye to its extension to other manpower programs.

Special sample interview surveys. Federal funds must be used in connection with those from foundations and university sources to extend interview surveys among enrollees in manpower programs and appropriate control groups. Such surveys, giving careful attention to a lengthier period of followup than is customarily possible in government evaluations, would provide employment and income data for the calculation of opportunity costs as well as for comparison of benefits before and after the program. The interview surveys would also make possible an emphasis on attitudinal questions.

Experimental-research evaluation projects. Since these interview surveys come after the fact, they are still not likely to include a valid control group. The ideal control group is a group of workers identical to the enrollees, with the same outlook, ambition, and attitudes—as well as similar objective characteristics. This group can best be found among those who apply for admission to the manpower program, are accepted by the selection officials, and yet are not included.

It is probable that such an ideal control group can be found only in a deliberately constructed

This excerpt is adapted from "Data Needs for Monitoring and Evaluating Manpower Programs," by Gerald G. Somers, chairman of the Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin, presented at the annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association in Chicago, December 29–30, 1968. The full paper is included in the *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Annual Winter Meeting*, available from the IRRA, Social Science Building, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Monthly Labor Review 6-69

Monthly Labor Record

experimental manpower program—one designed wholly for a research evaluation. There is now growing emphasis on such research experiments, and it is hoped that they will spread to the evaluation of manpower policies.

Wages in textile mills

Straight-time earnings of production and related workers in cotton and man-made fiber textile mills averaged $2.06 an hour in September 1968. The mills covered by the BLS survey employed 340,200 workers in their regular textile operations.[1] Nearly all of these workers had earnings between $1.60, the Federal minimum wage for manufacturing, and $3 an hour; earnings of the middle half ranged from $1.80 to $2.28 an hour. Men accounted for nearly three-fifths of the work force and averaged $2.13 an hour. Women, mostly employed as battery hands, spinners, weavers, and yarn winders, averaged $1.96.

The $2.06 wage level was 18 percent above the $1.74 average recorded in similar studies in September 1965.[2] This rise in average earnings was largely the result of general wage increases granted annually during the 3-year period. Regionally, average hourly earnings advanced 13 percent in New England, about 19 percent in the Middle Atlantic and Southeast regions, and 25 percent in the Southwest. Table 1, based on BLS surveys in cotton and man-made fiber textile industries since 1954, indicates that the traditional wage differential between New England and the Southeast has virtually disappeared. Since September 1965, employment was up approximately 8 percent in the Southeast and Southwest regions and down by a similar percentage in both New England and the Middle Atlantic States.

In September 1968, workers in the Southeast accounted for nearly nine-tenths of the employment and averaged $2.06 an hour. Averages in the other regions were $2.07 in New England, $2.11 in the Middle Atlantic, and $1.91 in the Southwest. Earnings levels also varied by size of community, size of mill, scope of mill operation (i.e., spinning, weaving, or both operations), and type of product manufactured. Although these factors contributed to the regional variations noted above, others, including general differences in pay levels among regions, were also important.

Table 1. Wage differential between New England and Southeast regions, 1954–68

Date	Average hourly earnings in New England as a percent of Southeast averages
November 1954	112.7
August 1960	109.7
May 1963	109.9
September 1965	106.4
September 1968	100.5

Table 2. Average hourly earnings by occupation, September 1968

Occupation	Number of workers	Average hourly earnings
Battery hands	12,193	$1.84
Doffers, spinning frame	12,771	2.17
Drawing frame tenders	4,658	2.00
Inspectors, cloth machine	9,053	1.92
Loom fixers	16,252	2.72
Spinners, ring frame	24,370	2.00
Truckers, hand	10,526	1.78
Weavers	29,064	2.37
Winders, yarn	33,104	1.93

Cotton textile mills employed 201,220 production workers and manmade fiber textile mills, 138,980. Earnings of both groups averaged $2.06 an hour. In New England and the Southeast, the only regions permitting comparisons between the averages of the two groups, differences amounted to 1 cent an hour. Nationally, earnings in both sectors advanced 18 percent since the September 1965 surveys; employment, on the other hand, declined 8 percent in cotton mills compared with an increase of 38 percent in manmade fiber textile mills. Mills were classified according to the principal type of fiber used in manufacturing at the time of the survey. Modern textile machinery facilitates shifting from one fiber to another, and part of the employment changes noted between the 1965 and 1968 surveys undoubtedly reflects this versatility.

The occupations surveyed separately were selected to represent the wage levels and the types of skills and manufacturing operations in regular textile departments. Nationwide averages for a few of the occupations studied are shown in table 2.

Seven-tenths of the production workers were paid time rates, usually under formal systems providing a single rate for a given occupation. Incentive wage systems, nearly always based on individual piecework, applied to the remaining production workers. Numerically important occupations usually paid under incentive wage systems

From Monthly Labor Review June, 1969
(Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Dept of Labor)

included spinning frame doffers, slubber tenders, weavers, and yarn winders.

One-sixth of the production workers covered by the survey were employed in mills with labor-management contracts covering a majority of their production workers. This is considerably below the extent of unionization in all manufacturing industries combined. Regionally, the proportions of workers in mills with labor-management contracts were: Nearly three-fifths in New England, about one-half in the Middle Atlantic, one-eighth in the Southeast, and less than one-tenth in the Southwest.

Work schedules of 48 hours a week were in effect in mills employing nearly three-fifths of the work force in the Southeast. In the other three regions, 40-hour schedules were predominant, applying to about seven-eighths of the workers in New England, seven-tenths in the Middle Atlantic region, and nearly three-fifths in the Southwest.

Slightly more than one-half of the workers were employed on late shifts. From 25 to 30 percent of the workers in each region were employed on second shifts and generally did not receive shift differential pay. The proportions of workers on third shifts ranged from about 16 percent in the Middle Atlantic region to nearly 25 percent in the Southeast. Third-shift workers usually received 5 cents an hour above day rates in the Southeast and Southwest and 7 cents an hour in New England; in the Middle Atlantic region, the most common single provision was 10 percent above day rates.

Paid holidays and paid vacations were provided to a large majority of the workers. Paid holidays, granted to nearly seven-eighths of the work force, usually amounted to 6 days or more annually in New England and the Middle Atlantic region and 4 days or less in the Southeast and Southwest. Typical plans on paid vacations, usually based on percentages of annual earnings (for this study, percentage payments were converted to an equivalent time basis) provided 1 week's pay after 1 year of service and 2 weeks' after 5 years. Provisions for 3 weeks after 15 years of service applied to less than one-tenth of the workers.

Life, hospitalization, and surgical insurance benefits, for which employers paid at least part of the cost, were available to nearly all of the workers. Other types of insurance, such as sickness and accident, basic medical, and catastrophe, covered between one-half and two-thirds of the work force.

Retirement pension plans, other than Federal social security, covered two-thirds of the workers; regionally, the approximate proportions were one-seventh in New England, one-third in the Middle Atlantic, two-thirds in the Southwest, and seven-tenths in the Southeast. Pension benefits were usually predetermined and not based on profits. Plans providing lump-sum payments at retirement applied to slightly more than one-tenth of the work force. Such plans covered one-half of the workers in New England, compared with one-eighth or less in the other regions.

The survey covered establishments employing 20 workers or more and primarily engaged in manufacturing yarn (or thread) and broadwoven fabrics (12 inches or more in width) of cotton, man-made fibers, or silk. Earnings information developed by the survey excludes premium pay for overtime and for work on weekends, holidays, and late shifts, and is not comparable with gross average hourly earnings published in the Bureau's monthly hours and earnings series. A comprehensive report on the survey is expected to be issued late this summer. An advance tabulation of national and regional data and separate releases for some States and areas are available upon request to the Bureau or any of its regional offices. □

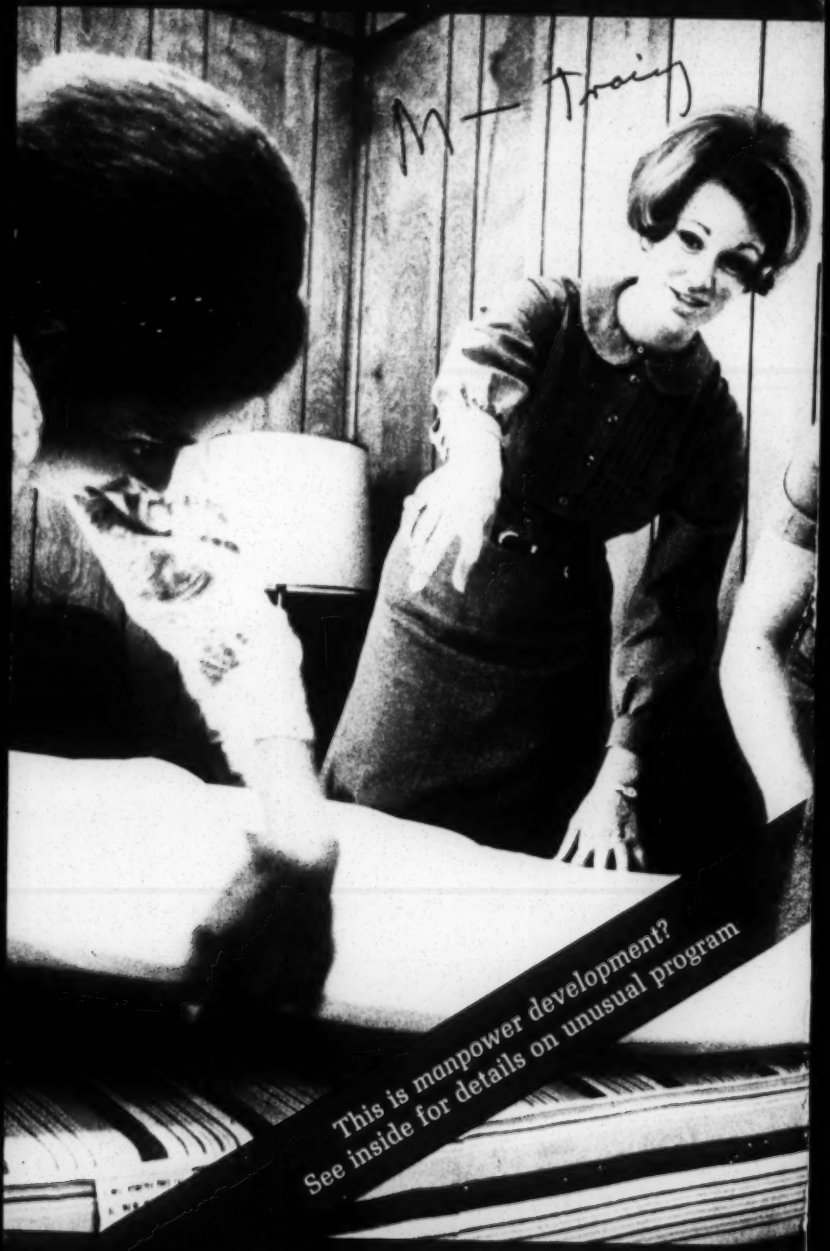
—CHARLES M. O'CONNOR
Division of Occupational Wage Structures

FOOTNOTES

[1] Earnings data for an estimated 26,157 workers employed in bleaching, cloth dyeing and finishing, and fabricating departments are excluded from earnings information in this article. These workers, however, were included in developing the proportions of production workers in mills providing selected supplementary benefits.

[2] See Charles M. O'Connor, "Earnings in Synthetic Textile Mills, September 1965," and George L. Stelluto, "Earnings in Cotton Textile Mills, September 1965," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1966, pp. 762–768.

MANPOWER



DIGEST

RICH SQUARE, N. C.: Forty-nine Families Train, Learn In Experimental-Community Setting

The sign reads "RCA-CADA Family Training Project." Behind the sign, deployed in a bleak field outside Rich Square, North Carolina, are the prefabs in which an experiment in training is being conducted. Further back, flanked by pines, are more prefabs in which the subjects of the experiment live.

Can you move entire families of poor, black people—the principle disadvantaged of Eastern North Carolina—into a prefabricated community setting and make of them social units that will function successfully when they move back into the labor market? That is the basic question the Radio Corporation of America and the Choanoke Area Development Association are attempting to answer.

The project has been fully operative only since October of last year. It operates on two levels. On the first level are basic education centers in Windsor, Enfield, Jackson, and Ahoskie. Qualified residents of the four-county CADA area (Bertie, Halifax, Hertford, and Northampton) are given training in these centers and screened either for immediate employment or for intensive training in the family center.

The family center can handle a maximum of 49 families. Families stay an average of three to six months, until they and project officials are satisfied that they are ready to leave. The men are given basic education, counseling, and skill training in either electric welding, auto mechanics, or building trades. The women are trained as homemakers. The pre-school children romp in an onsite nursery. The community is self-contained and the families in it form a neighborhood unit with their own administrative machinery. "We try to teach them not only how to work with others but how to live with each other," says Dr. Charles F. Moffett, project manager.

It is impossible to measure the success of this program with any confidence this early. Heads of household of 21 graduating families are earning an average of $2.30 an hour. But as MDC has discovered, the true test of success in manpower training programs is the

"sticking rate." How many of the RCA-CADA breadwinners will stay on the job and go on up the salary ladder?

The Rich Square program is bucking the usual battery of manpower problems, some of them statewide in nature and others local. There are insufficient jobs in the immediate area for the kinds of skills being taught. Where such skills are in demand, the major external problem suffered by manpower training programs—inadequate housing—remains to be overcome. It is not surprising that nearly half of the 21 graduating families have had to migrate to Tidewater Virginia in order to get adequate jobs and housing.

At a glance, the RCA-CADA program leaves the impression of placing heavy emphasis on traditional skills training. Basic education is of the traditional classroom-oriented kind, too, and this is not so easy to understand with proven programmed learning components readily available. It has taken a while to get sufficient counseling staff to satisfy project officials and while the quality of the staff seems high, no structured motivational training is being offered to the trainees.

Clearly the innovation at Rich Square lies in the family training concept. This holds real promise, if it does not prove prohibitively expensive (a full-time staff of 50 is employed), and if the families can successfully make the transition from the sheltered training concept back to complex and often chaotic community life.

The Rich Square program does merit patient support. It should not be expected to perform miracles. It has gotten off to a good start. Project officials seem willing to tackle problems honestly. Prospects for the future are good.

MDC's Mobility Project is cooperating with RCA-CADA in the Rich Square experiment. RCA-CADA officials asked for and are receiving help in re-locating families to jobs in North Carolina. Some 10 families are scheduled to participate in the Mobility project, which provides counseling, housing, and jobs in job-surplus areas for clients recruited in job-scarce areas.

Two of the twenty-one Rich Square families already on the job were moved by Mobility. "We appreciate the cooperation we've had up and down the line from the Mobility staff," said Fletcher F. Lassiter, counselor-coordinator for the RCA-CADA project. "We'll probably need continued assistance from MDC-Mobility as time goes on."

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Trailer-type buildings at family training project house facilities for basic adult education and skills training for men, home management instruction for women.

The RCA-CADA Project: Partnership with the people? Or experiment in a vacuum?

One of the more interesting questions arising from the Rich Square experiment being conducted by RCA-CADA, as described in this issue of the Digest, is the extent to which the program ought to seek links with other agencies and programs in North Carolina.

The Rich Square experiment has national significance. In funding it, the Office of Economic Opportunity wants to find out to what extent the family development concept will work in rural settings like that of Eastern North Carolina. Looked at this way, the project's location in North Carolina is incidental, its need to establish meaningful contacts in the State minimal.

But no experiment in a socio-political vacuum can hope to be fully productive. The linkage between the Radio Corporation of America's staff and the four-county Choanoke Area Development Association anti-poverty agency is essential. The question is whether it is enough. Does the project need to share risks and successes as well with the people of Eastern North Carolina?

One North Carolinian deeply committed to improving the lot of the State's disadvantaged in the East recently commented wryly that it might never occur to the Radio Corporation of America's marketing people that the CADA area would be a logical spot for a parts assembly plant, for instance, simply because a source of trained labor is available there. The fact that RCA itself is training the labor is perhaps not wholly incidental.

If it is unfair to expect a large corporation to think in these terms, it is not unfair to ask what the RCA-CADA project will mean, eventually, for the people of Eastern North Carolina. Viewed from within the narrow confines of the state, it appears to be a family training program with exciting potential that so far has not established itself as a meaningful component of the manpower effort in the State.

The link with MDC's Mobility program is a valuable first step for the project. What the project officers at Rich Square need to do now is to explore other ties with North Carolina agencies and institutions—in the areas of housing and economic development for instance—with a view toward making the program meaningful for Eastern North Carolina as well as the nation.

Vol. 1 No. 3

July, 1969

The North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation is a private, nonprofit organization with government and private funding. Its role is to create a model of state-wide manpower services in N. C. **Manpower Digest** is a monthly publication designed to discuss candidly the state's manpower problems and progress. Reader response is welcomed.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Not all of the stewardesses of American Airlines will be spending all of their on-duty time this year on high-flying Astrojets. Some will be teaching the fundamentals of good grooming to girls in schoolrooms, auditoriums, street academies, apartment house basements, church rooms and other neighborhood meeting places in cities across the nation.

American Airlines today announced a broad expansion of a two-year-old program in which teams of specially trained stewardesses conduct courses for teen-age girls on makeup, grooming, charm, poise, attitudes and job preparation.

The youth program, one of many supported by American, is called Operation Grace and Glamour.

It is intended primarily for teen-age girls living in disadvantaged areas in cities throughout the nation. American thinks its stewardesses can be especially helpful in giving confidence to young girls in a variety of ways --by teaching them basic principles of makeup, hair styling, poise, posture, diction. The course also gives tips and suggestions on personal attitudes and how to develop self-confidence and self-respect.

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"We believe this is a practical way to encourage and help the youngsters," said C. S. Collins, vice president-public affairs for American. He continued: "The stewardesses who volunteer to work in this program are uniquely equipped by training and personal dedication. They are young enough themselves to relate easily to the teen-agers' interests and to teach them to help themselves. The success of the program in past years prompted us to make it available in many more cities."

Cooperating this year will be Carmen Cosmetics of Detroit, Mich. The firm is headed by Mrs. Carmen Murphy, the first black woman to own a major cosmetics firm. Carmen Cosmetics will be used exclusively in the grace, glamour and grooming sessions which will start Aug. 14.

Engaged in the program will be five multi-racial teams of three stewardesses each -- two based in New York, and one each in Chicago, Dallas, and Los Angeles. American Airlines coordinators in principal cities will cooperate with local organizations such as youth agencies, the Urban League, community anti-poverty groups, churches, schools and the YWCA in setting up the Grace and Glamour sessions. Each session will involve two to three hours of training for groups of 20 to 25 teen-agers.

Already highly trained in grooming and proper social graces at the American Airlines Stewardess College in Fort Worth, Tex., the stewardesses received additional training last month at Carmen Cosmetics to prepare them for teaching makeup, skin care, posture and self-help.

Mr. Collins says the advice stewardesses give is sometimes personal and spontaneous. He cited the example of a black stewardess who told her teen-age group: "Realize that you are 'somebody.' Don't use your color as a crutch, if that's the way it is. Set standards and goals for yourself and work to reach them. Stand tall. To gain confidence and success, you need to

look better and feel better about yourself. As never before, the world is an open door. Open it."

American Airlines has long been identified with youth programs. In 1966, the airline introduced the Youth Fare Plan, providing half-fare transportation on a standby basis for the 12 to 22 age group. Thousands of young people have taken advantage of the discount, traveling between home and college, and taking vacation trips.

In another program, American for four years has sponsored the American Youth Performs concerts, a nationwide series featuring youth orchestras accompanied by professional soloists. The program is climaxed each spring with a concert in Carnegie Hall in which 250 outstanding young musicians from all sections of the U.S. perform in a symphony orchestra and a chorus.

In other youth activities, American sponsors:

1. The American College Theatre Festival program, a nationwide effort which this year involved 166 colleges. The program is designed to provide a transition from the undergraduate stage to the professional stage in the field of the performing arts.

2. A Street Academy in a South Bronx (N.Y.) ghetto area intended to encourage high school dropouts to get back in to the school system and work toward a college education.

3. An Air Education program in conjunction with the Cessna Aircraft Corp. of Wichita, Kans. This program provides elementary classroom teachers with materials to develop student interest in modern day aviation.

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8/11/69

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THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

NEWS Letter

Editor Weldon Cooper

Vol. 45, No. 12 Institute of Government, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903 August 15, 1969

PLANNING FOR TOTAL NEEDS: The Case of Vocational Rehabilitation in Virginia

By LEWIS BOWMAN

Viewed in short perspective, planning to meet total needs for any public policy is probably illusory if not completely utopian. In long-range perspective, however, it is the opposite approach — ad hoc and piecemeal planning — which is illusory and utopian. The reasons for this are obvious. The latter approach creates false expectations, utilizes resources haphazardly and wastefully, and offers no possibility of objectively evaluating progress or deterioration in the particular policy area.

For all its advantages, however, planning for total needs on a long-range basis is often avoided because it creates both research and planning problems. For example, in planning for total needs one is faced with the problem of establishing priorities based on objective and clearly delineated assumptions. Also, planners utilizing this approach must bring a much wider array of information to bear at every stage of the planning process. The greatest burden in using this approach, however, is the necessity of projecting trend lines and making predictive estimates. The latter burden is one planners are reluctant to incorporate in their work with any specificity. This reluctance derives, of course, from the fact that it lays them open to later criticisms and second guessing should unforeseen circumstances or assumptions based on inadequate information thwart their best efforts at estimating future total needs.

This reluctance is ill-founded. Those who exhibit this reluctance fail to appreciate, or perhaps understand, that planning is a dynamic process. Even if less than accurate estimations are made of total needs, the planner who develops such a plan has created a body of systematic information for a baseline which can then be reassessed in view of any new situation. These considerations encouraged the Governor's Study Commission on Vocational Rehabilitation to evaluate current programs and plan future programs in terms of total needs rather than in piecemeal fashion.

Objectives of the Study

The Governor's Study Commission on Vocational Rehabilitation was established in February 1967 to determine Virginia's need for vocational rehabilitation services to 1975, and to develop a comprehensive Statewide plan to meet those needs.[1] To carry out that mandate the Commission utilized surveys, testimony of experts, past caseload experience, and population projections to estimate the number of currently disabled and the number of disabled by category expected for each year through 1975. In addition, the Commission evaluated the current vocational rehabilitation programs in Virginia to identify barriers which might be blocking or delaying services. By comparing the current programs to future needs the Commission determined the additional resources which will be necessary to meet all vocational rehabilitation needs during the next six years. To encourage and to facilitate the allocation of adequate resources to meet these needs, the Commission developed a written plan in the form of recommendations. This comprehensive Statewide plan specifies the coordination and funding necessary to produce enough professional personnel, facilities, and services to fulfill the State's vocational rehabilitation goals.

Planning for Total Needs

In collecting the necessary information to plan for meeting total needs the Commission did not concentrate on any single aspect of the vocational rehabilitation programs. For example, it did not emphasize scrutiny of the administrative structures of the vocational rehabilitation agencies while neglecting the many other aspects of the total programs. Rather, the Commission contracted for surveys of a cross section of several Virginia communities, for surveys of (1) professional vocational rehabilitation personnel, (2) a cross section of vocational rehabilitation clients, and (3) of professional personnel in related programs.[2] This approach spread the information net widely enough to identify barriers and problems in the State's entire vocational rehabilitation system.

Also, by emphasizing planning for total needs, the study avoided ignoring the interrelationships of the many problems confronting all health, education, and welfare programs. The easy route, of course, would have been to investigate a few of the easily identifiable but less significant short-run problems. This does not mean that problem areas in the current programs were ignored. It means that the research suggested recommendations both for eradicating identifiable

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1. For additional information about the objectives of the planning study, see Lewis Bowman, "Planning for Vocational Rehabilitation in Virginia," 2 *Virginia Town & City* 12-13 (July 1967). For detailed information about the findings of the study see *Planning for Vocational Rehabilitation in Virginia, 1968-1975*, Final Report of the Governor's Study Commission on Vocational Rehabilitation in Virginia (Richmond: Virginia Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, January 1969). The study was financed by a Statewide Comprehensive Planning grant from the Rehabilitation Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Virginia Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, the designated State sponsor. The Virginia Commission for the Visually Handicapped was an associate sponsor.

2. The Institute of Government of the University of Virginia conducted these surveys under contract to the Governor's Study Commission.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

NEWS Letter

Associate Editor

RALPH EISENBERG

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current problems and for preventing anticipated problems.

DEVELOPING PRACTICAL PRIORITIES

In making recommendations designed to produce a vocational rehabilitation program to meet the estimated total needs, the Commission was aware that all its recommendations could not be implemented immediately as public policy. It recognized that total needs could not be met immediately on an annual basis. To structure the total plan on a practical basis, the Commission adopted a priority system for suggesting the most feasible order for implementing its recommendations. These priority categories are "action," "immediate," "soon," "interim," and "long-range" (see Table 1).

After its meeting in December 1967, the Commission issued an "Interim Report" which included recommendations to help alleviate problems in the current vocational rehabilitation programs. These are included in the final recommendations also because some of the same problems continue. Among the total recommendations these proposals from the "Interim Report" are designated in Table 1 under "action."

Among the new recommendations, those proposals which can be implemented during the first half of Fiscal Year 1969 with little additional funding or manpower are in the "immediate" priority category. Those additional recommendations which require little additional funding or manpower but may take a year or more to implement are designated by the priority category "soon."

The remaining recommendations require considerable additional funds, professional manpower, and rehabilitation facilities. This means they cannot be dealt with before the 1970 session of the Virginia General Assembly. These recommendations have been designated "interim" or "long-range" depending upon whether they can be implemented in Fiscal Years 1971 and 1972 or in Fiscal Years 1973, 1974, and 1975.

Arranging the recommendations into these priority categories produces a practical plan for phasing in enough funds, manpower, and facilities to meet the total needs for vocational rehabilitation services by 1975.

KEY PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED

The Governor's Study Commission's recommendations emphasize solving five key problems of Virginia's vocational rehabilitation programs.[3]

INADEQUATE FUNDS

The first problem is one of inadequate funds for a vocational rehabilitation program of total services. This is an obvious problem, and one not unique to this policy area. Its solution turns not on recommendations of this Commission but on the public's decisions on the amounts of services it wants and is able to provide.

COORDINATION OF SERVICES

The second problem is one of coordinating the many services available to vocational rehabilitation clients. The Commission's recommendations are designed to encourage and make effective intra-agency and interagency coordination and cooperation. To be efficient and effective the vocational rehabilitation agencies must serve as organizers of a variety of services from numerous sources for their clients.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

The third problem is the public's pervasive lack of understanding of the vocational rehabilitation programs.[4] Unfortu-

3. For a detailed listing of the individual recommendations, see *Planning for Vocational Rehabilitation in Virginia, 1968-1975*, Volume I, Final Report of the Governor's Study Commission on Vocational Rehabilitation (Richmond: Virginia Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, January 1969).

4. For information about public views of the vocational rehabilitation programs and their generalized support for the programs, see Lewis Bowman, "Views of Government and Private Involvement in Training the Handicapped in Virginia," 44 *The University of Virginia News Letter* 29-32 (April 15, 1968). Also, see Dennis Ippolito, William Donaldson, and Lewis Bowman, "Political Orientations Among Negroes and Whites," 49 *Social Science Quarterly* 548-56 (December 1968).

TABLE 1

Dimensions Considered In Establishing the Categories of Priorities

Priority Category	Time	Type of Required Change	Finances Involved	Manpower Involved
Action	In progress or completed	All types	All types	All types
Immediate (to correct current operating problems)	Within next six months (first half of FY 1969)	Administrative, within agencies organizational or procedural	Little or none (generally a change in use only)	Reassignment of duties only; no additional manpower
Soon (to set stage for program expansion)	Within one year (FY 1969)	1. Administrative, within agencies organizational or procedural	1. Only that possible within current operating budget of VR	1. Reassignment of duties mainly
		2. Administrative, outside of VR agencies	2. Other State agencies	2. Additional personnel only as permissible under operating budget
		3. Governor's Office	3. Other local agencies	
Interim (to expand in preparation for meeting all VR needs)	One to four years (FY 1969-1972)	1. Administrative, within agencies 2. Administrative, outside of VR agencies 3. Governor's Office 4. State legislation 5. Federal legislation 6. RSA changes	1. More than possible within current operating budget 2. State increase 3. Larger portion of available Federal money	1. Reassignment of duties 2. Additional personnel
Long range (to meet all VR needs)	Four to seven years (FY 1972-1975)	1. Administrative, within agencies 2. Administrative, outside of VR agencies 3. Governor's Office 4. State legislation 5. Federal legislation 6. RSA changes	1. Large amounts of additional funds 2. State 3. Federal 4. Local 5. Private	1. Reassignment of duties 2. Additional personnel 3. Establishment of sources for training large numbers of VR professional personnel

nately, this problem is not confined to the general public. It exists among personnel manning potential job placement and client referral sources as well, and inhibits client placement and casefinding.

Shortages of Manpower and Facilities

The fourth problem is one of inadequate vocational rehabilitation manpower and facilities. If amply adequate financing were available immediately for the vocational rehabilitation programs, a total program would not be possible. Many of the recommendations in this report seek to create long-range solutions to shortages in manpower and facilities.

More Help for the Severely Disabled

The fifth problem is the practice of serving the more feasible cases rather than the more severely disabled cases. Shortages of finances, manpower, and rehabilitation facilities dictated this policy in the past. As the vocational rehabilitation agencies receive substantial increases in resources, the more severely disabled will benefit correspondingly.

During the course of the study the general public, both in the public hearings and in the community surveys, continuously expressed a desire for the vocational rehabilitation program to expand its services to the severely disabled. Professional vocational rehabilitation personnel, professional personnel in related programs, and members of the Governor's Study Commission also voiced support for this program goal. The latter group has expressed a desire for funds to be provided *preferentially* for aiding the catastrophically disabled if limited allocations do not allow a program which will meet total needs.

Of course increased emphasis on helping the severely disabled will raise the risk of rehabilitation failures in individual cases. And, it will increase the demand and need for comprehensive rehabilitation facilities and for noncompetitive work situations for many of the most severe cases.

Reaching this program goal successfully will require a decided increase in funding for the vocational rehabilitation programs over the next six years. At first glance the total resources required may appear excessive. However, in the Study Commission's judgment the total costs are neither excessive nor impractical. A number of studies have shown that public money invested in rehabilitating persons vocationally reaps real and direct profits to the general public in augmented taxes, increased productivity, and removal of these rehabilitants from public welfare rolls. Of course, these direct material returns to the general public will not increase proportionately as the most severely disabled are accepted in large numbers into the client caseloads of the vocational rehabilitation agencies. But, private support is not adequate for these potential clients who are in the greatest need of vocational rehabilitation services.

TABLE 2

Estimated Additional Manpower Needs, 1968-75*

Year	Professional[a]	Counselors	Instructors & Evaluators	Other[b]	Clerical	Service
1968	0	1	0	0	1	0
1969	10	24	9	0	18	0
1970	4	26	4	0	17	0
1971	30	37	9	10	37	0
1972	49	16	46	45	37	65
1973	12	25	15	20	19	14
1974	123	39	138	130	102	174
1975	0	0	0	30	0	0
	228	168	221	235	231	253

* This tabulation relates to the manpower requirements of the Governor's Study Commission's recommendations only.
a Includes administrative, medical
b Includes aides and attendants

The Commission feels the time is ripe for the State to recognize the many nonmaterial benefits which will derive from providing services for all in need of them. It views providing an opportunity for a meaningful vocational life for all its citizens as a social obligation on the conscience of all Virginians. The Commission decided the material and nonmaterial rewards to a society adopting this total approach to vocational rehabilitation are too great to resist.

Costs of a Practical Plan

The recommendations of the Governor's Study Commission are viewed as a practical plan for meeting the needs of the vocational rehabilitation program by 1975. To implement the recommendations it is estimated that over 600 additional professional persons will have to be recruited and trained (Table 2). Also, over 700 additional aides, attendants, and service personnel will have to be added to the current vocational staffs.

The estimated funding requirements for this plan are shown in Table 3. In addition to ongoing vocational rehabilitation funding, an estimated $137,000,000 will be required. Under the current funding ratios, the State will have to provide over $40,000,000 of the $137,000,000 as its share of the necessary additional funding. For practical reasons, ongoing programs will have to be continued, and new programs will have to be phased in, hence a total of over $200,000,000 from Federal, State, and other sources probably will be necessary.

The heavy increase in the demand for rehabilitation services will prevent even the most practical and well-funded plans from solving all the State's vocational rehabilitation problems by 1975. As neat as composite plans for providing funds to implement the Commission's recommendations may appear, all will not go so regularly or well on a year-to-year basis. Difficulties in securing appropriations, in meeting the construction schedule for the needed facilities, and in providing for the additional trained personnel by the colleges and universities will probably be encountered. Crash programs to meet specific funding, facilities, and manpower shortages will be necessary. As these shortages are overcome, the added resources can be translated into services for clients. If all goes well with the implementation, the State will be in a position to start meeting all of its vocational rehabilitation needs in 1975.

A Common Problem

Vocational rehabilitation is not the only program in the State suffering from

TABLE 3

Estimated Additional Costs, 1968-75*

Year	Federal	State	Total
1968	$ 15,000	$ 180,000	$ 195,000
1969	2,151,087	1,067,884	3,218,971
1970	3,689,295	1,536,658	5,225,953
1971	17,035,327	12,202,425	29,237,752
1972	8,616,876	2,204,214	10,821,090
1973	29,831,624	18,261,969	48,093,593
1974	16,137,444	4,084,724	20,222,168
1975	16,287,472	4,097,482	20,384,954
	$93,764,125	$43,635,356	$137,399,481

* This tabulation relates to the funding requirements of the recommendations of the Governor's Study Commission only.

a lack of comprehensive planning. The absence of such planning is a common problem in many policy areas. Annual or biennial planning is the usual procedure. Of necessity, adjustments in programs must be made at relatively short intervals, but short-range planning is no substitute for comprehensive planning and is a luxury which Virginians can ill afford in any program.

For all the arguments of those who advocate "just muddling through" on an ad hoc and piecemeal basis, such an approach is no longer the answer. As the example of vocational rehabilitation in Virginia illustrates, ad hoc planning is not the type which can meet adequately the total requirements of any area of services for which Virginians have great need. Neither is it the approach calculated to reduce total costs. Visiting the problems of one generation on another can reduce, or hold in line, expenditures of the moment. In the long run, however, this approach is demonstrably more expensive in monetary and human terms. Only through systematic and comprehensive planning for all programs, and only through sincere and sacrificial efforts to implement those plans, can this generation provide an inhabitable, perhaps viable, State and Nation for coming generations.

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—The Editors

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NEWS Letter

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M-Training

HE WALL STREET JOURNAL, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1969

Job Training: A Need for Seriousness

* * *

By KENNETH B. CLARK

For several years I have argued that American business is the last hope for any serious, realistic, hard-nosed attempt to change the predicament of life in American slums. I do not come to this conclusion in the conviction that the business community is more empathetic to the day-to-day problems of the slum, nor because I believe businessmen are more idealistic or morally or ethically sensitive than others.

I took this position rather because businessmen are clear about their goals. They are not bemused with moral self righteousness. They are usually unsentimental about their concern for profits and productivity. Even racial discrimination may fall victim to their single-minded search for efficiency and economic viability. Or so I believe may be possible.

If business is serious about developing training programs that are not tokens or gestures, however, it must prove by the nature of its programs and by their initial formulation and presentation, that its intent is genuine; the nature of the training must be shown to be an integral part of the jobs which allegedly exist and will be offered. Otherwise, pre-job training is not likely to be considered serious by slum youth, who are suspicious and hypersensitive and who expect that promises will not be honored.

Training that is an integral part of the job, training in which the training and the job and the remuneration are all part of the same package, can be a concrete and serious demonstration that the promise and the performance are one.

Also, the training must be real. Real training is not just job-skill training. These young people know better than anyone else that they are basically deficient in reading, arithmetic, and communication skills. Industry will not be taken seriously if it pretends that it is training a man for a job that has mobility without simultaneously addressing itself to his fundamental deficiencies. These youngsters will exploit the alleged training program as long as it is beneficial for them—and then they will get out.

Business and industry must build into industrially structured training programs remedial compensations for the inefficiency of the public schools—reading, arithmetic, oral and written communication, the major defaults of the American public schools. Academic training, job training, and jobs must be part of the total package.

Once industry accepts its responsibility to train and employ the educationally and economically deprived, it must exercise it in an emphatic, understanding way. It cannot be done sentimentally. It cannot say, "You poor disadvantaged youth, I will accept any kind of production from you. I will accept any kind of performance." Any sentimentalism will be exploited and seriousness will be eroded and rejected. Specifically, the importance of time, production standards, structured standards of performance—standards that have been found to be important in general industrial efficiency—must be clearly understood and clearly articulated and demanded.

The author, a psychologist, is president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center Inc. A longer version of this article appeared recently in the monthly Labor Review, a publication of the U.S. Labor Department.

Industry must demonstrate its seriousness by not accepting from the Negro youngsters any lower level of academic performance than is expected from white youngsters, at the same time that it takes into account the fact that the public education of Negro youngsters has made them inferior in certain academic areas, a deficit which business can make up for by its on-the-job training.

It must demonstrate its seriousness by requiring and obtaining from the Negro youngsters precisely the same standards of manner, style, dress, punctuality, that it requires from others of whatever level of job. Seemingly compassionate programs of employment of Negroes which permit special standards for the Negro lower than those for whites are a perpetuation of racism—such double standards are interpreted by Negroes as condescension and will be exploited by them.

Those who have been neglected and deprived must understand that they are being taken seriously as human beings. They must not be regarded as peculiar human beings who cannot meet the demands more privileged human beings can meet. This is an important but subtle point.

I suspect that the significant breakdown in the efficiency of American public education came not primarily from flagrant racial bigotry and the deliberate desire to create casualties, but from good intentions, namely, the sloppy sentimentalistic good intentions of educators to reduce standards in the education of low income and minority group youngsters, to leave them in a state of amorphousness and, thereby—on the grounds that teachers should not demand of these children what they demand of suburban children—make it possible for noneducation to be alibied.

I urgently warn businesses not to follow this pattern of sentimentalism under the guise of doing good, under the guise of compensating for guilt and past injustices . . . for they will fail the slum youth's test of seriousness.

Such youngsters will accept only evidence of respect for their humanity, their capacity as human beings, their ability to learn the way people learn, their ability to perform with the same standards by which other people's performances are evaluated. And in respecting these, business will be giving not verbal, but genuine acceptance of them as human beings.

They must be provided also with realistic rewards and incentives for meeting single standards of performance and achievement. They cannot be rewarded, and believe that they are being taken seriously, for inferior standards of achievement. They will accept the same gold medal for clearly inferior work, but they will know that it is a Jim Crow medal whites would not award to whites for the same level of performance.

They must be provided with the opportunity to move upwards, but as far as I see and understand these youngsters beneath their words, they do not want to be relegated to another track. . . . Deep down, these youngsters want the opportunity and the equipment to determine the extent to which they can compete with other human beings without special gimmicks or crutches, however necessary aids may be at an interim stage.

The goals of a serious program to bring ghetto youth into business and industry cannot be attained without understanding, patience, guidance, clarity as to human requirements for genuine dignity. Whatever these are, they are not likely to be qualified by the color of skin; they are the same for all human beings. All human beings share a basic sense of their worthiness or unworthiness, a basic problem that will be settled only by constructive achievement, not by pretense.

Nature was not democratic. Human abilities were distributed along normal distribution curves. We need to accept the normal distribution curve principle with the same freedom from guilt in regard to Negroes as it now appears to operate among whites.

The ultimate test of success will come when whites and Negroes observe the range of individual differences among Negroes with the same degree of acceptance that they grant to individual differences among whites; when we will be able to note that an individual Negro is inferior in intelligence, or has questionable character, without being required to wonder, with a sense of guilt, whether his inferiority or questionable character is the result of racial oppression or is the reflection of the "fact" that all Negroes are inferior.

U.S. Dept. Labor Office of Information
News Digest
Week of October 13, 1969

M-Training

TENNESSEE TRAINING PROJECT MOVES UNSKILLES INTO SKILLED JOBS

WASHINGTON -- Unskilled, jobless disadvantaged persons can become skilled industrial workers in less than a year.

This is being proven in a demonstration project in Tennessee financed jointly by the U. S. Department of Labor and the Atomic Energy Commission over the last three years.

At the Oak Ridge atomic installation, nearly 1,000 unskilled persons -- jobless, underemployed, and otherwise disadvantaged -- from the surrounding community have been trained and placed in highly skilled jobs.

Training was conducted within the gates of the AEC's Y-12 plant, an industrial complex devoted to the most advanced chemical and metallurgical technology.

The trainees included a high percentage of Negroes.

Data collected on the first 700 shows that they averaged three offers of employment each, and some received as many as seven job offers.

More than 99 percent of the graduates were placed in jobs.

Their annual earnings increased by an average of almost $4,000, from poverty levels to more than $6,000 a year.

It has been estimated that the increase in Federal income taxes paid by the graduates will return their training and subsistence allowance costs to the Government in five years.

(More)

All those selected for training were persons who lacked any specialized skill which would qualify them for jobs in skilled or technical areas.

Recruitment was a function of the Tennessee Department of Employment Security. The public employment service, along with the Tennessee Division of Vocational-Technical Education, also helped with coordination and review of the program.

The program has demonstrated that:

. . . there are methods of upgrading underutilized persons in less than one year to enter skilled industrial jobs;

. . . skilled and technical workers are in critical demand by industry;

. . . there exists a new capacity for advanced skill and technical training within industry; and

. . . there are industrial, educational, and other training resources that can be more fully utilized for manpower development.

The Labor Department's participation in the project is through the Manpower Administration.

# # #

M— Training

SENSE ABOUT SENSITIVITY TRAINING

School systems now infatuated with training will have to learn, as industry has, that not all sorts of training are functional for all personnel.

by MAX BIRNBAUM

During the 1960s, public education discovered the emotions. Cognitive learning and skill training, the traditional components of education, no longer satisfied the needs of a generation that had experienced the civil rights revolt, the widening generation gap, and the increasing confusion of teachers, administrators, and school board members about ends and means in education. The result was a growing interest in various approaches to affective learning that assigns to the emotional factor in education a role as important as—or, perhaps, more important than—the traditional substantive content and skills. Among these approaches the most enthusiastically embraced has been the so-called sensitivity training.

The term is used loosely to include a wide range of laboratory training approaches in human relations, group dynamics, organizational development (or, as I prefer, applied human relations training), as well as a number of verbal and non-verbal experiences that seek to increase awareness and release human potential. It is an unfortunate term because of its vagueness, but it appears that its very impreciseness and beguiling simplicity are the qualities that have helped it gain wide currency.

By whatever name it is known, however, human relations training is capable, if properly employed, of producing substantial educational change. It holds tremendous potential for improving education by dealing with its affective components, reducing the unnecessary friction between generations, and creating a revolution in instruction by helping teachers to learn how to use the classroom group for learning purposes.

The pity is that this promising innovation may be killed before its unique properties have a fair chance to demonstrate their worth. The opposition to its serious exploration is strong and is apt to grow. But it is not those who oppose sensitivity training because it smacks of therapy, which to a very small degree it does, nor even the members of the renascent John Birch Society, who would equate it with brainwashing, who pose the major challenge. Rather, the most serious threat to sensitivity training comes first from its enthusiastic but frequently unsophisticated school supporters, and second from a host of newly hatched trainers, long on enthusiasm or entrepreneurial expertise, but short on professional experience, skill, and wisdom.

What is needed today is a clearer sense of how sensitivity training developed, the varied forms it may take, and the results that can be anticipated in any given situation. Unfortunately, not all of the "experts" agree on the many issues raised by this kind of training, and there will be those who disagree strongly with many of the judgments presented here. But clearer definition of the issues, wider discussion, and more careful analysis of results should help schoolmen toward more effective use of training for fundamental improvement in the schools.

Contrary to the impression given by some recent popular writing on the subject, it was neither the author of *Joy* nor the devoted creators of Esalen who were responsible for the development of human relations training. Rather, it was Leland Bradford, then director of the Adult Education Division of the National Education Association, together with his old friends and collaborators Ronald Lippitt, now of the University of Michigan, and Kenneth Benne, now of the Boston University Human Relations Center, who were primarily responsible. Drawing on the work of the great social psychologist Kurt Lewin, they established the first training center more than two decades ago at Bethel, Maine, and founded the National Training Laboratories (NTL). And it was Bradford's tough and dogged fight against strong opposition within education that finally won sanction and support for human relations training, first from industry, then from the social and behavioral scientists, and finally from the education hierachy itself. Now, as he is about to retire as director of NTL, Lee Bradford has the satisfaction of seeing human relations training widely embraced by the education world.

As the field developed, the T-group (Training group) became the heart of any laboratory or workshop that is devoted to the study of group dynamics or human relations. The traditional T-group consists of a small group of people—ideally ten to sixteen—who meet in a residential setting (the laboratory) for approximately two weeks. Although

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only one part of this educational experience (theory, interpretation, and skill development are also included), the T-group is, because of its intense emotional impact, by far the most significant aspect of any human relations lab. The objectives of the T-group are to help individual participants become aware of why both they and others behave as they do in groups—or, in the jargon of the professional, become aware of the underlying behavior dynamics of the group. This is accomplished, with the help of a trainer, by creating an atmosphere in which the motivations for typical human behavior, of which individuals are often unaware, are brought to the surface in an exaggerated form. Once they are made clear and explicit, they can be discussed and analyzed. Thus, the individual participant can observe both his own behavior and that of others in the group, discover sources of different kinds of behavior, and identify the effect they have upon the functioning of the group. The effort to stimulate exaggerated behavior in order to get at the motivation behind it more explicitly is an uncomfortable experience for many people, but the feeling is usually transitory. The emotional component of the experience makes it appear to verge on therapy, but there is a significant difference between therapy that is focused on the problems of emotionally disturbed people and training that aims at the improvement of human relations skills of normal people.

In the early years of the movement, the T-group emphasis was primarily on the sociology of groups rather than on their psychology—that is, on the roles and functions of leadership and membership, rather than on the individual personality and personal development. (Bradford, Benne, and Lippitt came from adult education, philosophy, and social psychology.) The trend toward a psychological emphasis appeared in the early 1950s when the movement began to attract a larger number of people trained in clinical psychology or psychiatry. And it was at that point the T-group emerged as a new social invention that bears some rough resemblance to a combination of seminar and therapy group, but it actually is neither.

Recognition of the power of the T-group, as well as its limitations, has led to wide experimentation with other applications. Laboratory sessions of varying length and widely differing objectives have been developed, ranging from a single day or weekend to two or three weeks, and having as their purpose varying kinds of individual and organizational change. Much of the confusion in the field stems from the lack of clearly defined purposes, and guidelines that indicate the kind of training session most effective in achieving a particular objective. Most specifically, confusion results from the failure to differentiate between those training experiences that are designed to improve an individual's capacity to work effectively as a manager or member of a group for educational or re-educational purposes, and those that are designed to stimulate the individual's personal growth and so are clearly in a domain that might be labeled paratherapy, in the sense that it is parallel to therapy, rather than therapy itself. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the varying kinds of training that are becoming popular today to see what purposes each is best designed to serve.

Organizational development is a general term that includes a variety of approaches that combine affective and intellectual components in the use of small groups as a medium for consultation, problem solving, and re-education of individuals in both public and private organizations. It developed primarily out of the earlier, sociologically oriented focus of the T-group that emphasized organizational change rather than personal development. My experience with school systems and other organizations with a process that I term applied human relations training probably falls within this definition. (See Thomas Cottle's "Strategy for Change" [*SR*, Sept. 20] for a description of one application of this process to the resolution of intergroup problems in a single school system.)

Encounter groups, confrontation sessions, and *marathon labs* are usually short term—most often twenty-four-hour or weekend—experiences where the emphasis is on the direct exposure of beliefs and feelings that usually are not put on public display by individuals. The term "encounter group" derives from the phrase "basic encounter group" that Carl Rogers, the noted exponent of non-directive counseling, coined to differentiate a new kind of experience from the traditional T-group. Trainers in these sessions usually encourage participants to explore in some depth their own feelings and motivations, as well as those of other group members. The objective is to stimulate an exchange that is inhibited by a minimum of reserve and defensiveness in order to achieve a maximum of openness and honesty. Marathons differ from encounter groups primarily in the unremitting intensity of the experience that seeks to achieve a significant break-through in normal defenses and so attain what many practitioners believe is a new level of open behavior. Confrontation sessions are usually contrived racial encounters in which militant blacks literally "confront" members of the white community (teachers, police, industrial management, etc.) with their angry reaction to white racism, discrimination, and prejudice. The theoretical basis for this type of experience is that the social conditions requiring this form of learning demand a maximum dose of aggression and hostility in order to convince the targets—the whites—of the seriousness of the personal situation. (Because most confrontation sessions of this kind are not part of a plan for organizational change, they usually end as paratherapeutic experiences rather than training.)

Non-verbal exercises have invaded the training field with a vengeance in recent years. The techniques employed are numerous and range from simple exercises with a minimum of body contact to physically intimate and emotionally revealing designs of the kind most often associated with Esalen and its derivatives. (It should be noted that the explorations of Esalen, on the West Coast, are making major contributions to the field of therapy, but it is less clear how the techniques developed there can contribute to education.) Non-verbal techniques derive their theoretical justification from theories of personality that stress the possibility of achieving greater honesty and authenticity through bodily expression that can become uninhibited more quickly than can verbal communication. Thus, participants can reach deeper levels of consciousness more quickly.

Each of these varied approaches to sensitivity training is designed to serve specific purposes. Undoubtedly each can be immensely beneficial to certain individuals—and provide little help, or have negative results, for others. What

(*Continued on page* 96)

"The devilish seductivity of human relations training stems from the fact that it can reduce individual resistance to change more effectively than any other known means."

RWDSU
Dec. 21, 1969
M — Training

lighter side of the record

Sensitivity Anyone?

By JANE GOODSELL

Back in the days when I was a college freshman, a sadomasochistic rite often took place about 11 p.m. in the girls' dormitory. The name of the game was Truth Session. Any number could play, and anyone who refused to was relentlessly branded a poor sport (that's what cop-outs were called in those days). The rules were simple. Each girl wrote her name on a large piece of paper which was passed to the other players to write one complimentary and one critical comment about her. The objective of the game was self-improvement; by learning what other people thought of us, we could identify our faults, correct them, and re-make ourselves into better people.

My recall of these late-evening torture programs is, thank heaven, far from total. The human mind sensibly and mercifully represses memories too excruciating to remember. But I haven't forgotten how depressed I felt afterwards, once I was back in my room where I could bury my head in my pillow. I don't know which made me feel worse—the mean things I'd said about other people or the appalling things they'd said about me. We were supposed to limit ourselves to *constructive* criticism, but I'm darned if I can figure out what a person who has been chided for having too toothy a smile or not enough poise is supposed to do about it. The compliments were almost never consoling enough to balance the hurt of the criticism. "You're a real nice girl except that you're a hypocrite" was a typical example.

My roommate received the most scathing put-downs of anyone. She was a stunning blond who dated the president of the student body, so naturally all her friends considered her conceited. Actually, she was a shy, sensitive girl and so unsophisticated that she didn't even know what she'd been accused of until she looked up "nymphomaniac" in the dictionary.

These remembrances of things past came rushing back to me the other day when I happened on a newspaper article describing a new group of parlor games called "Sensitivity," "Group Therapy" and "Insight." New schmoo. Those games are just nasty old Truth Sessions fancied up with psychological trimmings, and made into marketable products by the addition of little printed cards much like those used in Uncle Wiggly type games. But these cards don't say "Forfeit one turn" or "Go back three spaces." They say things like: "Do something you normally do only in private;" or "Act out one of your anxieties." After whoever is "It" has fulfilled the instructions on his card, the other players analyze his performance for honesty, sensitivity and self-knowledge.

'Record' drawing by Marjorie Glaubach

The stated aim of these games is to help people gain insight into their emotional problems by communicating openly and honestly with others. In short, the objective is self-improvement just as it was in Truth Session.

Now don't get the idea that I'm against self improvement. Far from it. Human nature is a long way from perfect, and all of us have our faults, foibles and limitations. It's just that I don't think it's possible to effect quick psychological cures by means of gimmicky techniques and social pressure. I seriously doubt that a bunch of untrained enthusiasts can iron out each other's personality kinks in a few hours that would otherwise be devoted to a couple of rubbers of bridge.

Telling people what's wrong with them doesn't cure their problems which, in most cases, stem from deeply-buried emotions beyond their conscious control. Human character can't be manipulated from the outside, like cookie dough, to re-shape it into more acceptable form. Psychotherapy is a long and complicated process of emotional re-education which should be administered by professionals with care, caution and a trained eye for sensitive reactions. It is not an alternative to poker as after-dinner entertainment.

The only form of therapy we non-experts are qualified to give each other is the simple assurance of goodwill and friendship. When we start messing around with each other's psyches, we are playing Russian roulette with human beings.

Wall St Jnl 1-13-70 (S

Labor Letter

A Special News Report on People And Their Jobs in Offices, Fields and Factories

MINE WORKERS' WOES could mean trouble for the entire labor movement.

The bitter election for the UMW presidency and the murder of challenger Joseph Yablonski tend to give all unions a black eye, labor men concede. The UMW turmoil alone isn't enough to bring new laws curbing union power. But combined with widespread, lengthy strikes in the year ahead, it could create an atmosphere conducive to antiunion legislation if the GOP gains control of Congress.

Within the mine union itself, the loss of Yablonski hurts the reform movement. Lacking a widely known leader, many reformers rally around Dr. Hawey Wells, a West Virginia physician who has crusaded for improved mine health and safety. Still, a Yablonski aide says communication among reform elements has "broken down." Anonymous telephone threats to two Yablonski supporters stir uneasiness.

AFL-CIO President Meany anticipates a Congressional probe of the Yablonski slaying, with the real purpose of seeing "if there isn't a good excuse to put some new screws to labor."

* * *

LABOR LOBBYISTS face tough battles in state legislatures.

The New York State AFL-CIO braces for a grueling fight to preserve a law helping to sustain GE strikers; it allows them to collect unemployment insurance after seven weeks on the picket line. In Pennsylvania, AFL-CIO officials map resistance to any attempts to solve the state's fiscal problems by boosting the sales tax. Michigan labor men will tangle with Republican Gov. Milliken over his plans to reform the financing of public education.

Labor will take the offensive on many issues. Massachusetts union officials plan a push for legislation making workers at nonprofit institutions eligible for unemployment compensation. In New Jersey, the AFL-CIO wants a law requiring full-fledged public hearings before auto and health insurance groups can boost rates. Rhode Island labor lobbyists will seek the right to strike for public employes.

Over 30 state legislatures are slated to convene this year, though some sessions will be devoted solely to fiscal matters.

* * *

Wall St Jnl Newspaper - Tue

YOUTH CORPS gets a new look, angering anti-poverty officials.

The Labor Department reshapes the Neighborhood Youth Corps' program for high-school dropouts. Starting Feb. 1, the NYC will place greater emphasis on getting youths to return to school or take job training, less on actual work experience. Future enrollment will be limited to 16 and 17-year-olds; older youths will enter other manpower programs.

The National Association for Community Development, spokesman for hundreds of local poverty-fighting organizations, urges Labor Secretary Shultz to rescind the changes. It calls the ban on 18 to 21-year-olds "extremely unwise," contending that alternative "adult programs" don't exist in many communities. The NACD also protests the switch away from work experience in view of the "irrelevance" of school for many Youth Corpsmen.

About 31,000 youths currently participate in the NYC out-of-school program.

* * *

MACHINISTS STEP UP organizing efforts. The union creates a new organizing department under Paul Burnsky, former aide to retired Machinists boss Roy Siemiller. The department's primary task: Organizing newly built plants and "runaway" plants where local union representatives can't handle the job.

* * *

FIGHTING INFLATION: A Communications Workers of America local in Cincinnati co-sponsors with nearby Thomas More College an evening course entitled, "Getting the Most From Inflation Dollars." The union urges its stewards and their wives to attend.

* * *

DEMAND FOR ECONOMISTS slumps, according to many attending the recent New York gathering of the American Economics Association. Some economists blame the profession's poor forecasting record lately. But the Federal budget squeeze, which has slowed government hiring of young economists, is rated a more important factor.

* * *

MUSICIANS UNION starts a special program to attract young members. Aimed at the growing ranks of musicians under 21, it features lower initiation fees, special wage scales for teen dances and record hops and instruction in such matters as booking agents, managers, radio-TV appearances.

* * *

REAL ESTATE JOBS suffer from the housing slump in some areas.

The tightness of mortgage money, rapidly rising prices of homes and the slowdown in construction take their toll. "Our staff is at the lowest ebb in 25 years," says the general manager of Cleveland's R. A. Gall Realty Co.; its employment is down to about 100 from 180 a year ago. A Los Angeles realty board official reports many real estate men in the city's lower-priced housing areas are "getting part-time jobs to help out during this housing crunch."

Yet in many cities there's little evidence real estate brokers are hurting. In Atlanta, veteran salesmen at several firms count on bigger incomes in 1970. "There's so much money coming in from the North," explains one. The head of the Long Island, N.Y., Board of Realtors says brokers continue to do well, though they may have to work a bit harder now.

Some salesmen hurt by the slump find jobs in the related fields of real estate appraisal and mortgage banking.

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: The United Farm Workers Organization peddles calendars and books depicting its three-year-old strike against California grape growers to raise funds to continue its organizing drive. . . . Forty-one states have enacted "Monday holiday" laws to conform with a new Federal statute that provides for the observance of Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Columbus Day and Veterans' Day on Mondays, beginning in 1971. . . . A bearded applicant denied an ambulance driving job in London fights the ambulance service's ban on beards; the ambulance service contends that a bearded driver might have difficulty giving mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. . . . The University of Michigan's Bureau of Industrial Relations offers a two-day seminar on "managing the generation gap" in industry.

M — Training

Jan. 8, 1970 Los Angeles Times

Fragmented Effort in Federal Job Training Program Rapped

BY JACK JONES
Times Staff Writer

There was general agreement before a U.S. Senate subcommittee here Wednesday that fragmented and uncoordinated federal programs have failed to make an impressive dent in local unemployment levels.

And there were mixed feelings over whether the Nixon Administration's proposed comprehensive Manpower Training Act turning more control over to state governments is the answer.

Sens. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) and Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) were the only members of the Senate subcommittee on employment, manpower and poverty who were present as two days of hearings opened in the County Patriotic Hall, 1816 S. Figueroa St.

Mondale, chairing the local hearing, made it clear he is concerned over whether the Administration bill might eliminate the voice of the poor and community action agencies in administering future state-designed manpower programs.

In some states, he commented, "governors get elected by proving they are against black people and the poor."

He indicated he also fears the proposed plan fails to provide guaranteed job opportunities after training and that there will be conflicts between governors and city mayors or local groups over control of programs.

When Gilbert L. Sheffield, director of the new California Department of Human Resources Development, supported the Administration concept and described this state's effort to coordinate training programs at the state level.

"Suppose we were in Georgia and there was a manpower problem (involving the selection of local training agencies), do you think Lester (Gov. Lester Maddox) ought to handle that?" Mondale asked.

Sheffield agreed that might be a dilemma, but he insisted that "the state has a responsibility in planning . . . although we do need to push control down to a low level."

Sheffield stressed that the current system is hampered by "detailed rules and regulations and red tape" and noted that the manuals specifying how federally funded manpower programs will be carried out "measure 19 inches in thickness with printing on both sides of each page."

This amount of federal direction, he complained, "serves to inhibit, discourage and stifle initiative and creativity in solving human problems at a local level."

But Cranston asked whether bringing the state into manpower administration between the federal government and local agencies wouldn't be "adding another level of red tape."

Contract Power

The state, countered Sheffield, "need not become a bureaucratic level." It should have power to contract for training and employment services at all levels, he said.

Mondale, openly viewing Sheffield's testimony as state reluctance to stress local control, observed that a key recommendation of the (Nixon) Administration "is for a rather dramatic deemphasis of community involvement."

Sigmund Arywitz, executive secretary of the County Federation of Labor AFL-CIO, called the Administration proposal "another case of seeming to do one thing while doing another," and he said it would add up to "gutting the manpower program."

He said labor forces are disturbed over the "paradox" in which "the federal government is seeking to increase the number of people in the job market while its economic policies are leading to more unemployment."

He observed, "We're going to have people unemployed at a higher level of skill."

The only answer, he said, is to continue expansion of the economy. He agreed with Mondale's implication that there should be a vast increase in the number of public service jobs in government.

Ernest Sprinkles, interim executive director of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency, criticized the lessening of community involvement and called the pending legislation "pernicious."

"Its basic thrust," he said, "is to deny the lessons learned in the war on poverty, to put us back where we were five years ago, to take away the small bit of influence that has been gained by poor people and to put it back in the hands of reactionary bureaucrats."

Spokesmen for the City and County of Los Angeles described their frustrations because of insufficient federal funds for New Careers, Neighborhood Youth Corps and other programs aimed at moving the poor and unskilled off welfare rolls.

Effort Splintered

"The current federal manpower effort," said Gordon T. Nesvig, county director of personnel, "is splintered into too many bits and pieces.

"There are so many departments and bureaus involved that very little of the money filters through to the local level. We don't even know where to go to look for it."

He noted that the county allotment of Neighborhood Youth Corps slots was cut from 1,200 in 1965 to only 199 today.

"We don't see where the proposed manpower bill is going to be of much use to us. With the emphasis on training instead of on the development of permanent jobs, we don't see much happening."

The statistics will look good, he added, "because you'll be processing a lot of people, but chances are that the trainees are not going to have jobs waiting when they reach the other end."

County Can't Pay

Herb Kaplan, Nesvig's manpower specialist, pointed out that limitations in federal funds have held down the county's New Careers program, designed to lead nonprofessional poor into professional futures in human services fields with training and formal education.

The county, Kaplan and Nesvig agreed, just can't afford to pick up the bill for all the components needed to make very many New Careerists valuable professionals.

Mayor Sam Yorty's views were presented by Rockwell Ames, executive director of the city's Office of Urban Development.

In essence, Ames said, the mayor generally approves of the proposed manpower act, but he would like to see cities with populations of 2 million or more given authority to deal directly with federal funding sources "without the state acting as an intermediary."

The state's role, said Ames on behalf of Yorty, "should be advisory."

The bill, submitted by Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), another member of the subcommittee, calls for step-by-step decentralization of manpower programs as governors and mayors demonstrate and establish administrative capacity.

The subcommittee headed by Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) is holding hearings in various cities.

Speaking for the county were Ernest E. Debs, chairman of the Board of Supervisors, and Supervisor Kenneth Hahn.

Termed Overdue

Debs noted that the county has "consistently participated" in federal programs designed to upgrade the unskilled and said that many of the changes in the new plan "are long overdue."

Hahn added, "What we need to do is just overhaul the whole system." There is so much red tape at all levels "that the poor are just not being taken care of."

He pointed to the drastic growth of welfare caseloads here and said, "I am not ashamed to say I would be for a glorified WPA program for this county" to get able-bodied persons off Welfare.

After hearing from county officials that few jobs have resulted from all the programs Cranston said, "I get the feeling that the dimensions of the effort just don't touch the magnitude of the problem."

"No question about it," agreed Kaplan.

Rep. George Brown (D-Monterey Park) recited the failures of the Special Impact program here and noted that there "has been no community involvement or ownership in any of the Los Angeles plants" for which companies get federal subsidies to hire the hard-core unemployed.

Others testifying Wednesday included Irvin P. Mazzei, chairman of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency board; Ted Watkins, director of the Watts Labor Community Action Committee and Lawrence T. Cooper, president of the Management Council and metro director of the National Alliance of Businessmen.

Impact Program Made Few Jobs, Report Finds

Failure to Check Firms' Status Hit in Secret Study

BY RUBEN SALAZAR
Times Staff Writer

A secret Labor Department report shows that the government made little effort to check on the legal and financial status of 22 companies which were pledged $16.8 million to help the poor, it was learned Wednesday.

The report, which the Labor Department repeatedly has refused to make public, documents that although 68% of the $16.8 million federal subsidies have been granted only 1,010 of 6,720 jobs promised the poor have been filled.

Some of the contracts do not expire until next year, however.

The 42-page study, completed Oct. 25 by a Labor Department "special review staff," also states that "some of the firms in Los Angeles from the outset of their (subsidy) contracts were permitted to locate at plant sites not fully accessible by transportation to the (poverty) target areas . . ."

The government survey points out that "the general public had little opportunity to learn of the existence" of the $16.8 million Special Impact poverty program and that "there was apparently no general advertisement" of it.

The report says "contract files show a lack of adequate precontract checks on the suitability of the proposed contractor" on any of the 22 subsidy contracts.

"The contract files fail to include sufficient documentation on the legal and financial status of these contractors, and there is no indication that a pre-award, on-site survey was made on them."

It previously was revealed by The Times that the signers of an $800,000 subsidy contract to help the poor were a convicted felon—convicted of stealing government property—and a company official in trouble with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Contract Will Be Terminated

The company, Monarch Electronics International, Inc., according to the secret report, has been notified that its subsidy contract to help the poor will be terminated.

The secret report also says that though much money has been spent under the program to help the poor, "there has been no appreciable impact on the lives of the poor in the target poverty areas" funded by the $16.8 million project.

It also says that "experience now seems to show that the Department of Labor contracted with marginal type firms who welcomed the opportunity to get venture capital and to see if an idea would work."

The payment system in Special Impact Program contracts "has created a situation where some SIP contractors have received all their funds but have done very little hiring," the report continues.

"Others have received almost three quarters of their funds and have done little in the way of hiring. These payments were based on acquisition of property and construction of a facility."

The report also shows that though the program was geared to help minority hard-core jobless the money went "to white-owned firms."

"These firms," says the report, "were allocated in either New York (9) or Los Angeles (10). Only in Cleveland and Gary, Ind., were Special Impact funds put into minority entrepreneurship ventures."

The report also shows, as has been reported, that a Los Angeles brokerage house was paid $338,000 to negotiate 12 out of 22 Special Impact programs and that the Labor Department paid a Washington, D.C., consultant firm $122,885 for "technical assistance."

"Eleven of (12) companies filed (a Labor Department statement on Contingent fees)," says the report. "Dempsey-Tegeler (the Los Angeles brokerage firm) did not have to nor did it sign these statements submitted by the companies.

"Nor did it have to file any statement concerning its receipt of commissions paid by the companies."

As for the $122,885 paid to consultants Curber Associates, Inc., of Washington, D.C., the report says that, though Curber has asked for $285,330 more, "the technical assistance contract with Curber (should) not be renewed as its services are an apparent duplication of the functions of the project's officers from the regional staffs."

As for Dempsey-Tegeler's role, through its vice president, Harold Levitt, the secret report says that:

"Because of the apparent unique role played by Dempsey - Tegeler/Levitt in the Special Impact Program and their receipt of significant commissions from Special Impact for work pertaining to the (poverty) contracts, the legality of the payment of these fees should be referred to (the government) for review.

"As an issue exists as to the extent of services provided to the contractors by Dempsey - Tegeler/Levitt, the review is all the more pertinent."

Los Angeles Times 3★ —Thurs., Jan. 8, 1970

JOB FORCE OF 100 MILLION SEEN BY 1980

Exclusive to The Times from the Chicago Daily News

WASHINGTON—The American labor force will expand to 100 million workers by 1980, a Labor Department official predicts.

Asst. Labor Secretary Jerome M. Rosow said those holding and seeking jobs a decade from now would include 36 million women and 12 million non-white persons, mostly all Negroes.

The present labor force, Rosow said, numbers 85 million.

WASHINGTON POST
JAN 16 1970

Aid to 188 Jobless Assured

A Department of Labor project known as JOBS announced this week that it has signed four contracts with Washington area employes, providing training slots for the chronically unemployed.

The employers who will provide the training at a cost to the government of more than $300,000 under the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program are:

Long's Fence Co., of Hyattsville, Georgetown University, Standard Electric Co., of Kensington, and Fairmicco Inco., of Washington.

This brings to more than 2,400 the training slots arranged in the Washington area since JOBS began in June, 1968.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1970

What Does a College Degree Mean?

By THOMAS J. BRAY

NEW YORK—Except for the fact that the Talent Corps stands an outside chance of rocking the educational boat, it might be dismissed as just another of the do-good outfits that are swallowed up daily by this city's agonies.

Certainly, the Talent Corps presents a familiar face. The name harks back to the optimism of the New Frontier. It is financed by the Labor Department and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Its immediate aim is to help adults in poverty-stricken areas escape dependence on welfare by training them as paraprofessional workers at schools, hospitals and other community agencies.

And, like many other social welfare organizations, the Talent Corps is staffed by the bright young wives of what ex-mayoral candidate Mario Procaccino—in a rare flash of wit—once called the limousine liberals. The founder and director, Audrey C. Cohen, is married to a prominent tax attorney and lives on Manhattan's fashionable Upper East Side.

Beneath the somewhat predictable surface, however, lies an uncommon amount of audacity. Not content with having devised a successful—if small—social welfare program, the Talent Corps is now seeking a charter as a two-year college empowered to grant the Associate of Arts degree. Even more surprising, a review panel of academic notables commissioned by the state education department to look into the matter—and, presumably, put the well-meaning but misguided do-gooders out of their misery—has recommended serious consideration of the proposal.

That doesn't necessarily mean the Talent Corps will get its charter, of course. State education staffers express grave misgivings about the proposal—even the review panel has some caveats—and the regents haven't always been noted for their willingness to go out on a limb purely in the interests of experimentation. One big question mark: Only about half of the Talent Corps students have even finished high school, much less done academic work that would qualify them for admissions to a more conventional college.

A Practical Plus

The Talent Corps is clinging stubbornly to its proposal, however. The organization's mix of academic work and on-the-job training is similar in many respects to work-study programs cropping up at colleges around the country, Talent Corps officials argue. And what its graduates lack in academic finesse, Mrs. Cohen adds, they more than make up in experience—the students range in age from 21 to 59 years old—and a practical grasp of what makes the world tick.

At the very least, the Talent Corps proposal and the report by the evaluation team seem sure to kick up some debate within the educational establishment. Once raised, the issues run deep. Do today's colleges and universities serve mainly to perpetuate an elite? Is too much emphasis placed on a lock-step system of education that makes everybody progress at the same rate—or not at all? Are the liberal arts relevant in the midst of urban chaos? Indeed, precisely what is the meaning of a college degree?

Says the Talent Corps' Mrs. Cohen: "Higher education in this country, particularly in the urban community colleges, is in danger of losing touch with reality. Everybody is so busy trying to mimic Harvard that they have forgotten about the problems in their own backyards. What we are trying to create is a means of harnessing education to the needs of the community, much as the land-grant schools did for the farmer."

Retorted State Education Commissioner Ewald B. Nyquist in a recent letter to an inquiring state assemblyman: "Our admiration for the corps *as a social enterprise* is unlimited. However, in our role as guardians of academic standards and the integrity of degrees, we are forced to admit that on educational grounds there are no existing instruments to measure the behavioral achievements that Mrs. Cohen claims for her graduates."

The latest crop of Talent Corps students numbers about 150, nearly all of them Negro or Puerto Rican. About half are on welfare and the large majority are women, many of them with large families to support.

Classes are held twice weekly at Talent Corps headquarters in a graying old Federal office building on the fringe of Greenwich Village. The other three days a week, the students are dispersed to a variety of "human service" jobs ranging from teaching assistants at city schools to legal researchers for Community Action agencies. In most cases, Talent Corps officials have had to persuade authorities to establish such paraprofessional job slots; it's hoped that the jobs will come to be viewed as entry-level positions in which students will have a chance for substantial upward mobility.

The academic curriculum, taught by a thrown-together collection of college instructors, graduate students and the Talent Corps' own staff, places heavy emphasis on the social sciences—sociology, political science, psychology, education and economics. During the first academic year (the sessions last 36 weeks) there is also a heavy dose of remedial language and math.

Much of the work is surprisingly sophisticated. Readings in a first-year unit on "Man in Society," for example, range from Rousseau's "The Social Contract" to Orwell's "Animal Farm." A second-year course on the principles of teaching include such ponderous tomes as Chall's "Learning to Read: The Great Debate," and "Revolution in Learning" by Maya Pines.

At all levels, effort is made to relate course material to the student's field work and background (in most cases, the two are linked). Thus, a second-year economics course focuses on the urban slums, including a critical look at various proposals for solving their problems; a psychology course dwells heavily on the pathology of the poor by using case problems from actual working assignments.

The students are reimbursed at the rate of about $2 an hour for school attendance. Together with the earnings from their jobs, this allows most to scrape by, although continued welfare assistance is required in many cases. The dropout rate is low—of 100 entering students a year ago, only 16 failed to complete their freshman year; most were women unable to find adequate day-care for their children. And of the 300 students who have graduated since the inception of the program, 252 are now holding down steady jobs.

The attempts of the Talent Corps to obtain a college charter date back almost two years, but until recently Mrs. Cohen and her staff had always met with a polite rebuff. After all, state officials noted, the Talent Corps failed to meet nearly all the established criteria as a college. Among them: At least $500,000 in assets ("it should be far more," says a state official), an "adequate" library, "reasonable" admissions standards and a faculty whose academic credentials are "consistent" with the rest of higher education.

The State's Position

"In essence the Talent Corps would like to have recognition for a normal academic degree, but it doesn't want to accept the normal criteria for accrediting purposes," says Charles Meinert, an official in the state bureau of college evaluation who has been following the case.

State officials haven't been entirely negative, it should be noted. The education department itself is helping the Talent Corps work out a more formal testing system—one prerequisite for a college is evidence that the "learning process" is taking place—and there is evidence that some of the rules might be bent a little to fit the circumstances.

On the fundamental question of whether Talent Corps students are doing college-level work, however, state officials profess substantial skepticism. And they question whether a college degree should necessarily be the end-product of training in the so-called human services. "Many social services haven't bothered with degrees," notes Mr. Meinert. "Embalming is one example. It's a very useful craft, and it takes lot of training, but it's not really of a collegiate nature. It doesn't require the intellectual rigor and breadth that goes into a college degree."

Talent Corps officials argue, however, that the social service jobs for which it trains its students can hardly be compared to such crafts as embalming. For one thing, it's noted, most social service organizations themselves require an academic degree for employment in "meaningful" jobs. And in any case, Talent Corps officials add, the key to the problem is upward mobility. Without a recognized degree, Talent Corps graduates will be consigned to essentially menial jobs; there would be little incentive to take their studies very seriously.

Night study and adult education courses are plentiful, of course. But Talent Corps officials assert that these don't answer the needs of their students. Most require a high school diploma, and most require students to be away from their families during the critical evening and weekend hours. Perhaps most important, none offer related jobs.

"One of the important things about the Talent Corps," says Louis Menands, an assistant provost at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who chaired the academic team that looked into the Talent Corps request for a charter, "is that it combines study with work so that the student has a need to learn. We were extremely impressed with the quality of

[illegible] the limousine liberals. The founder and director, Audrey C. Cohen, is married to a prominent tax attorney and lives on Manhattan's fashionable Upper East Side.

Beneath the somewhat predictable surface, however, lies an uncommon amount of audacity. Not content with having devised a successful—if small—social welfare program, the Talent Corps is now seeking a charter as a two-year college empowered to grant the Associate of Arts degree. Even more surprising, a review panel of academic notables commissioned by the state education department to look into the matter—and, presumably, put the well-meaning but misguided do-gooders out of their misery—has recommended serious consideration of the proposal.

That doesn't necessarily mean the Talent Corps will get its charter, of course. State education staffers express grave misgivings about the proposal—even the review panel has some caveats—and the regents haven't always been noted for their willingness to go out on a limb purely in the interests of experimentation. One big question mark: Only about half of the Talent Corps students have even finished high school, much less done academic work that would qualify them for admissions to a more conventional college.

A Practical Plus

The Talent Corps is clinging stubbornly to its proposal, however. The organization's mix of academic work and on-the-job training is similar in many respects to work-study programs cropping up at colleges around the country, Talent Corps officials argue. And what its graduates lack in academic finesse, Mrs. Cohen adds, they more than make up in experience—the students range in age from 21 to 59 years old—and a practical grasp of what makes the world tick.

At the very least, the Talent Corps proposal and the report by the evaluation team seem sure to kick up some debate within the educational establishment. Once raised, the issues run deep. Do today's colleges and universities serve mainly to perpetuate an elite? Is too much emphasis placed on a lock-step system of education that makes everybody progress at the same rate—or not at all? Are the liberal arts relevant in the midst of urban chaos? Indeed, precisely what is the meaning of a college degree?

Says the Talent Corps' Mrs. Cohen: The latest crop of Talent Corps students numbers about 150, nearly all of them Negro or Puerto Rican. About half are on welfare and the large majority are women, many of them with large families to support.

Classes are held twice weekly at Talent Corps headquarters in a graying old Federal office building on the fringe of Greenwich Village. The other three days a week, the students are dispersed to a variety of "human service" jobs ranging from teaching assistants at city schools to legal researchers for Community Action agencies. In most cases, Talent Corps officials have had to persuade authorities to establish such paraprofessional job slots; it's hoped that the jobs will come to be viewed as entry-level positions in which students will have a chance for substantial upward mobility.

The academic curriculum, taught by a thrown-together collection of college instructors, graduate students and the Talent Corps' own staff, places heavy emphasis on the social sciences—sociology, political science, psychology, education and economics. During the first academic year (the sessions last 36 weeks) there is also a heavy dose of remedial language and math.

Much of the work is surprisingly sophisticated. Readings in a first-year unit on "Man in Society," for example, range from Rousseau's "The Social Contract" to Orwell's "Animal Farm." A second-year course on the principles of teaching include such ponderous tomes as Chall's "Learning to Read: The Great Debate," and "Revolution in Learning" by Maya Pines.

At all levels, effort is made to relate course material to the student's field work and background (in most cases, the two are linked). Thus, a second-year economics course focuses on the urban slums, including a critical look at various proposals for solving their problems; a psychology course dwells heavily on the pathology of the poor by using case problems from actual working assignments.

The students are reimbursed at the rate of about $2 an hour for school attendance. Together with the earnings from their jobs, this allows most to scrape by, although continued welfare assistance is required in many cases. The dropout rate is low—of 100 entering students a year ago, only 16 failed to complete [illegible] degree, but it doesn't want to accept the normal criteria for accrediting purposes," says Charles Meinert, an official in the state bureau of college evaluation who has been following the case.

State officials haven't been entirely negative, it should be noted. The education department itself is helping the Talent Corps work out a more formal testing system—one prerequisite for a college is evidence that the "learning process" is taking place—and there is evidence that some of the rules might be bent a little to fit the circumstances.

On the fundamental question of whether Talent Corps students are doing college-level work, however, state officials profess substantial skepticism. And they question whether a college degree should necessarily be the end-product of training in the so-called human services. "Many social services haven't bothered with degrees," notes Mr. Meinert. "Embalming is one example. It's a very useful craft, and it takes lot of training, but it's not really of a collegiate nature. It doesn't require the intellectual rigor and breadth that goes into a college degree."

Talent Corps officials argue, however, that the social service jobs for which it trains its students can hardly be compared to such crafts as embalming. For one thing, it's noted, most social service organizations themselves require an academic degree for employment in "meaningful" jobs. And in any case, Talent Corps officials add, the key to the problem is upward mobility. Without a recognized degree, Talent Corps graduates will be consigned to essentially menial jobs; there would be little incentive to take their studies very seriously.

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Until the Talent Corps produces a standardized testing system, state officials say, it won't be possible to say whether the students are doing college-level work. But Talent Corps officials argue that it's impossible to measure the work of their students against the work of students at conventional colleges. For one thing, little of the work at the Talent Corps is along traditional disciplinary lines; for another, it's difficult to measure the knowledge of Talent Corps students with a testing system designed for middle class youngsters at predominantly white schools.

Terminology and Understanding

"The students here have a college-level understanding of the concepts," says Kalu Kalu, an Indian economics graduate student who was a teaching assistant at the University of California at Berkeley, "but putting it into correct terminology is a problem. When you talk of depression or recession, you don't really get a reaction. But when you talk of unemployment, it clicks. Likewise, they don't understand inflation—at least at the outset of the course—but they understand rising prices."

Should Talent Corps students receive recognition for the knowledge they have built up over the course of their lives? "If that's the argument, then you are redefining college to mean almost anything," says Mr. Meinert of the state education department. "A trip abroad, a tour in the Peace Corps—these are all educational experiences. But it's difficult to equate these things with degrees."

The dilemma the Talent Corps raises is that while Mr. Meinert's argument is persuasive, students and graduates of the Corps raise a counter-argument that's also hard to answer: That if society demands degrees as credentials for the best jobs, then the credentials ought to be available to those who can in fact perform those jobs.

Juanita Blake, a 35-year-old mother of nine who works as a caseworker at a local hospital, puts it this way: "By accident, I'm in a job slot that calls for a master's degree in social work, but I haven't had any problems. It makes you wonder if these degrees aren't a little overrated—except for the purposes of getting a job."

M— Training

MANAGEMENT

T-school for behaviorism

New 'university' will boost controversial sensitivity training

Sensitivity training, the controversial group confrontation device that tries to show an executive or other individual why he acts as he does, is getting a new boost just at the time that it is being critically reevaluated by its long-time friends. National Training Laboratories (NTL), which has zealously shaped the technique for more than 20 years, is launching what it calls "the world's first university devoted entirely to behavioral science."

The group, called the NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, has staked out a 375-acre Virginia site eight miles west of Washington's Dulles Airport. Directors and friends have pledged $1-million toward a $20-million building campaign.

The first building, a conference center for about 500 persons, is expected to open in late 1971. Plans for the complex call for research and diagnostic facilities and a "Center for the Development of Educational Technology."

Curriculum. Leland P. Bradford, 64, who has masterminded NTL activities since its birth in 1947, is slated to become president. As Bradford envisions it, the "University" will be a think tank—a "model that can serve as one way to organize human behavior." NTL will continue its widely known T-group labs (T stands for training) at its summer campus in Bethel, Me., and elsewhere around the world.

In a typical lab, about 20 executives from different companies gather at a secluded retreat for a two-week session. An NTL "trainer" explains that there are no rules and no agenda. It is up to the group to decide how to proceed. In deciding, the individuals soon begin to focus on the basic raw material of a T-troup: member interreaction. By the end of the free-wheeling sessions, many have gained insights into why they act as they do in a group and how others view their actions. Some cannot stand up emotionally to such soul-baring, which has contributed to the controversy.

Bradford says NTL's new program will offer master's degrees in applied behavioral science and in humanistic psychology to those who already hold doctorates or who are taking doctorates at other universities.

The NTL move comes at a time when all sorts of persons are latching onto the T-group idea and its money-making possibilities. NTL and the some 500 psychologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, and educators affiliated with it are concerned by the mushrooming number of academic entrepreneurs and other assorted "consultants" with varying credentials who offer to conduct training labs for companies, government agencies, policemen, teachers, and churches.

Bradford says that NTL, which is associated with the National Education Assn.'s adult education division, hopes to form an organization that would admit only institutions of learning that meet carefully prescribed standards.

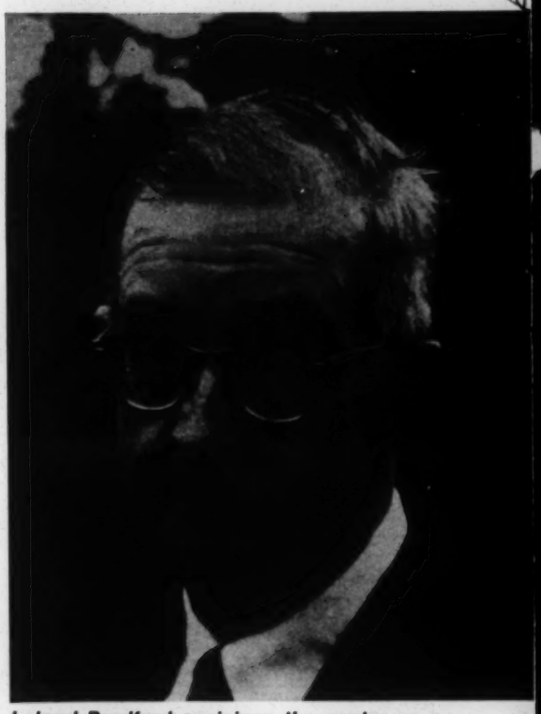
Different paths. At the same time, there is a growing polarization in the T-group movement. One faction views groups and their latest offspring (the so-called encounter groups, confrontation sessions, and marathon labs which may run nonstop for 48 hours or longer) as group therapy devices that primarily give individuals insights into their own behavior. San Francisco's Esalin Institute and New York's Aureon Institute have experimented with labs in which all communication is nonverbal, using mostly sight and touch.

In contrast, the approach that companies are buying tries to relate individual behavior to organizational goals—a team approach. The new catch-phrase is "organizational development" rather than "sensitivity training," explains Richard E. Byrd, an NTL member, who heads a small consulting company in Minneapolis.

"Sensitivity training calls attention to small groups of strangers confronting one another in a little room on a personal basis," says Byrd. "We're trying to transfer the value systems in sensitivity training to the organizational structure. We're work-oriented, and work with organizational issues."

Says a spokesman for Metropolitan Denver's Adult Education Council, which has sponsored T-group labs for 20 years; "Sensitivity training in itself is designed to make people more open, more honest, to understand themselves. That's fine for the individual. But unless you translate it into terms of organizational development, it's not really as useful."

This also is the approach taken in managerial grid seminars and some American Management Assn. courses. The Orizon Institute, affiliated with Johns Hopkins University's psychiatry department, plans to expose business "task forces" to hypothetical problems they later encounter as a team.



Leland Bradford envisions the center as a model for future efforts.

Paul R. Mico, president of Boston's Social Dynamics, Inc., thinks sensitivity training can help companies move from autocratic hierarchies to democratic organizations of effective teams. "Managers are consultants, not bosses," he contends. "Motivation now goes beyond money."

In-company techniques. Companies, too, are devising their own programs. TRW, Syntex, Texas Instruments, Polaroid, Federated Department Stores, Hotel Corp. of America, Corning Glass Works, General Foods, and American Airlines have blended various techniques, sometimes devising entirely new tools. Many have created special organizational development departments, known as ODs.

As NTL moves to set up its own university, other behavioral science-oriented organizations also are taking stock. A spokesman for Chicago's Stone-Brandel Center, pet project of insurance executive W. Clement Stone, observes that it has been "totally reorganized this fall." The center is housed in the former St. Luke's Hospital, and funding has been a problem.

Reflecting the pressures of an age where an enterprising entrepreneur can assemble a weekend staff from a nearby university and set up shop for dozens of clients in a motel suite, the spokesman says: "Mr. Stone simply felt he was spending a disproportionate amount of his funds on real estate."

This does not mean the end of the center, he says, but adds sadly: "Like Brigadoon, we're going into that 100-year sleep." ■

Thurs., Jan. 15, 1970 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Project Challenge Aids Community

By Connie Rosenbaum
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

MANY OF THE semiprofessional media technicians at Project Challenge came to their present positions from menial jobs. They worked as bar maids or sewing machine operators or hospital aids. Others had been homemakers and some had never worked at all.

Today, after an intensive training program, these women manage the care and distribution of films and media equipment for the Instructional Media Center at 2901 Bond Avenue, East St. Louis. The center's Project Challenge distributes more than 5000 films and 2000 books to students in the surrounding elementary schools, junior high schools, and high schools. This material, as well as film strips, records and recordings, is handled by a staff of 32 women technicians, one man and six professional supervisors.

Working in a renovated grocery store, the technicians make instructional materials like charts and teaching pictures, booklets and slide sets. They have written, photographed and produced four slide shows on a local department store, the Mississippi River, a farm and local black men of distinction.

THEY HAVE ALSO PROMOTED and organized a film festival for adults that is held one evening a month in different nearby Title One schools. The festival shows films on child care, health care and black history for parents.

"These women have much to share," said Mrs. Katie Wright, director of the four-year-old program. "Now they have an outlet. Project Challenge enables them to reach many students as well as learn new skills themselves."

Mrs. Ida Faulkner, mother of three young children, is an audio-visual technician at Johnson Elementary School, one of the programs surrounding satellite schools. She works with first and second graders, operating the equipment as well as assisting them with their studies.

She had experience with children when she worked as a Girl Scout troop leader and as Sunday school teacher, but she had never managed media equipment until she came to the center for training.

"NOW I REALLY BELIEVE that it is never too late to learn a skill," she said. "The program has taught us to use the machines and it has also made it easier to get along with people. Everyone here has been so encouraging. So have the teachers at my school. I hope to return to college eventually, thanks to their support."

"These women are anxious to learn," said Robert F. Kurrus, director of training. "Many of the trainees are women, so we have a fairly high turnover rate due to marriages and pregnancies. However, many of the women leave our program because they get promoted within the school system to clerk or secretary positions."

Project challenge is funded through Title One of the Elementary and Secondary School Act. Salaries range from $300 to $413 a month. The staff members, from the neighborhood, are chosen by the Board of Education.

IN ADDITION TO THEIR TRAINING for media work, the semi-professional staff learns proper work attitudes, promptness, neatness and tips on office dress and conduct. Mrs. Wright also attempts to help the women develop an understanding of the chain of command which they are likely to encounter while working for a large, highly organized school system.

"The changes in some of these women have been amazing," said Mrs. Wright. "They really appreciate the opportunity and we have had a near perfect record. Besides learning skills, they feel needed and useful. Both teachers and pupils depend on our technicians and they haven't been disappointed."

THE WOMEN ALSO OVERSEE the distribution of the films and books from the center's extensive library. Mrs. Esther Hatcher, film librarian, keeps a close check on the shipping and receiving procedures. She is responsible for getting films to the right schools and making sure they are returned to their proper places on the shelves. Like many of her coworkers, she supervises Neighborhood Youth Corps workers in the office.

"It is a great way to learn," she said. "One of the girls helps me with the filing system and the youngsters are very willing to help with anything that needs attention."

She said that the program had also broadened her social sphere.

"Folks speak to me now who never did before," she said. "I feel good about the job but it is reassuring to know that the commuity appreciates our efforts."

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Tues., Jan. 20, 1970

Older Citizens Enjoy Jobs

By JEAN THWAITE

Sarah Spier and Sophie Van Cleve have been training to become consumer aides for the Food and Drug Administration since last September.

As aides, they are now lecturing and conducting programs using movies and slides on such subjects as food labeling, hazardous substances, quackery, over the counter drugs, facts that will help the consumer in the marketplace.

The two women are participating in a project in the operation mainstream program of the United States Department of Labor. There are six such pilot projects in the United States run by the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons. The Labor Department asked this association to work with them because of its knowledge of the needs and experience of older people. Only persons 55 or older with an annual income of $1,600 for a single person or $2,100 for a couple are eligible for consideration.

Since the trainees or enrollees can be assigned only to organizations and agencies that give community service, the project has been named Community Service Aide Project. According to Octavia Taylor, project leader, only 52 applicants can be accepted, although a total of 108 have been interviewed after referral from the State Employment Service.

Community Service Aide Project is designed to demonstrate that older low-income persons are trainable and employable. Its aims are to provide meaningful permanent jobs; to demonstrate the employability of the older persons so that work projects can be extended to other cities; to give enrollees an opportunity to build their social security benefits and to give employers the benefit of the experience and competence of older persons.

These are the cold hard facts about the program but to Sophie Van Cleeve and Sarah Spier it is a program with a heart.

Both had suffered financial losses and their social security benefits were slim. Sophie admits that the best thing that going back to work has done for her is get her out into the world again with a place that she must go every day.

Sarah also found herself at loose ends after taking care of her brother through his terminal illness.

To their teacher, Mrs. Wilhelmina Lombardy, consumer information specialist for the FDA, they have been a blessing. Both can give many of the talks that she once had to give herself to consumer groups. All three have discovered that members of the audience will ask questions of Sophie and Sarah that they won't approach their boss with — perhaps her title scares them.

While other enrollees do perform direct service to children and the elderly and some work as office aides, teacher aides and housing aides in Model Cities, Sophie and Sarah feel that their job contributes a great deal as they help the homemaker to help herself.

Typical of their talks was one given by Mrs. Lombardy at the Golden Age Club sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women on Piedmont Avenue. Mrs. Lombardy asked her audience to remember one thing if nothing else — read the label.

OVER →

Shultz Urges Realism

Secretary Counsels Unions, Employers

By EARL GOLZ

Labor Secretary George P. Shultz warned here Monday that unions and employers may "negotiate themselves to where they are high and dry" if they sign labor contracts in 1970 that are "unrelated" to an expected cooling off in the nation's economy.

Union leaders who are publicly talking about projecting "very large amounts" in contracts this year without heeding an economic slowdown may fall into a "trap," Shultz said at a press conference in the Baker Hotel.

He said he hoped the economy is "cooled off and back on the path of strong and orderly growth." But he also noted he foresees "a lot of tension at many bargaining tables" during 1970 as the economy is "shifting gears."

Employers probably will be "a little stiffer" at the bargaining table this year, he said, because they will be "more worried about profits" than they were in 1969. On the other hand, unions such as the Brotherhood of Teamsters are talking about record wage and fringe increases this year.

"I suppose there may be some increase in strike activity," Shultz said.

He added, however, that he didn't think the Nixon administration would change its policy of encouraging labor and management to negotiate agreements without having "something forced (on them) by the government."

Not many strikes fall within the category of "imperiling the national health and safety," which could permit the federal government to get an injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act, Shultz said.

The "general run" of contract settlements in the construction industry this past year — a pattern of increases of about 15 per cent or more — is "not healthy" for the nation's economy, the labor secretary asserted.

"The definite slowing down of the economy we see as a healthy thing and a basic underlining note (to labor-management negotiations)," Shultz said.

Inflation is curbed, he said, when employers have more of a problem selling their products in the market place.

"We don't think a rise in unemployment curbs inflation," he said. "The administration is anxious to keep unemployment as low as possible."

Shultz noted that unemployment in the nation was 3.4 per cent last month, approximately the same as when President Nixon took office.

The former dean of the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business said it is possible, however, that unemployment might increase as inflation decreases.

Shultz said he has received "a lot of favorable mail from around the country" for his remarks earlier this month critical of Federal Reserve Board for "overdoing" its part in tightening the nation's money supply. The board has kept money supplies too constant for a number of months, he said.

The Dallas Morning News Thursday, January 15, 1970

Women Make Strides for Equality in Jobs

By PENNY LERNOUX
Copley News Service

BUENOS AIRES—Argentine women have made some sensational advances in the South American battle of the sexes.

While a working wife or daughter still shocks many men in other South American countries, Argentine males of all classes are accepting and often promoting women's economic independence.

Today, one out of six women has a job. Twenty-two per cent of the 7.5 million working population is female.

As a survey by the women's office of the labor department shows, the chief impetus is economic need although women from wealthy families often take jobs for social or intellectual reasons, particularly if they are single.

While Argentina's Eve can be envied by most of her Latin sisters, she still has a number of battles to fight to achieve equality in wages and position.

ACCORDING TO THE SURVEY, only one per cent of those interviewed held jobs demanding personal responsibility and decision-making.

Although the survey was limited to 60 companies with 70,130 employes in the Buenos Aires area it is considered a reasonable indicator of working women's situation in Argentina.

Signs of the times were the ages and concerns of the majority of the women interviewed.

Half were between 20 and 29 years of age and nearly three-quarters who worked were between 30 and 39 years—ample proof that customs have changed since grandmother's youth. No less than 38 per cent were working wives.

Argentine women reckon that better education is the only way to catch up with the opposite sex both in pay and position. While the educational level of the women interviewed approximated that of the men (primary school education for two-thirds), the majority wanted more technical training and believed specialization is of particular importance for individual progress.

Surprisingly, only 1.2 per cent of those interviewed showed any interest in union work although Argentina's labor movement long has played a major role in national affairs.

Women do hold important union jobs as they run banks, direct movies and judge court cases. But they are a small minority.

"A woman has to be twice as good and work twice as hard as a man to get a well-paying position with responsibility in Argentina," said one female executive.

THE MEN COUNTER this criticism by censuring women's irresponsibility. Nearly half the companies included in the survey said the principal problem with women employes was absenteeism.

If few women are climbing the executive ladder, they have achieved a predominant position in several important Argentine industries, including textiles and food.

And they can take heart in morse or encouraging prediction made by the nation's male-directed newspapers.

"It is true that few women hold important jobs or have ascended to positions of responsibility, but it will not be difficult for them to do so in a more or less short time because the trend of the present is toward the female executives," editorialized the Buenos Aires daily La Nacion.

Willingly or not, Argentine men recognize "it's a losing battle."

Jan. 16, 1970 ☆☆ San Francisco Chronicle

M - Training

Stanford Gets Grant to Train Minority Doctors

Stanford University's Medical Center announced yesterday that it has won a $65,000 grant from the Carnegie Foundation to finance the first stages of an unusual minority training program.

The program is designed to train minority people as doctor's assistants — "paramedical personnel," in medical jargon — and, said Director Thomas A. Gonda of the Stanford University Hospital, it "may well become the prototype for a nationwide effort."

The Carnegie grant will be used to conduct the first part of what is a three-part program and to plan the second part.

In the first stage, trainees will be helped to get high school diplomas, through use of the latest computer techniques.

Stanford still is seeking funds for the second and third stages. In stage two, trainees would learn medical techniques; in stage three, they would be trained to assist doctors.

M— Training

S. F. Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, January 18, 1970

Management Jobs Sought for Minorities

Graduate schools of management at Berkeley and Stanford have joined a nine-campus national effort to increase the flow of Negroes and other minority persons into significant managerial positions.

The project, announced yesterday by The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, New York, will be called the Council for Opportunity in Graduate Management Education.

Joining Berkeley and Stanford will be graduate management schools at Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Pennsylvania, and Carnegie-Mellon.

A grant of $1 million will support the program in its first year, the foundation announced.

The council expects participating schools to review recruiting procedures, strengthen job placement services, expand special preparatory programs, provide added counseling to students, and adapt courses of study to career goals of newly recruited minority students.

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR Thurs., Jan. 8, 1970

Job-hunters should shave, survey indicates

By NORMAN KEMPSTER

WASHINGTON, D.C. (UPI)—The nation's businessmen have become increasingly tolerant of beards, mini-skirts and other "now" styles on current employees but they often refuse to hire job applicants sporting the mod look.

A newly published survey on management and the generation gap shows that employers have modified their rules of good taste and grooming but that traditional attire is still the safest for the worker who wants to stay out of trouble with the boss.

The survey, sponsored jointly by the American Society for Personnel Administration and the Bureau of National Affairs Inc., drew responses from more than 150 personnel executives from a cross-section of American business. These were the results:

Almost 80 percent of the employers would prefer not to hire a bearded job applicant, and would take a clean-shaven individual if other things were equal. But 80 percent of the firms either had no objection to a beard on an already-hired employee, or would object only in extreme cases.

Almost 60 percent of the companies said they would be likely to reject a woman applicant who appeared in a mini-skirt but 45 percent of the employers said they have no objection to mini-skirts on employees.

Long sideburns and mustaches have won general acceptance. None of the companies surveyed forbids sideburns or would refuse to hire an individual wearing them. Only about 2 percent would reject an applicant or fire an employee for wearing a mustache.

An Afro hairstyle on a black applicant would be acceptable by 47 percent of the companies for women and 41 percent for men. It would be regarded as a negative factor for both sexes by 42 percent of the companies and 16 percent said they would flatly refuse to hire a man wearing one and 11 percent said they would reject such a woman.

PRICES
CONT.

ence in Orlando, Fla., last week. Costs must be met, he insisted.

Many economists contend that costs will continue going up as long as wages rise; moderation in settlements would lead, they say, to a slowing down of inflationary price increases. Labor's leaders and economists —and a substantial portion of its millions of members—say that prices must be controlled first, and when the rise slows, labor can moderate its demands.

Labor is willing to accept a full-control system "if necessary"— provided that it applies equally to profits, dividends, and other corporate payouts; and to wages and prices. It emphasizes that nothing short of that will win labor's support.

M— Training

MANAGEMENT

New dean, new era for Harvard B-school

Dean Fouraker can be sure of one thing. He will not be bored

Early next month, 1,400 of the nation's corporate, banking, and brokerage elite will assemble at a blue-ribbon dinner at Manhattan's Americana Hotel. The ostensible occasion: presentation of the Harvard Business School Club of New York's annual business statesman award to retiring B-school dean George P. Baker. But the dinner will also offer most of the audience their first look at Baker's virtually unknown successor, a lanky Texan named Lawrence E. Fouraker, whose prairie background is in vivid contrast to that of the patrician, New England-bred Baker.

When Harvard President Nathan Pusey announced Fouraker as his handpicked choice last November, the man was so little known that many B-school professors gave little speeches about his background and qualifications to their classes. But, at next month's dinner, a 76-place, pyramiding dais will bear ample witness that his new post is not obscure. On that dais will be the likes of Coca-Cola's J. Paul Austin, Atlantic Richfield's Thornton F. Bradshaw, Thomas S. Carroll of Lever Bros., Donald C. Cook of American Electric Power, General Foods' W. C. Cook, G. Keith Funston, and Procter & Gamble's Neil H. McElroy.

Job. Fouraker, 46, a Harvard professor since 1961, is an "experimental economist" who has taught business and government relations and headed the school's international business and research areas, applying theory to practical business problems. Now the Texas A. & M. graduate will have to apply persuasion to bridge the gap between the business and academic communities. He has his job cut out for him:

- Some students are suspicious and cynical about all large organizations, including corporations.
- Courses that stress social problems and environmental controls rather than just profitability are in increasing demand.
- The percentage of women and blacks in B-school programs is rising dramatically.
- Students who opt for business are attracted by small companies or opportunities to set up their own firms.
- An increasingly international outlook is infusing course work, recruiting, faculty and students.
- The high price tag on MBAs is turning off some cost-conscious companies.

New Dean Lawrence E. Fouraker will keep B-school focus on business problems.

Demand. Fouraker takes over at a time when the Harvard Business School's largest and best known product, the MBA, is enjoying unprecedented popularity. Manufacturing firms, consultants, accountants, bankers, brokerage houses, real estate syndicates, government agencies, and colleges sign up a year in advance to recruit on campus and find themselves shelling out $14,000 or more in starting salary. And salaries will be up a bit this year, predicts John E. Steele, Harvard's placement director, despite the fact that some companies are cutting back on the number of MBAs they plan to take.

Many businessmen, such as Tom Morris, manager of college relations for American Airlines, believe that the Harvard MBA "is always among the very best." MBAs coming out of other B-schools are as good, he concedes, but "I guess the big difference is that you can depend on the Harvard MBA."

An auto industry recruiter agrees that Harvard is "at the top of the list." His company has a policy limiting starting salaries, but "we will break the rules substantially to get people from Harvard," he says. Their starting rate: $1,200 to $1,500 a month.

Strengths. Fouraker has another important asset going for him: The Harvard Business School faculty seems uniquely united, even though it features some well-endowed egos. "People do a pretty good job of talking to each other around here, of keeping the channels open," says Paul R. Lawrence, who heads the school's human relations area. Faculty members like to think Harvard's famed give-and-take case method has something to do with this.

Fouraker is taking over an impressively well-heeled establishment from Baker, dean from 1962 until this academic year when he turned 66—Harvard's mandatory retirement age for administrators. Baker has been most successful in shaking the money tree, the No. 1 task of a B-school dean.

Last year, the alumni fund hauled in more than $1-million toward the school's $14.7-million operating budget. The Associates, a select group of more than 400 leading corporations, kicked in another $970,000. Under Baker, the

number of endowed professorships increased from 14 to 35, and the current going rate, once as low as $600, is $1-million a chair.

Meantime, the school is also completing a major program of construction. New facilities for the executive development program, international teacher training, and the *Harvard Business Review*, as well as two new office buildings and an auditorium, are scattered among the gracious neo-Georgian structures on the Boston side of the Charles River.

New age. But to old grads visiting the campus, perhaps the most striking change is the growing number of women and black students. Women were not admitted into the first-year MBA program until 1963. Now there are close to 60 in the two-year program, including one shapely, miniskirted lass recently seen puffing away on her pipe. Another dozen or so are in the doctoral program and some faculty members predict that, by the 1980s, half or more of the students may be female.

Last spring after the faculty hammered through what it calls its "disadvantaged minorities program," the school raised a fellowship kitty of some $450,000, mainly from business, and set out to recruit non-whites. "You've got a pretty sterile program if you're talking about black development programs and there are no black students in class," says Fouraker. And this year, 10% of the entering MBA class of 774 was black, joining more than 20 blacks in the second-year MBA program. Last week, Harvard and eight other leading B-schools launched a program aimed at recruiting more blacks, financed by a $1-million grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation.

The growing ratio of women and blacks startles the old grads

Reaching out. Critics have said that nothing becomes the Business School more than its splendid isolation. The Anderson Bridge, which links Soldiers Field and the Business School on the Boston side with Harvard Square on the Cambridge bank, was once termed "the world's longest bridge" by a B-school professor. The Charles River was a psychological and physical barrier.

But all this may be changing, too. New this year, a joint graduate degree with the Law School permits a student to garner both an MBA and a JD in four years. Maurice D. Kilbridge, the new dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Design, came from the Business School. A growing number of B-school professors are teaching courses across the river.

Ferment. And student attitudes are

B-school's link to businessmen

For thousands of businessmen, the *Harvard Business Review* is the gospel according to Harvard B-school. Every two months, the snow-white Review slides into the in-baskets of more than 100,000 executives. Many of them have never set foot in the B-school's classrooms but they subscribe in order to keep up with current thinking on the school's Soldiers Field campus.

But not all of its subscribers may be getting what they bargained for. In 1969, only 16 of the Review's 76 articles, or about 21% of them, were written by the B-school faculty. Other contributors included general business writers, executives, management consultants, and professors from other schools. Still, in the eyes of Edward Bursk, 62, editor of *HBR* since 1947, the Review provides "a bridge between the academic and research world and the practical, operating businessman's world."

Rejects. One out of four articles in the Review is by a businessman. Sometimes this poses problems for Bursk and his 17-man editorial staff. When such articles are patently self-serving or obviously ghost-written, they "are pretty easy to reject," says Bursk. Once, to the horror of Ford executives, he bounced an article by Henry Ford II on the value of stock options as an executive incentive. Ford polished up the piece and Bursk printed it. "We are damned near as tough on a president of a large corporation as we are on anyone else," he says.

Still, he concedes that "we like to have articles by company presidents." Recent contributors include Eli Goldston, president of Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates, who wrote about his company's program for ghetto housing rehabilitation; J. Erwin Miller of Cummins Engine Co., on business's role in meeting social crises; George Champion of Chase Manhattan Bank, on the same topic; Roger Blough of U. S Steel Corp., on the problem of attracting youth to business; and Willard F. Rockwell, Jr., of Rockwell Mfg. Co., whose subject was how to acquire a company.

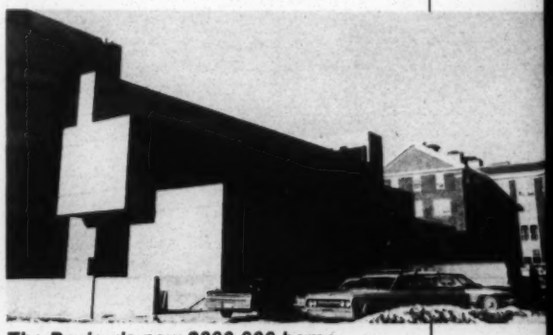
Gratifying. The Review's standard honorarium for contributors is only $100. But Bursk is amused at "how childishly pleased the president of a corporation will be to be paid for writing something." And some top men use the Review to bounce ideas into their own organizations.

As a rule, the Review's editorial content is not calculated to stir the blood. Still, at least two of its more controversial articles have drawn indignant mail. One of the articles proposed that 10% of the stock in top companies be turned over to the black community. The other likened business ethics to poker, in which deceit is implicit as part of the game. Vigorous reaction to these articles pleased Bursk. "We are not a house organ," he says.

Operationally, the Review is fairly independent of the B-school. A 15-man faculty board appointed by the dean is responsible for overall editorial policy. "We are left pretty well alone," says Bursk. However, a B-school dean once protested a Review direct-mail piece as insufficiently dignified because it featured the head and shoulders of a pretty girl.

Profits. Though it is no sprightly reading experience, the Review is a money-maker, as befits an arm of the B-school. Founded as a quarterly in 1922, it never had a circulation of more than 5,000 until the early 1940s. But its postwar circulation shot up to 15,000, and the current January-February issue went out to nearly 120,000 paid subscribers, double the figure of a decade ago.

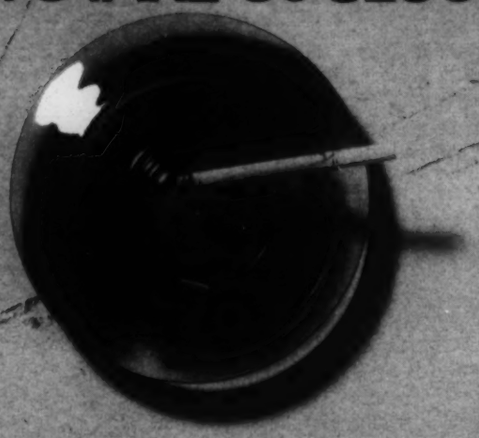
The Review is officially a non-profit organization. But, says Bursk, "our income exceeds our outgo." In 1968, it received close to $1-million in circulation revenue and better than $425,000 in advertising. The charge for one black-and-white, full-page ad is $2,060. Reprints, single-copy, and bound-copy sales added about $450,000 in 1968. For the year, the Review netted close to $400,000.



The Review's new $800,000 home

Its income is routed to the over-all B-school budget, except for funds earmarked for the Review's own operations. And this includes the $800,000 used to build ultra-modern new quarters into which the Review staff moves next month.

3 PUFFS TAKE 30 SECONDS!



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GEORGIA'S GOT IT.
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changing. Most observers concede readily that many of the students in the MBA program are far different from the popular B-school stereotype of the clean-shaven close-shorn young executive-to-be rushing to class with attaché case in tow. While at least half the male MBAs still religiously appear in the lecture hall in dark suit, white-shirt, and tie, other males may sport collar-level haircuts, fancy sideburns, or beards.

No longer does the profit motive monopolize their thinking. Many are demanding courses about the problems of non-business organizations: community development corporations, governmental agencies, hospitals, museums, educational institutions. They are asking questions about business' social role and responsibilities, and are all worked up about the physical environment in which business operates and the problems of the cities.

"Just count the times 'urban' now appears in the catalog," says C. Roland Christiansen, who teaches business policy. In addition to traditional courses in marketing, finance, banking, production, and control, second-year MBAs may take courses in black power and

'Urban' crops up throughout the school catalog

the business community, organization development in the inner city, urban land development, business and society in black Africa, or a seminar on low-income housing.

"We still have plenty of students who feel they've got to go out, make a fortune, and get rich. Some of the others are more interested in how to straighten out society," says Arthur Schleifer, Jr., who heads the admissions committee. "Even to those who want to make it quick, then worry about society—it's more of a worry than it used to be." As one MBA puts it: "What good is an extra dollar if you can't get to the city to spend it?"

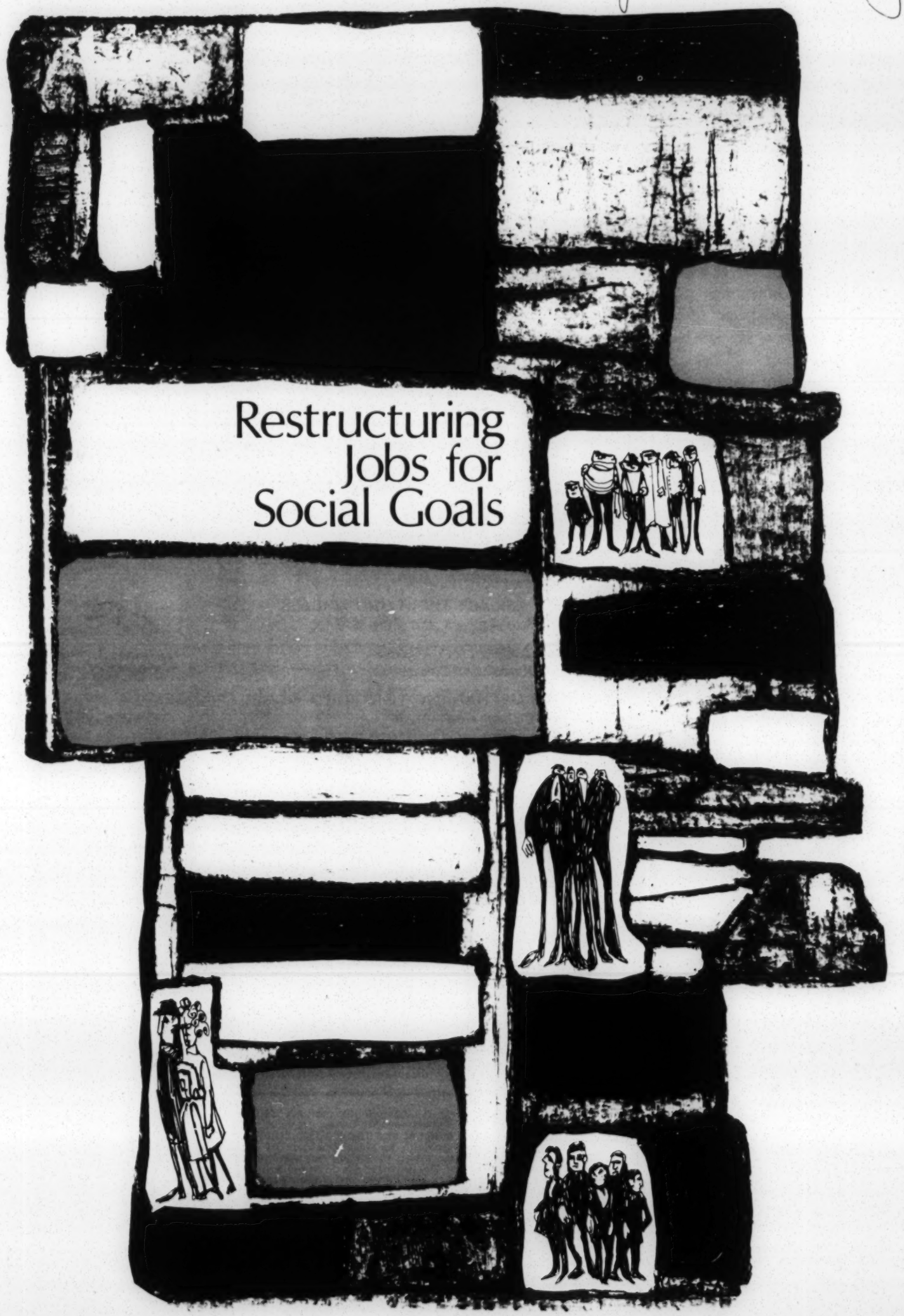
Outward. Student interest in business abroad is reflected by new cases on business problems outside North America. About 10% of the MBAs are from outside the U. S. and the number may increase. This year 20 European companies will be recruiting at the B-school, compared with only one four years ago.

This will not make matters easier for the big U. S. industrial corporations, which already are finding it increasingly difficult to attract MBAs. Such big companies took 45% of the MBAs from Harvard in 1966, and only 33% last year. Ironically, many of these companies are the most enthusiastic supporters of business education.

Today, some MBAs are attracted by

Manpower - Training

Restructuring Jobs for Social Goals



m- Training

Auto Mechanics:

Time for a Model Change?

By Emil Michael Aun

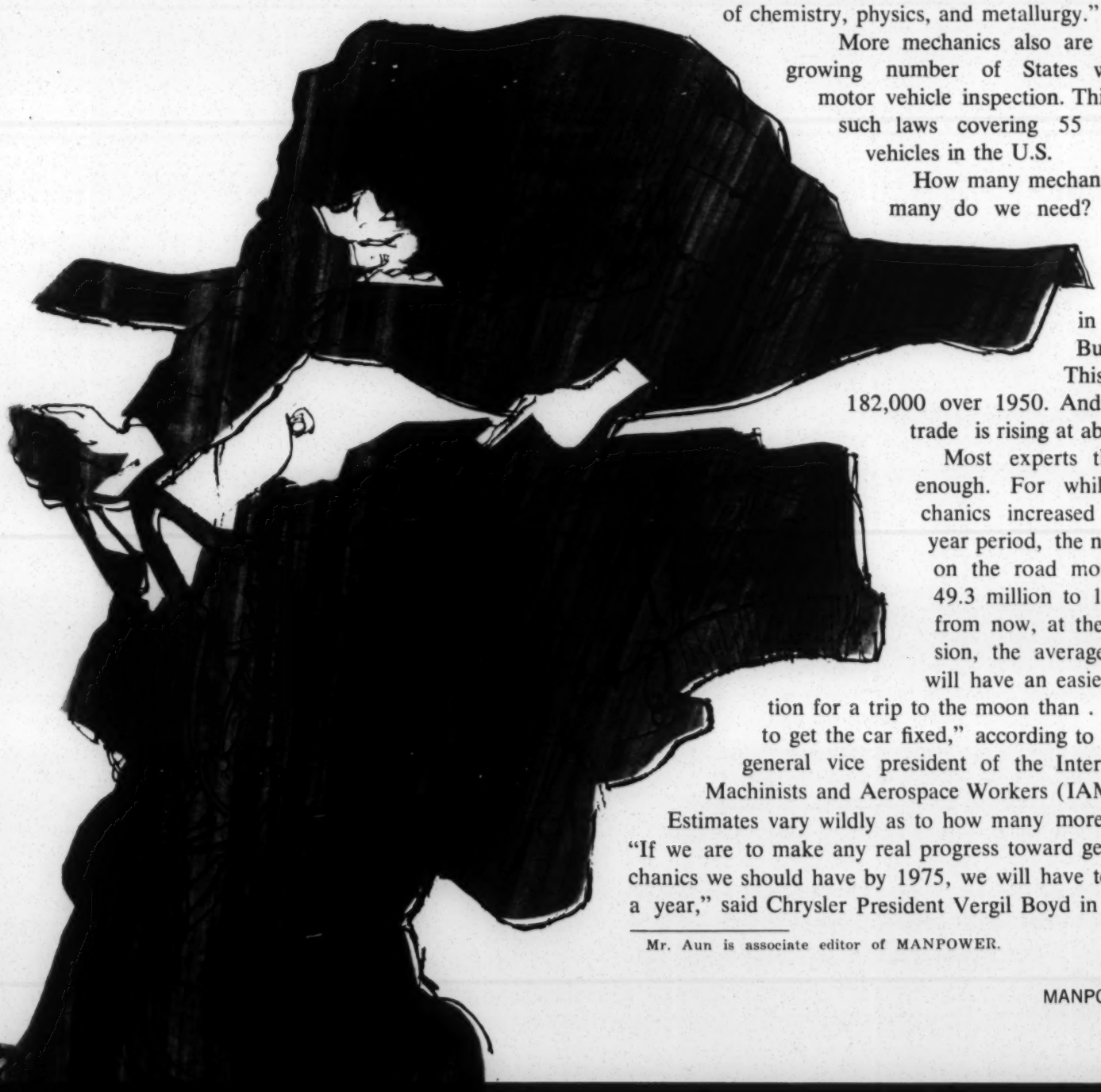
Two years ago a consumer organization bought and examined an automobile. Among the malfunctioning parts were the choke, the exhaust system, the carburetor float, the accelerator pump and pedal, the carburetor, the rear axle, a front wheel, the headlights, the front seat, a window, the fuel gauge, a rear coil spring, the air-conditioner, and the speedometer.

A used car? No, it was brand new, a 1969 best-selling model, fresh from the dealer. Admittedly it was a lemon. Most new cars have far fewer defects. But this case history does illustrate one reason why the shortage of mechanics is acute today. Cars are so complicated that it is becoming harder and harder to build them properly and keep them in good repair. Today's automobile has more than 15,000 parts.

"We seem to be fighting the losing battle of an increasingly complex vehicle," said Paul F. Lorenz, former marketing vice president for the Ford Motor Company and president of Ford of Europe.

To further aggravate the situation, there are more and more kinds of cars on the road and fewer and fewer are "plain Janes"—trade lingo for standard models with few options. Air-conditioning, a rarity in 1957, was bought by almost 40 percent of Ford's 1968 model customers. Power brakes and power steering installations more than doubled in that period. Complex new safety and emission control devices also were introduced during the sixties.

As a result, "the skills required of a proficient general automotive mechanic today are probably unparalleled in any industry," said Robert Straub, former president of the Independent Garage Owners of America. "He must know hydraulics, pneumatics, electricity, mechanics, and must have a basic grasp of chemistry, physics, and metallurgy."



More mechanics also are needed because of the growing number of States which require periodic motor vehicle inspection. Thirty-two States now have such laws covering 55 percent of the motor vehicles in the U.S.

How many mechanics do we have and how many do we need? Some 825,000 people were employed as motor vehicle mechanics and repairmen in 1968, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This was an increase of 182,000 over 1950. And the net number in the trade is rising at about 16,400 a year.

Most experts think this is not nearly enough. For while repairmen and mechanics increased 28 percent in the 18-year period, the number of motor vehicles on the road more than doubled—from 49.3 million to 101 million. "Five years from now, at the current rate of expansion, the average man or woman . . . will have an easier time getting a reservation for a trip to the moon than . . . getting a reservation to get the car fixed," according to William W. Winpisinger, general vice president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM).

Estimates vary wildly as to how many more repairmen are needed. "If we are to make any real progress toward getting the number of mechanics we should have by 1975, we will have to recruit at least 50,000 a year," said Chrysler President Vergil Boyd in 1965. "There is no real

Mr. Aun is associate editor of MANPOWER.

shortage of mechanics," said American Motors general service manager George Brown in December 1969, "just a shortage of sound service management with resulting inefficient mechanic utilization."

Officials of the Automotive Services Industry Association say from 125,000 to 200,000 additional properly trained mechanics and body repairmen are needed now. MOTOR AGE, a trade magazine, estimated a year ago that 763,000 new repairmen would have to be trained in the next 9 years, plus 20,000 annual replacements for retirements, deaths, and dropouts. "Nobody knows," says the Independent Garage Owners of America, Inc.

Part of the difficulty is in defining what a mechanic is. The Bureau of Labor Statistics uses a list of nearly 200 job titles, ranging from adjuster to windshield man, that fall in the general category of auto repairman. While the DICTIONARY OF OCCUPATIONAL TITLES, published by the U.S. Department of Labor, includes a concise description of an automobile mechanic, there is little agreement in the industry as to the requirements of the work or the qualifications of the workman. Many men call themselves mechanics when in fact they are tune-up men, brake men, or other limited specialists.

Entrance Routes Vary

The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training specifies a fairly rigid 4-year course of training and study for a journeyman mechanic in either engine or body work, and a 3-year program for automotive painters. The IAM supports and promotes apprenticeship but also considers a man with 4 years of on-the-job experience a qualified craftsman. The Auto Body Association of America estimates that 5 years of training and experience are required to produce a good metal man and 3½ years to make a good painter.

To scramble the picture further, there is no single source for producing auto repairmen, as there is for training doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. Some enter the trade from vocational schools or special training programs funded by the Federal Government. Others go the apprenticeship route. But the usual pathway for a mechanic is "beginning in a service station, moving on to a

Labor Dept. photos by Billy Rose

repair shop, and then going either to a car dealer, a fleet, or a mass merchandiser," according to John P. Kushnerick, editor and publisher of MOTOR AGE. "There is no way to distinguish between a really skilled expert and a half-trained and generally incompetent shade tree mechanic," he said.

The absence of a generally acceptable definition of a mechanic is hampering efforts to overcome manpower shortages, contends Paul McDonald, manager of General Motors Training Centers. "It's the key question and our inability to answer it is causing all the trouble," he said. "Suppose you went to a hospital and everyone who touches you or serves you —including the person who takes your temperature or remakes your bed—was called a doctor. You'd have a hard time deciding on shortages of personnel, or pay scales or training needed. But something like this happens when you enter a garage. The man who fills your battery with water and the most skilled technician in the place are both called mechanics."

As a consequence, auto owners are finding it more and more difficult, and more and more costly, to keep their vehicles in repair. A recent survey in St. Louis of 6,500 repairs done on 2,000 vehicles found that more than a third of all needed work either was not done or was performed unsatisfactorily.

There is considerable disagreement on why more people do not become auto repairmen. The unions blame it on poor working conditions, mediocre pay, and lack of prestige. "Mechanics are probably the lowest paid occupation in relation to the degree of skill required in the entire country," according to IAM's Winpisinger, whose union represents more than 117,000 engine and body craftsmen. He said that in 1967, the average mechanic earned $3.36 an hour (based on Bureau of Labor Statistics for fleet mechanics) compared to $3.59 for factory maintenance machinists and $5.09 for building trades journeymen. (Mechanic earnings are now an estimated $3.59 hourly.) "In most places, particularly in the smaller

cities and towns, it does not pay a young man to take the time and training required to learn the fundamental skills of a qualified mechanic," Winpisinger said.

Furthermore, most mechanics work and are paid on a "flat rate" system, which he calls essentially piece work and "a relic of an earlier age." Flat rate manuals are based on manufacturer time studies. The manuals allow so much time for the mechanic to complete a specific repair job, for example seven-tenths of an hour to adjust the front end alinement of a Buick. The mechanic receives no additional pay for any time spent on a job beyond that allowed by the manual and "it is very easy to bump into unforeseen difficulties," said Winpisinger. Many experienced mechanics like the system because they can beat the book and earn high pay, he admitted. But the slower workers and novices are discouraged. They are in effect training at their own expense, he said. Furthermore, under these conditions, "journeymen are reluctant to take their own time to teach apprentices."

The prestige factor is more subtle but still an effective barrier to new recruits, the union says. Too many people think the trade is beneath their children. "The average parent believes his offspring is infinitely better off making $95 a week with a white shirt on than he would be making $135 a week with coveralls and dirty fingernails," said Winpisinger. "It is a white collar society and a white collar psychology."

Ford Motor Company disagrees about the pay. "The problem of attracting job entrants to the skilled service trades is not related directly to compensation," Lorenz told the Federal Trade Commission on January 10, 1969. "Our surveys show that the average mechanic employed in a metropolitan-area dealership today earns nearly $10,000. Many earn more than $15,000."

He agreed however that the trade suffers from a poor image. "We have created what must be considered an almost cult-like reverence for high-status positions, and high status is not one of the rewards that attach easily to a career as an automobile mechanic . . ."

Whatever the reason, the industry's dropout rate is formidable. In 1966, Ford surveyed 5,000 vocational schools in the United States that offered some form of automotive training. Some 2,700 reported they had a complete automobile training course and that they had graduated 98,000 students in 1966. A followup survey found that only 17,000 had actually entered the automobile service field.

A partial explanation may be the type of student who graduates from vocational high schools. Very often he is not interested in academic work and because he is too young to drop out he switches to vocational school. "As long as he has to stay in school he feels he might as well take something that's fun," said General Motors' McDonald. "He has no intention of going into the trade. He does it as a hobby, so he can learn how to keep his car in trim. We have to graduate 100 to get 15 on the job."

A number of forces are at work that apparently tend to keep mechanic wages down. The IAM links low pay scales to "the general weakness of union influence in the auto repair industry." Less than 20 percent of auto mechanics belong to a union. They are therefore unable to confront their employers with the strength which workers in highly unionized industries bring to the bargaining table. Another factor is the intense competition in the repair business. Maintenance and repair of all motor vehicles is now an estimated $25 billion annual business and scrambling for a share are some 391,000 service outlets. These include more than 33,000 franchised dealers, 72,000 independent shops, 44,000 specialty repair shops, 211,000 gasoline service stations, 11,000 miscellaneous aircraft, marine, and automotive outlets, and nearly 21,000 tire, battery, and accessory dealers.

Dealers' Share Dwindles

Franchised dealers have watched their share of the auto repair market dwindle from 41 percent in 1955 to 32 percent by 1967. Both they and the independent garages are losing out to mass merchandisers led by Sears (with more than 800 auto repair centers), Montgomery Ward, J. C. Penney, and others. Chain operators, who perform only specialty repairs (wheel alinement, brake service) are "creaming the business—doing only the most profit-

able work. Faced with this kind of competition, dealers and independent garages are finding it harder to keep afloat as their earnings dwindle. The typical dealer operation, for example, now earns a profit of under 2 percent of sales, according to the National Automobile Dealers Association. The need to keep down expenses, including labor costs, seems to them imperative.

The claims payment system used by auto insurers also acts to keep down prices, and thus profits and wages. The costs for repairs (not maintenance) for American passenger vehicles is now running to about $8.8 billion annually. Nearly half this cost, more than $4 billion, was met by the insurance industry in 1968 to pay off 20 million auto-related claims. The insurers quite naturally exercise great care to keep repair costs down. The usual device is to require bids from three separate garages before permitting any repair work to be done, with the work awarded to the lowest bidder.

The resulting pressures, observers believe, are eroding the standards of the trade and scaring away possible recruits. "With the factory riding herd on the dealers, with the dealers constantly being squeezed into trying to save a buck, especially on warranty work, some corners inevitably get cut," according to IAM's Winpisinger. "The mechanic in the shop is put under pressure to do less than an adequate job, not because he does not know how to do it better but because it is cheaper and faster—and sometimes more in line with the flat rate manual—to do it inadequately."

Glen F. Kriegel, president of Auto Analysts, Inc., a diagnostic firm, said failure to establish "automotive mechanics as a profession" has made the field unattractive to the younger generation. "No air of pride of accomplishment or professionalism seems to exist," said Kriegel. "The mechanic who does exhibit some of these traits is soon caught up in the press for commission rates on hours and parts and turns his back on maintaining his professional standing and is willing to do substandard work."

As a solution, Kriegel proposes licensing automotive mechanics. Three bills on licensing have been introduced in Congress. Generally, they provide for Federal grants-in-aid to encourage States to license motor vehicle mechanics and set up training programs of 2 or 3 years to prepare candidates to meet specified levels of competence.

"The aircraft mechanic is well-trained, reliable and maintains his professional attitude and standing," said Kriegel. "His attaining of a license and . . . the knowledge that he will be held strictly accountable for his work seems to be the key to his professional attitude and social standing. Here is the route the automotive service industry must follow: Professionally licensing mechanics and structuring salaries sufficiently to eliminate the commission system and attract new men into the profession."

Licensing Effect Debated

IAM does not oppose licensing outright but the union's Annual Automotive Conference in June 1968 laid down several conditions for accepting it. Any legislation that requires mechanics to be licensed should also register and regulate automotive repair dealers, the union believes. Mechanics with 4 years' experience should be licensed automatically. Labor should receive "equal representation" on the licensing authority. Any proposed law should also include:

- "Procedures for insuring that customers receive fair and honest treatment including recourse to the licensing board and, upon proof of charges, compensation for any damages suffered.
- "Guarantees that the trade does not become fragmented through the granting of too many kinds of specialized licenses; that is, brake mechanics, transmission mechanics, tune-up mechanics, or other specialists.
- "Mandatory periodic vehicle inspection by competent licensed mechanics and not by police or other governmental agencies."

Manufacturers and dealers are even less sanguine about the benefits of licensing. "If any more roadblocks are thrown up to acquiring mechanics than we have now, it could have a very detrimental effect," said T. A. Williams, Sr., former president of the National Automobile Dealers Association. General Motors opposed licensing at hearings last October on the automotive repair industry before the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly. The grounds for opposition were that licensing would "tend to decrease both the number of service outlets and the number of mechanics." American Motors also is opposed. "It would be the wrong solution," said George Brown, general service manager for American Motors, at a Detroit press conference in December. "I think the shop operator should have to certify that the work is done right."

The industry is now seeking a workable middle way that would yield the benefits of licensing (encouraging the creation of reliable servicemen) without the apparent drawbacks (blocking entry to the trade of those who pick it up along the way).

Three trade groups have concluded that certification is the answer and have created the National Automotive Technician Certification Board (NATCB) to carry out the scheme on a national scale. The plan is strictly voluntary and any mechanic who meets the requirements will be certified as a qualified service technician. Board members represent the three sponsoring trade associations, the Independent Garage Owners of America (IGOA), the National Congress of Petroleum Retailers, and the Automotive Service Industry Association. Operations are scheduled to begin this month.

Candidates may qualify for certification in one or more of 15 specialties: Engine overhaul, electrical systems, carburetion, cooling systems, braking systems, automatic transmission, front end, air-conditioning, power train and standard transmission, standard and power steering, body and fender, paint, glass, truck repairman, and frame. Any mechanic who successfully passes examinations in 8 of the first 10 categories will be awarded a Master Technicians Certificate. Proponents of the plan feel it will go a long way toward easing the effects of the manpower shortage in the trade.

"It will increase the production of the people able to be certified," said Barry McNulty, executive vice president of the Independent Garage Owners of America. "They will be in a position to make more money. This is an upgrading process and will add stature to the trade. Over the long run it will increase our ability to recruit qualified people, because it offers mechanics increased prestige and income, and it will give the public more confidence in the men to whom they entrust their cars for repairs."

The plan grew out of a 4-year test run by IGOA affiliates in Arizona and several

other States. The Arizona plan proved the most practical and has now become the national plan. All certificates awarded in the test States will be honored by the National Automotive Technician Certification Board. To be certified, all candidates, regardless of length of experience, must pass the examination and must be reexamined and recertified every 3 years. To take the examination a mechanic must have 2 years experience in the specialty in which he wishes to qualify. The cost is $6. Test and study materials will be provided to the candidates. Examiners are now being named in each State and a schedule of examining locations is being established.

The National Auto Dealers Association (NADA) also is working on a certification program but it is not nearly as far advanced. Members of NADA are frankly divided over the advisability of establishing a separate program. Many of them would prefer to join forces with the other three trade groups and give full support to the NATCB. This would create in support of certification a combination of groups representing perhaps 80 percent of the repair industry.

One of the main effects of either licensing or certification would be to derive through upgrading better production and service from existing automotive repair manpower. Automobile manufacturers are trying to arrive at the same end by another route. They want to stretch available manpower by upgrading management and reorganizing garage work schedules. Backed by the representatives of the auto companies, the Automobile Manufacturers Association introduced in December a suggested new 2-year course in auto service management for community college students. The association hopes to have community colleges throughout the country adopt it as a part of their regular curriculum. Associate of Arts degrees would be awarded to graduates. Suggested subjects range from "Engine Diagnosis and Tune Up" to "Accounting and Business Organization."

Mismanagement is the underlying reason for service problems, according to Magnus von Braun, director of product and customer service for Chrysler, in support of the degree program. "I am convinced that if mechanics are put to work in accordance with their skill levels, most of the alleged shortages would vanish." American Motors' George Brown agrees: "We analyzed service operations at 50 of our dealerships and found that a 40-hour-a-week mechanic actually was working an average of only 28 hours. It's not his fault. It's the way dealerships are scheduling service."

Service directors for the auto companies say that due to poor planning dealership repair facilities tend to be jammed on Mondays and Tuesdays and almost out of work on Fridays. And often skilled mechanics waste their time on such routine tasks as removing hub caps and installing batteries.

Different Skill Levels Set

A recent experiment conducted by the NADA and Chrysler indicates the manufacturers may be on the right track. The 1-year pilot operation was carried out in four dealerships handling Chrysler products and demonstrated that shops can be reorganized to use the skills of mechanics and managers more effectively.

Mechanics in the pilot shops were divided into four grades, based on ability. Cars brought in for repair were rated as to the skills needed for service and then assigned to the appropriate serviceman. These ratings also determined pricing to the customers; they paid less for lesser skills. The mechanics were taken off commission and paid a guaranteed hourly salary keyed directly to their demonstrated earning levels. As a man's output increased, he earned a bonus based on his higher productivity. As he improved his skills rating, he moved up the ladder to the next higher pay grade.

"We've almost eliminated complaints," said John S. Hinckley, owner of a Dodge dealership in Ogden, Utah, one of the experimental shops. "The job goes to the man with the greatest skills, assuring much greater quality of work, which means fewer complaints and need for comebacks." He added a comment that may presage the opening of a wide doorway into the trade for the disadvantaged: "With this plan we can use a lot more people with few skills for jobs that do not require an expert."

Regardless of the changes in shop management, or the development of licensing and certification procedures, a steady supply of manpower must continue to flow into the automotive repair industry, as it must in nearly every trade. Whose primary responsibility is it to train these men? Some experts point to the manufacturers. The manufacturers say the dealers. As a practical matter, however, most dealers and independent garages are too small to support a training program of any size or length. Consequently much of the burden has fallen upon the manufacturers, the schools, and the Federal Government.

Ford, for example, operates full-time tuition-free training schools in 39 major cities for dealer mechanics. During the 1968 model year alone, the company gave more than 600,000 hours of technical service training to 29,000 mechanics.

General Motors began a training center program in 1953 and now has 30 such centers throughout the United States. From inception to the beginning of 1969, these centers provided 32 million man hours of instruction for servicemen and the current cost to the company is $7.5 million a year. Chrysler and American Motors have similar programs. In addition, the auto companies have funded a number of experimental efforts to improve service, upgrade vocational schools, and entice new talent into the trade.

For the past 9 years Ford has provided after-hours vocational training in public

schools for high school seniors, and job entry training is given to new recruits to the trade in each Ford service training center. The company has donated over $8 million worth of engines and other assemblies to schools for use in vocational training.

Chrysler and Ford have mechanic training programs for the hard-core unemployed. And Ford and General Motors work with Project Transition, a Federal program to give servicemen about to be discharged several months of job training in auto repair. In the first 10 months of 1969, GM enrolled 1,377 Project Transition trainees in its 6-week, 240-hour Advanced Vocational Training Program along with 1,219 young men graduating from vocational schools. During the same period, GM's 4-year-old Dealer Cooperative Work Training Program enrolled 2,084 underemployed dealer or service station employees. The combined classroom and on-the-job course lasts 16 weeks and makes young men with mechanical aptitudes "employable service technicians," according to GM's Paul McDonald.

The U.S. Department of Labor's contribution to training has been substantial. Job Corps has trained about 5,000 youngsters in automotive repair courses lasting 12 weeks to 2 years. The Manpower Development and Training Act from its inception in 1962 through fiscal year 1969 had enrolled nearly 78,000 people in automotive training programs. And through June 1969, employers participating in the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program had signed contracts with the Labor Department to receive Federal funds to hire and train 1,300 disadvantaged hard-core unemployed persons for automotive repair work. The industry generally welcomes government help, but experts are sharply divided over the current effort of the Labor Department to move the hard-core unemployed into repair shops.

Dr. William N. Leonard, professor of economics at Hofstra University, is very much in favor of it. "A crash program is needed in ghetto areas to get . . . youth off the streets into educational and training programs which will make them into skilled mechanics," he said. He added that boys 18 and 19, among whom unemployment is particularly high, have "a strong interest in automobiles; instead of stealing cars they could be fixing them."

Athell Yon, speaking on behalf of the Independent Garage Owners of America, of which he is former president, believes this scheme unworkable. "The people we need must possess real skills," he said. "For example they must read blueprints, follow complicated diagrams, work in tolerances of one-ten-thousandths of an inch. To take a severely disadvantaged person off the street and train him to this degree of accuracy and usefulness is almost impossible." Representatives of General Motors and the Automotive Services Industry Association agree with this view.

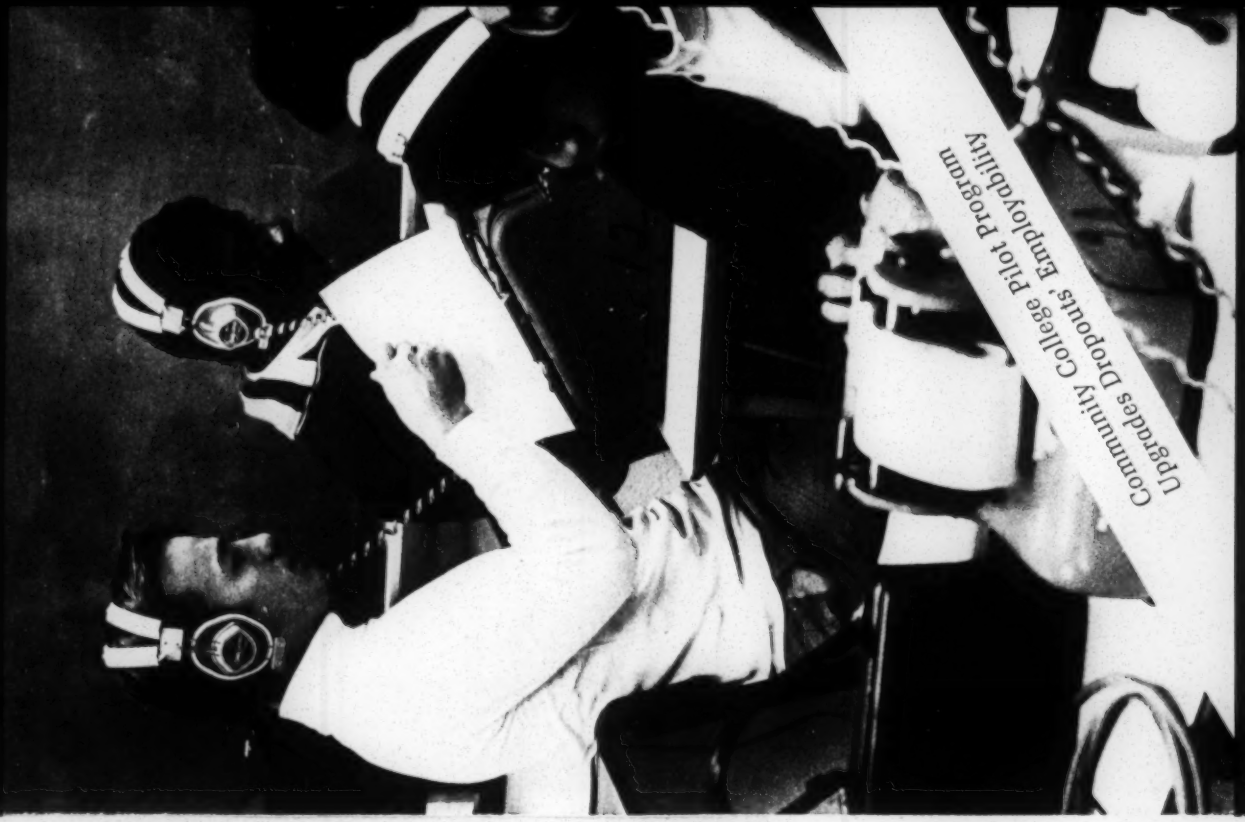
More Upgrading Sought

The Independent Garage Owners does have an alternative. As Yon explained it, the group would like a program that permits repair shops to use half the allocated Government funds to hire a severely disadvantaged person and half to upgrade a person already employed in the garage—say a greaser or gas pumper. The old employee would be trained as a mechanic and the new employee would replace him. IAM's Winpisinger said this plan made sense to him "both in terms of manpower requirements and in terms of cost to the employer." Since the suggestion was made more than a year ago, the Department of Labor has moved in that direction. The new JOBS contracts permit an employer to upgrade 30 people for every 100 disadvantaged workers he hires.

The Department of Labor recognizes that training the hard-core unemployed for highly skilled jobs is a slow process, but based on experience believes it can be done. "Apprenticeable crafts, particularly the building trades, are successfully training the disadvantaged in ever-increasing numbers," said Manpower Administrator Malcolm Lovell. "And other manpower programs have demonstrated that in relatively short periods of time the disadvantaged can be trained for certain specialty work and for entry-level jobs in several hundred skills and trades, including automotive repair. It may take a little extra time and the trainees may need extra counseling and remedial education, but it can and is being done successfully.

"The auto repair industry's own research shows that people of varying skills, from beginner to master technician, can make a significant contribution to the profitable operation of a repair facility. Our programs are sufficiently varied to train men of different abilities to fill these jobs and help supply the industry's manpower needs." □

MANPOWER DIGEST



Community College Pilot Program Upgrades Dropouts, Employability

Vol. 2 No. 2

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Viola Severance reacts during class discussion at Lenoir Community College.

For Viola Severance it's Goodbye to second-class jobs.

When Viola Severance dropped out of school in the ninth grade, her prospects for a good job dropped as well.

She didn't exactly resign herself to second-class jobs, but she knew she had a handicap. She worked nights at a shirt label factory, as a waitress, and as an employee of a religious charity.

When Lenoir Community College announced its joint manpower program with MDC, Miss Severance was one of those most interested in participating.

She hadn't had enough education, but she was bright. "Viola did particularly well in adult basic education," said her instructor, Dot Reeves. "And she's highly motivated now, you'd be safe to say that."

She dropped out of the Lenoir-MDC program, just as she had dropped out of high school—but this time with the advice and support of her instructors. At the end of the sixth week of the eight-week course, she joined a New Careers program. Now she is continuing her education at Lenoir Community College in the afternoons and working mornings in a New Careers program in La Grange. She's making the $1.60 federal hourly minimum now and will go to $1.80 in three months.

What is she doing? "Exactly what I wanted to do," she says. "I'm working with children who have reading problems."

Working with children, and working toward further educational advancement to help her in this field—that's nice work for a high school dropout.

EVOLUTION OF A NEW IDEA

The MDC-Lenoir Community College Manpower Program and How it Grew

August 14, 1967: The North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation was chartered by the State of North Carolina as a private, nonprofit corporation operating under grants from federal sources and private foundations to develop a manpower model for the State. It was hoped that this model of a statewide manpower program would be useful nationally. Studies of how the manpower process worked in North Carolina—and of where it broke down—were authorized.

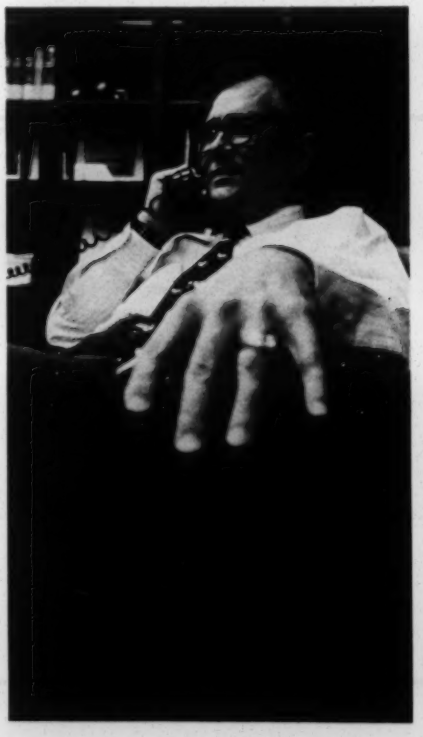
January 22, 1968: The studies having shown a lack of training leading to jobs for the disadvantaged population of the State, MDC opened an experimental manpower training center in Greensboro. The center was staffed with specialists in finding, counseling, training, and getting employment for the disadvantaged. Policy was set by an advisory committee consisting of prominent Greensboro industrialists. The purpose was to discover if a blend of programmed adult basic education and motivational training geared to let the trainees proceed at their own pace could help make them employable.

April 18, 1969: MDC closed the Greensboro center after four cycles, having demonstrated that this type of training is valid for disadvantaged individuals, even including some functional illiterates with no previous history of job stability. Average increases of two tested grade levels were recorded by the trainees. Of the 258 graduates of the center located for follow-up purposes 18 months after the first cycle began, 189 were gainfully employed at salaries averaging well above the federal minimum wage.

July 15, 1969: Based on the experience in Greensboro, the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare funded MDC for two more training centers—one in Craven County and one in Asheville. Purpose of this $400,000 program is to test the effectiveness of MDC's training away from the industrialized Piedmont, in a small urban and a rural setting, and to see whether the capability to continue this type of training can be left with a community.

September 22, 1969: MDC's board chairman, Luther H. Hodges, and executive director, George B. Autry, presented Governor Robert W. Scott with a plan for adding the corporation's manpower capabilities to the work being done by the community college system. Mr. Hodges explained that MDC had developed its system with the idea that it would eventually be useful to the community colleges and that, consequently, no services were duplicated. The two MDC officials proposed that the Governor choose one community college for a one-year pilot program to be funded by MDC and the State of North Carolina.

October 3, 1969: Governor Scott called a press conference to announce that Lenoir Community College in Kinston had been chosen for the suggested pilot program. He said that the State would fund the salaries of four manpower specialists to be attached to the college, after training by MDC, and he offered an additional $10,000 to assist in the pilot program. MDC agreed to work with Lenoir toward training and finding jobs for approximately 100 disadvantaged individuals during 1970. At the same time, MDC and the Department of Community Colleges agreed to work together jointly to prepare a plan for spreading this new training throughout the college system in the future.



Lenoir Community College President Dr. Ben Fountain welcomes pilot program as new way to serve needs of more people in the college's area.

"I'm Pleased To Be Here On The Frontier of Tomorrow's Education"

Following is a digest of remarks Governor Robert Scott made during his recent visit to the Lenoir Community College-MDC pilot training program.

Luther Hodges, Jr., came to me last Fall with an idea . . . He said that his organization, the North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation, could help make our excellent community college system even better. MDC had been working with the unemployed and the unsuitably employed locating them, motivating them, finding them jobs with a future.

He wanted North Carolina to choose one community college for a pilot program. I left that choice to Dr. I. E. Ready, the director of the Community College System, who is also a member of MDC's board of directors . . . He chose Lenoir Community College in Kinston.

You know, North Carolina's community college system has a lot to be proud of. In the brief, seven years of the system's life, enrollment has grown from 8,000 to 240,000—that's an increase of 2,911 per cent.

Yet I will be the first to say the job isn't done. The community college system has not fully reached today's disadvantaged individual. The school dropout. The urban job hopper. The displaced farm worker. Men and women, white and black, these individuals need help —and North Carolina needs their productivity.

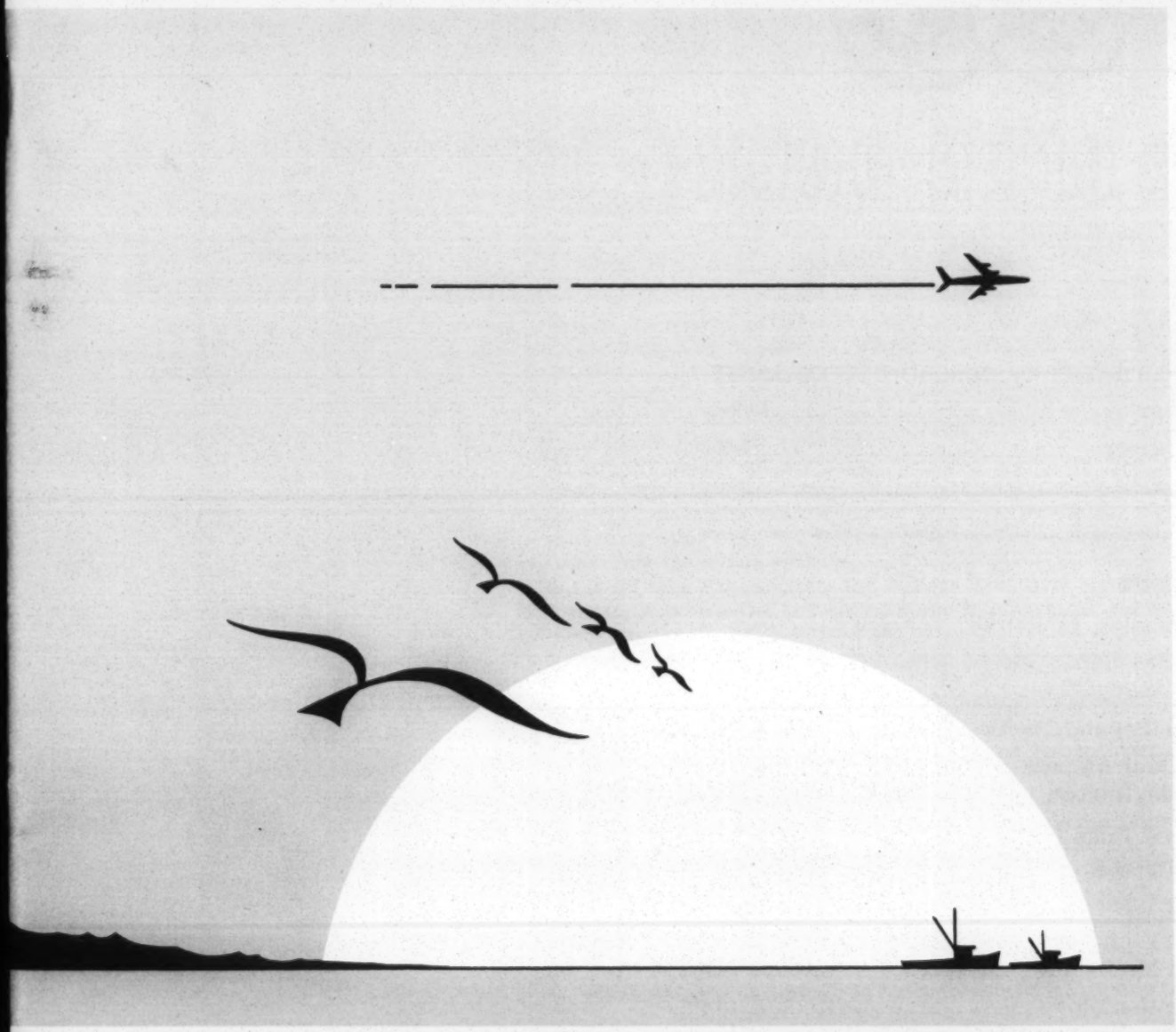
The Manpower Development Corporation has learned how to reach these individuals—to motivate them to work, to orient them to success, and finally to get them good jobs and help them keep those jobs.

If this new program works as I hope it will work . . . I plan to go to the General Assembly in 1971 with a means of spreading it in an orderly fashion throughout the Community College system. In this way we can make a positive attack on the problem of low per capita income which has plagued North Carolina as long as I can remember.

M — Training

SPRING 1970

THE OPEN DOOR



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M – Training
Dec 1970

Understanding laboratory education: an overview

Encounter groups, T groups, and Tavistock —a review article comparing three types of laboratory education, the state of research in the field, and the ethical issues involved

CLAYTON P. ALDERFER

LABORATORY EDUCATION—learning about human behavior through experiences in group activities—is simultaneously an evolving educational technology, a loosely defined philosophy, and a social movement. Most of its practitioners believe that human interactions can be better understood and more effectively carried out, and, as a consequence, more gratifying to the participants. Thus, laboratory education offers the promise of radically changing the way we understand and act in human relationships. Much of this promise has been realized.

But not all of the aspirations have been fully achieved. The failures, the incompleteness, and the sense of even greater possibilities have led many persons to be critical of laboratory education. Some of these criticisms are based on carefully collected data which has been subjected to thorough analysis. Other evaluations have been severely biased and often sensationalistic, whether the conclusions were positive or negative. This article reviews the current status of laboratory education, with an emphasis on identifying major areas of conflict and explaining why the disagreements take the form that they do.

Common processes of learning

The term "laboratory education" refers to a set of assumptions and practices. The various forms of laboratory education include a number of common elements such as acceptance of experience-based learning technology, recognition of the role of emotions in human relationships, and utilization of the small group (10 to 12 persons) as a central component in training designs.

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The learning laboratory usually takes place on a "cultural island." Participants are taken away from their normal day-to-day activities to a setting where the learning experiences occur. Frequently this new setting is naturally beautiful, but at the very least it is different and thereby provides the participant with both safety from former distractions and a setting that does not necessarily reinforce his usual ways of behaving. A second component of the laboratory involves the use of unstructured or semistructured learning tools. The staff usually attempts to design a set of experiences that serve to heighten certain aspects of human behavior and emotions. Participants learn by becoming actively involved in these activities and by developing skills which allow them to observe both themselves and others during these experiences. A person is asked to engage himself in the unfolding events and later to step back and try to see the patterns in his own and others' behavior. Much of the sense of excitement and high level of emotionality comes from the participant's becoming involved. Experiential learning is based on the assumption that experience precedes intellectual understanding. A continuing challenge in designing laboratories is to achieve that optimal degree of involvement which allows a person to flavor the richness of human interaction but is not so compelling that he loses all sense of what is happening.

A key element in almost all laboratory designs is the small group, typically quite unstructured and serving as a primary group for most participants during the varied laboratory program. One or two staff members meet regularly with the small group to aid participants' learning.

VARIATIONS IN LABORATORY METHODS. Differences among various laboratory methods tend to emerge around the nature of the small group activities.

Three frequently used names for the small groups are encounter groups, T groups, and self study groups. The professional organizations most closely identified with these group labels are, respectively, Esalen Institute, National Training Laboratories Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, and Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. The varied names for the group provide clues about the different nature of the learning experiences offered and of the whole laboratories which utilize the particular type of group. Differences (which tend to be of degree only) include relative focus on intrapsychic, interpersonal, intragroup, or intergroup phenomena; emphasize the personal in comparison to the professional qualities of the staff; and explicitly include the place of thinking in laboratory activities.

Reliable data on the extent of laboratory training are difficult to come by. Table 1 gives estimates, provided by leaders in the three areas, on the number of participants. In actual practice there are many more laboratories than those covered by these estimates. Warner Burke, Director, Center for Organization Studies, NTL, estimates that the 1970 NTL figure represented about 5 percent of the laboratories conducted in the United States. The overwhelming majority are being conducted independently of the NTL by business firms, educational institutions, church groups, and so on. But though the table understates the actual number of participants it does illustrate the rapid growth in laboratory education.

Table 1. Participants in experiential laboratories sponsored by three organizations in the United States

Sponsoring group	Approximate number of participants [1]		
	1962	1965	1970
Esalen	------	600	11,000
National Training Laboratories	900	------	2,400
Tavistock	------	100	250

[1] These estimates were provided by Richard Price and Stuart Miller of Esalen; Warner Burke and Patricia Walton of National Training Laboratories; and Edward Klein of Tavistock.

ENCOUNTER LABORATORIES. The encounter group, the Esalen Institute, and personal growth laboratories in general tend to focus primarily on learning about the individual. Encounter groups tend to produce experiences where a person examines himself in new and different ways, aided by others. A participant in this kind of experience is encouraged to look inward to himself, to become more in touch with his fantasy life. and to become more aware of his physical activities. Part of the emphasis on body movement includes attention to nonverbal communications. A person may learn to attend more fully to his own nonverbal communications, to read others' signs more adequately, and to practice being more effective in his body language. Psychodramatic techniques are often used in laboratories of this kind. Frequently the focus in these exercises is on interpersonal relationships that have been troublesome for people in the past. Other group members are asked to volunteer to be "stand-ins" for or representatives of a key person in a participant's life history. Staff members help set the stage for these encounters, sometimes actively taking part themselves, and almost always leading the discussion and working through of the events after they happen.

Personal growth laboratories contain more components than the encounter group, however. Various exercises in body movement and artistic expression are frequently employed. It is not uncommon for the staff to include members of the performing arts such as modern dance or theater. Some of the key writings which give greater detail, flavor, and rationale for these methods include Schutz (1967), Murphy (1967), Perls (1969), and Rogers (1969).* John Weir is another key figure in the development of encounter laboratories, but to this writer's knowledge he has not written of his ideas or developments.

There can be little doubt that many persons who attend encounter-oriented laboratories have joyful, freeing experiences. The ever increasing popularity of the Esalen Institute and personal growth laboratories testifies to this (Murphy, 1967; Shepard, 1970). Yet these experiences have also been validly criticized. With the focus of the laboratories on freeing people and making them more expressive, little of their learning experience is directed toward examining the consequences of excessive self-expression. Because the laboratories produce potent effects so rapidly, they also tend to spawn disciples very readily (Lakin, 1969). It is not uncommon for participants to start their own groups and "turn on" their friends after as few as one or two group experiences. Within the laboratory itself, participants may be tempted to engage in personality analyses of each other for which they

*Authors and their works are listed in the bibliography following the text.

are ill-equipped (Argyris, 1967).

Staff members tend to be central in the learning processes and often are charismatic figures. They frequently seem magical in the techniques they employ and in the effects they can have on some people (Haigh, 1968). As a consequence some participants tend to copy the manifest qualities of staff members' behavior without careful or thoughtful examination of what or how they are learning.

Another factor which is likely to work against a more critical examination of the learning processes by participants is the tendency for an anti-intellectual bias to develop. While the laboratories are a potent counterforce to our culture's excessive reliance on rational intellective activities, they seem to forget that thinking is also part of the human potential. Encounter laboratories give relatively little attention to how thinking and talking can be reincorporated into a person's behavioral repertoire after he has become more emotionally and physically free.

Although all laboratories find the boundary between education and therapy to be a fine one, perhaps the line is thinnest in the encounter laboratories (Jenkins, 1962). Many staff members for encounter laboratories are also practicing psychotherapists. The new techniques which have developed through encounter laboratories have also had an impact on the practice of psychotherapy, and the latter has affected the laboratories (Burton, 1969).

Both the beauty and the limitations of the encounter approach are captured in the frequently quoted words of Frederick S. Perls:

> I do my thing, and you do your thing.
> I am not in this world to live up to your expectations.
> And you are not in this world to live up to mine.
> You are you and I am I,
> And if by chance we find each other, it's beautiful.

The sense of individuality and freedom in these words is unmistakable. But missing is the recognition that commitments can be reached by mutuality and that a superordinate goal may sometimes require the suppression of certain individual needs in order for others to be expressed.

T GROUP LABORATORIES. The T group (for human relations training) and the National Training Laboratories Institute at its outset were developed to increase the human relations skills which people brought to their leadership, group, and organizational relationships. Bradford, Benne, and Lippitt, the men whose original conversations led to the founding of NTL, were social psychologists who were interested in both research and action (Bradford, 1967). The initial focus of learning was on interpersonal and intragroup phenomena. National Training Laboratories has grown considerably over the years, however, and today it conducts laboratories focused on individual growth and intergroup relations. Nevertheless, the initial focus on interpersonal and intragroup phenomena still conditions much of what T groups and NTL are about.

T group laboratories often tend to be focused on the interpersonal impact that members make on each other. In the unstructured T groups, members examine their leadership, membership, and other roles. They see the consequences of different kinds of leadership styles and attempt to learn about the complex interrelationships between group processes and group effectiveness.

A T group leader acts as a person who is also a professional. He does not deny that he is more experienced and knowledgeable than most group members, but he does not act in such a way as to increase the natural distance between himself and group members. He is likely to discuss his own feelings when he sees that as useful to himself and others. He attempts to establish relationships of mutuality between himself and group members. Recognizing that some members of a group will assume that he is like other key figures in their lives, he is willing to examine the impact of his own behavior on others, but he is also likely to ask group members to concentrate on his group behavior when giving feedback. He is likely to assume that people learn not only from what he says but also from how he behaves.

The T group tradition has produced a considerable amount of empirical research (for example, *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*) and theorizing (Bradford, Gibb, and Benne, 1964; Argyris, 1962, 1969). The quality of this work has sometimes been questioned by thoughful critics (Dunnette and Campbell, 1968; House, 1967), with good reason. Frequently laboratory education research has consisted of poorly designed studies from which the investigators have drawn unjustified conclusions. Control groups have often been missing. Measuring instruments have been poorly designed. More recently, investigators have addressed directly the special problems of research

laboratory education and are now utilizing research designs which offer greater promise in terms of the kinds of conclusions one might draw (Rubin, 1967; Harrison, 1970; Alderfer and Berlew, 1971).

Democratic values have played an important role in much of the thinking that has influenced group theory and practice (Whyte, 1953). The impact of democratic practices has undoubtedly been a strong factor in accounting for the wide diversity of practice, the high degree of innovation, and the strong sense of collaboration and commitment experienced by many members of the NTL system. Nevertheless, the profusion of democratic values has also served as a means for avoiding some more difficult issues.

In a long overdue action, National Training Laboratories has recently begun to develop the organizational machinery for accrediting group leaders. For a long time NTL had been unofficially granting credentials to practitioners by publishing lists of those persons who were elected to positions as Professional Member, Associate, or Fellow (Schein and Bennis, 1965). In order not to emphasize its exclusiveness, however, NTL consistently maintained the public position that it was not an accrediting agency. Now the focusing of public attention on the quality of group leadership and NTL's eminence in the field has led the organization to change its course.

National Training Laboratories' initial focus was toward interpersonal and intragroup phenomena. For some time there was a tendency for the key learnings from this level of analysis to be transferred uncritically to larger units, such as intergroup relations and larger social systems. A key paper in this line of thought was by Slater and Bennis (1964), who proclaimed "Democracy Is Inevitable." More recently, Bennis (1970) has revised his original thinking, and NTL has become increasingly involved with intergroup concerns, especially those surrounding racism in our society.

TAVISTOCK CONFERENCES. The self-study group has evolved from a tradition which traces its roots to modern psychoanalytic theory of object relations (Klein, 1959). During World War II, British psychoanalyst W. R. Bion discovered that groups were a useful way to treat psychiatric casualties from the war. His group work led to the writing of *Experiences in Groups* (1959), a book that has become a classic in the field and a key theoretical work for leaders of Tavistock study groups. Although Tavistock theories have evolved from the psychoanalytic tradition, the conferences are directed to learning, not therapeutic goals (Rice, 1965).

Authority relationships form a key element in the learning process of self-study groups. Tavistock staff members, who are called consultants, remain distant and remote in their relationships with group members. They think about their behavior in terms of "staying in role," with the intent of contributing to the group's exploration of relations within the group. In carrying out their roles, the consultants are very punctual in entering and leaving group meetings, dress in relatively formal attire, and intervene in group activity only when they believe it will promote learning. Their statements tend to be metaphorical and they consistently point out how members seem to be relating to them, often as surrogates for other key figures such as parents, siblings, lovers, and the like (Astrachan and Klein, 1961; Redlich and Astrachan, 1969).

Tavistock laboratories also focus on intergroup relations through the use of exercises which ask participants to negotiate among groups in order to make a decision or carry out a task. These activities serve to underline the impact of individual, subgroup, and group boundaries. The analysis of boundaries plays a key role in Tavistock theory and methods. One of the key learnings is the types of fantasy and mythmaking that groups indulge in with respect to each other across group boundaries. A. K. Rice's work (1965, 1969) on laboratory design and on individual, group, and intergroup transactions as boundary crossings is the major conceptual work in this area.

Staff members direct their interventions to the group rather than to any individual. The latter's behavior or statements, however, are assumed to express group concerns unless contradicted by others. Thus, whenever a person speaks in the group he is viewed as speaking for the group and his statement is viewed as representing some element of the group opinion.

Little in the staff behavior allows one to determine the degree to which the interventions cause the study group behavior or merely reflect it. Consultants rarely discuss their own feelings with the group, although they do use their feelings as an important source of data for understanding

group events (Rice, 1965). It might be expected that group members would focus much of their attention on the consultant when he intervenes in the group activity yet behaves in a relatively inaccessible manner. Important questions can be raised about the generality of the learning about leadership that participants achieve in study groups. It is one thing to learn that persons develop vivid and hostile fantasies about persons who appear to be leaders yet deny the role, who behave in distant ways and speak metaphorically about their perceptions of the group. It may be a mistake, however, to assume that reactions of this sort are representative of typical reaction to authority figures regardless of how they behave.

Tavistock consultants do not suggest that their behavior is a model for group members to follow. Yet a question can be raised as to whether modeling occurs nonetheless. There is research to support the notion that modeling or imitation is a general human learning process (Bandura and Walters, 1963). If modeling does occur in study groups, then it would appear that the Tavistock style of study group would teach participants to be leaders who do not share their feelings, remain personally distant from the group, talk in metaphors, focus attention on themselves by their mode of intervention, and hold quite strictly to the prescribed definition of their roles.

This writer has serious questions about whether these types of learning are very useful for small group effectiveness. However, there are times when learning of this kind is realistic. Leaders of large social systems cannot be seen regularly by more than a few members. They frequently serve as spokesmen for the group. To come to terms with leaders in this kind of role, group members have little choice but to rely on their fantasies and therefore to project and transfer their reactions from prior relationships. Learnings from study group and intergroup activities in a Tavistock laboratory can be very enlightening with regard to multiple group functioning in large scale social systems.

Comparison of laboratory approaches

The primary learning and dangers differ among the three approaches to laboratory education. For encounter group laboratories, the primary target is individual expression and artistic creativity. A danger in this approach is that participants may learn to act out their impulses without realistically considering the consequences of their behavior for themselves and for others. T group laboratories primarily aid learning about mutuality, trust, and collaboration. There is a danger that democratic values and behavior may be applied in situations where they are not realistic or appropriate. Moreover, differences among individuals with regard to task or professional competence may be ignored because they tamper with the norm that everyone is equal. Tavistock laboratories promote learning about authority relationships and the functions of group boundaries. It is possible that consultant behavior in the study group may become a model for nonmutuality when this kind of behavior is neither necessary nor effective.

The common theme in the criticisms of each of these approaches to learning by experience is that the particular approach may lead to unwarranted generalization. Learning which evolves from a particular approach does not apply to all situations. At first glance it would appear that this caution is clear to understand and easy to apply. But the learning processes of laboratory education do not lend themselves readily to a norm of moderation. Overattention to concerns about being too self-expressive can prevent a person from taking the risks which would enable him to become more free and spontaneous. Fear of being overwhelmed by a pseudodemocratic horde may prevent a person from exposing enough of himself to really find out what can be gained by sharing more of himself with the group. The need to feel competent or free of tension may inhibit a person from exposing himself to his fantasies about distant leaders or to engage in the turbulent processes of intergroup negotiations. It is difficult to write critically about the different approaches to laboratory education without unintentionally colluding with the very human processes—fear, hostility, fantasy, and so on—that prevent persons from learning about themselves and their complex relations with others.

The kinds of laboratory education described in this article represent efforts to apply behavioral science concepts to increase learning about human relationships. Each of the laboratories exists as an educational setting. However, although all approaches aim to transfer learning to nonlaboratory settings, an active role for the staff in promoting transfer typically ends with the con-

clusion of the laboratory. Additional developments in the direct utilization of behavioral science knowledge for organizational change through the use of experiential methods will be the subject of a future article.

Public and professional criticism

During the past several years, a number of articles have been devoted to laboratory education, both in widely circulated newspapers and magazines and in professional journals. Not all of this coverage has been comprehensive or unbiased. Some has been blatantly slanted and inaccurate. The purpose of this section is to alert the reader to some of the forms that public and professional criticism has taken and to caution him against putting too much credence in sensationalistic accounts.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES. The front page of the *Wall Street Journal* on July 14, 1969, carried a story with the headline, "Some Companies See More Harm Than Good In Sensitivity Training—Frank Exchanges Sometimes Hamper Work; Sessions Can Produce Breakdowns—A Tough Boss Turns Meek." The lead paragraph was, "Last year a big New York consumer products company sent Mrs. D, a product manager, to a week-long sensitivity training program. She got so sensitive she quit the company." In this article, a number of key academic authorities were cited to support the author's slant, but the full range of professional opinion was not presented. In a number of instances the writer obtained opinions from persons who had participated in symposia or debates on laboratory education but chose to present only the critical side of the controversy. He cited Marvin Dunnette and John Campbell (1968) on the subject of research findings but did not include Chris Argyris (1968) who had raised questions with them about research procedures. Warren Bennis (1966) has written extensively about the conditions under which laboratory methods are likely to result in constructive organizational change but nowhere was his work included.

In contrast to the above article, *Today's Health* featured a discussion of laboratory education from a more balanced perspective. The title of this article was "Sensitivity Training: Fad, Fraud, or New Frontier." The lead paragraph in the piece was, "Here's a comprehensive, up-to-the-minute look at a new dimension in human relations—its problems (misguided do-gooders), its bizarre aspects (T group bums looking for thrills), and its outlook (potential for good)." This article, too, had a bit of sensationalism, for it only included pictures of encounter labs where the participants were engaged in active nonverbal behaviors. But for one who was willing to read the text, author Ted J. Rakstis provided a sampling of informed opinion, both inside and outside the medical profession as well as inside and outside the laboratory education profession. Cautions, criticisms, and potentials all received attention and discussion. The reader looking for a final definitive opinion would not be satisfied by Rakstis' piece, but one looking for a delineation of the issues so he could make more informed choices would be aided by it.

PSYCHIATRISTS. An issue on which one might expect psychiatrists to agree concerns the impact of laboratory education on mental health. They do not, and the December 1969 issue of the *American Journal of Psychiatry* shows a broad range of differences. At one extreme, there is the paper by Ralph Cranshaw who asked, "How Sensitive is Sensitivity Training?" He reported three cases of psychiatric problems which arose in conjunction with persons attending laboratory programs, and he noted that his colleagues had encountered similar cases. He argued that the responsibilities of laboratory trainers had not been fully defined and implied that the practitioners of sensitivity training could be justly accused of irresponsible experimentation with human beings. He charged that education in the form of sensitivity does not include the concepts of freedom, truth, and empathy in its operation. In his conclusion he stated, "The medical profession can say, to those who will listen, that sensitivity training is insensitive to the individual, for he is not seen as a whole person."

There were some very questionable qualities about the Cranshaw paper. With an n=3 sample the writer seemed willing to generalize to the entire operation of sensitivity training. One of the three cases was under treatment with Cranshaw prior to attending the laboratory which preceded his hospitalization for emotional difficulties. Cranshaw did not raise such questions as whether the hospitalization might have occurred regardless of the laboratory experience, whether his own efforts at treatment might have hastened the need for

hospitalization, or whether the hospitalization was a constructive or destructive experience for the client. When arguing that freedom, empathy, and truth are not part of the code of operations for sensitivity training, Cranshaw was simply not fully informed. Key writings in the field by Argyris (1962), Bennis (1966), and Bradford *et al* (1964) have consistently emphasized these values.

The way Cranshaw approached his critique was unfortunate because the issues he raised with regard to possible harm to participants, areas of responsibility among trainers, and the necessity for free choice for participants are important. They can be handled adequately only by continually confronting them. The errors in logic and fact in his presentation, however, probably reduce the kind of positive effect which his points could have.

At the other extreme of psychiatric reaction is the paper by Cadden and others (1969), who reported their experiences with a voluntary program of laboratory education for incoming medical students. They found no evidence that the group experiences precipitated emotional illnesses. In contrast, they noted that the laboratory experiences aided several students in becoming aware of their need for psychiatric consultation. The overall need for psychiatric consultation among first year students, however, was reduced in comparison to preceding years because the groups made it possible to handle certain situational crises more effectively. They also noted that the laboratory program seemed to improve student-faculty communication. The contrast with Cranshaw's reactions could hardly be more marked.

There is no reason to assume that only one of the two critiques is accurate, however. Both refer to rather specific cases. One underlines the dangers; the other shows realized potential. It would be a serious error to assume that because some laboratories are poorly conducted or some individuals poorly handled, all similar activities share these outcomes. It would be equally unfortunate to assume that because one system found benefits for individuals and groups, all systems will also benefit without careful planning and competent execution.

T GROUP TRAINERS. The inhouse controversies which were featured in the Landmarks issue of *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* (1967, 3(2)) focused on the differences in approach to laboratory education. In the one case, Argyris (1967), who has consistently contributed to group practice, theory, and research, raised issu with the encounter group wing of NTL. He fou many of the trends in personal growth laboratori to be running counter to the initial goals a concepts of the National Training Laboratorie Several NTL trainers responded to Argyris' issue but there was little consensus among their r sponses. Some, such as Kingsbury (1967) a Shepard (1967), sharply disagreed with hi Others such as Coffey (1967) and Work (196 essentially agreed with him. Those who disagree were more active in conducting personal growt laboratories than those who agreed.

In the same edition, Bass questioned whethe the T group with its focus on openness an collaboration provided a full enough range o learnings to permit transfer to organization leve issues. He was particularly concerned with learn ings about competing interest groups, distan leaders, and organizational demands which some times require suppressing individual and smal group interests. Few of the commentators on th Bass paper agreed with all of the premises of hi arguments, but most agreed in whole or in pa with his general conclusions.

Major areas of disagreement emerged within th NTL tradition when the interpersonal and intra-group focus became more oriented to the individua and when the inadequacies of using only collaborative models in large social systems becam apparent. The inhouse controversies closely paralleled the various emphases featured among the different types of laboratory education programs. The potential payoff from constructive dialogue among practitioners from the various orientations is high, because the strengths and limitations of the approaches are often complementary.

Empirical research and ethical questions

Most thoughtful discussions of laboratory education pay some attention to what has been or can be offered by empirical research. Many of the controversial issues could be clarified, differentiated, and possibly even resolved if the appropriate empirical studies were carried out. Ideally, research produces unambiguous answers to precisely defined questions. Practically, this rarely happens. During the past several years there have been two independent efforts to review the research literature on laboratory education

(House, 1967; Campbell and Dunnette, 1968). These reviews reached some, though not identical, agreement in their conclusions. However, several of the commentators on laboratory education have written as if there was no research or that one could not draw conclusions from it (Gottschalk and Pattison, 1969; Rakstis, 1970).

House (1967) stated his major conclusions as follows: "It has been shown that T group training is not only capable of inducing anxiety, but the anxiety is an intended part of the training. Such induced anxiety may have the very unrewarding effect of unsettling, upsetting, and frustrating those subjected to it. The method may also have the intended effect of inducing more consideration for subordinates, less dependence on others, less demand for subservience from others, and better communication through more adequate and objective listening."

Campbell and Dunnette (1968) concluded: "The evidence, though limited, is reasonably convincing that T-group training does induce behavioral changes in the 'back home' setting. . . . It still cannot be said with any certainty whether T groups lead to greater or lesser changes in self-perceptions than other types of group experience, the simple passage of time, or the mere act of filling out a self-description questionnaire. . . . "

House (1967) laid greater emphasis on the role of anxiety and tension in the learning process of laboratory education than Campbell and Dunnette (1968) did. Meanwhile, Campbell and Dunnette (1968) gave more attention to the inadequacies of current research designs than House did. They also differentiated more precisely than House between behavioral and attitudinal changes as a result of laboratory education. Reading House, one would probably feel relatively sure that important changes came from laboratory education, but the reader would also be encouraged to examine whether the costs of the changes were worth the payoff. Reading Campbell and Dunnette, one would probably be less certain about the type of changes, especially with regard to attitudes, that could be credited to laboratory education. One would also be alerted to many of the methodological errors that have been made in laboratory education research.

Elsewhere, this writer has commented on the House and Campbell-Dunnette reviews (Alderfer, 1970). House tends to underemphasize the fact that most important or significant change processes include anxiety. The key question concerns whether the participants and staff are equipped to deal with the tensions effectively, not with whether they should exist. Poor instruments and inadequate controls do contaminate many laboratory education research studies. It is also true, however, that studies frequently had different sources of invalidity and yet reached the same conclusions. Studies with better designs had ways of checking sources of error even though they could not completely control them. My conclusion, therefore, was that the two reviews were conservative both with respect to the potential dangers in the methods and with respect to the kind of payoffs that could be expected.

Most of the research reviewed to date has been directed toward seeing whether T group laboratories result in behavior and attitude changes for participants when they return to work settings. There has been far less research, if any, on similar or related questions for encounter and Tavistock laboratories. Much of the public concern over laboratory education has been tied directly or indirectly to personal growth laboratories. The lack of empirical research on these very potent learning settings should be changed. A similar point applies to the Tavistock laboratories, and there are indications that research of this kind is being carried out (Astrachan and Klein, 1970).

Lakin's (1969) delineation of ethical issues in laboratory education offers a paradigm for thinking through many of the needed researches. We need to study more about the processes that lead persons to attend laboratories, including questions of how to identify persons who might be harmed and who are most likely to benefit. The work of Steele (1968) and Rubin (1967) offer promise in this direction, but it is only a bare beginning. We need to know more about the effect of various design components, staff behavior, and laboratory processes, such as that offered by the research of Argyris (1962), Culbert (1968), Harrison and Lubin (1965), Bolman (1970; 1971), Schmuck et al (1969), Lubin and Zucherman (1969), and Alderfer and Lodahl (1971). But the number of questions that could be addressed is much greater than the answers so far provided. Quite a few studies have been addressed to assessing the outcomes of laboratory education, but still more with better designs and instrumentation are needed. Especially important are questions with regard to changes in interpersonal

and intergroup behavior as a result of laboratory programs. What we know about laboratory induced changes in behavior exists almost entirely at the individual level.

Both the critics and the advocates of laboratory education are people. They have their own unique combinations of needs, values, abilities, and personal styles. They participate in interpersonal relationships with each other. They belong to overlapping and competing groups. Their reactions (including this author's) to laboratory education are bound to be influenced by these factors.

Questions of knowledge, professional competence, and ethical behavior are closely intertwined. When it is well known that a particular behavioral pattern is harmful, a professional who consciously or unconsciously undertakes such a pattern should be questioned on ethical grounds. So often the issues are not clear, however. Sometimes conservative members of a profession or of a competing profession raise ethical questions about innovations because they fear that they will soon have to revise or change some of their own well estab lished ideas or behavior if the new concepts a proven valid. The value of innovation for i own sake should never be a reason for infringin on the freedom or individuality of human being Nor should the inertia of tradition serve to bloc the responsible experimentation that is so nece sary if we are to become more effective in copin with the many social problems that we face in to day's world.

These issues define some very fine lines to draw Reasonable and competent professionals have dis agreed and will continue to disagree on specifi cases. The important conditions for public welfar and for professional growth are that issues o professional practice be subject to continual ex amination by those who are equipped to do so that theory development and empirical researc go along with new developments in professiona practice, and that the outcomes of these dialogue be shared among the professions and with th public. □

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MANPOWER RESEARCH STUDY SUMMARY
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR / Manpower Administration

M – Training

1970

MOTIVATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF PERFORMANCE IN TRAINING

Manpower training programs have progressed considerably further in mastering techniques of skill development than in coping with the problems of trainee motivation equally vital to program success. Although there is common recognition that motivation is an essential determinant of training performance, the specific nature of motivational processes and how they can best be influenced or adapted to are still somewhat obscure. Motivational issues have been particularly ill-defined with reference to disadvantaged persons whose rapid inclusion in manpower training programs has outpaced the advancement of knowledge through research and experimentation.

Illustrative of the potential benefits of motivational research, and psychological research more generally, are the findings of a project recently completed for the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor.[1] This investigation, consisting of a series of four interrelated laboratory-type experiments conducted in training settings, was designed to test alternative strategies foı influencing the motivation and training performance of disadvantaged youth and adults.

Basic to the rationale of the study was the general assumption that training programs have not realized their full potential because of their failure to provide trainees with the experience of success (reinforcement) at vital points in the training process. More specifically, the project was built on the assumptions that (1) disadvantaged youth, by virtue of past experience, are prone to have low self-evaluations; (2) this negative self-image has an adverse effect on motivation to perform; and (3) the selective and judicious application of social reinforcements (i.e., evaluative information) can enhance both self-image and task performance.

The study involved the experimental manipulation of three dimensions of reinforcement: Types of reinforcement (Is it more efficacious to reinforce the person per se or the correctness of his performance? to provide material reinforcement or verbal reinforcement?); sources of reinforcement (Is reinforcement more effective when administered by peers or by an authority figure?); schedules of reinforcement (What are the relative effects of positive and negative feedback, and of varying frequencies of reinforcement?).

In all of the four project studies, two major sets of dependent variables (measures of effect) were employed: Improvements in task performance; and improvements in self-image, presumed to mediate changes in motivation to perform the tasks.

The range of tasks selected was designed to simulate as far as possible the kinds of activities that might actually be performed in skill training programs and to permit greater generality than is normally possible in laboratory investigations. These included word recognition, visual perception, motor coordination, and perceptual motor skills. The experimental arrangements also included an ambiguous evaluative context, to preclude the possibility of an individual's evaluating the quality of his performance and allowing the experimenter to influence his perceptions of how well he was doing.

Two different types of self-image measures were used. A standardized self-concept scale provided a measure of the individual's beliefs about himself. An assessment of self-esteem (the individual's evaluation of himself) was obtained through a specially constructed Interpersonal Perception Questionnaire.

Finally, in order to test the assumption that an individual's response to given conditions of reinforcement is a function of past reinforcement experience, a questionnaire was administered to obtain historical data relative to typical evaluative reactions of parents and peers in a variety of situations involving home, school, and social activities.

Study No. 1–In this study of female Negro nurse aid trainees the reinforcement procedures had much more impact on self-image than on actual task performance, with praise of person proving to be more effective than praise of performance. Moreover, less frequent reinforcement was found to be generally more effective in enhancing self-image than more frequent reinforcement.

Study No. 2–The subjects in this study were young men (most of whom were Negroes) enrolled in a Skills Center auto mechanic training program. As in the first study, self-image was more affected by reinforcement variations than was actual task performance. Also, material rewards (for example, cigarettes or candy) were somewhat superior to verbal ones, although this difference in relative effectiveness was in turn a function of the individual's need for social approval and the favorableness of past reinforcement experience.

Study No. 3–Negro high school students participating in a summer vocational exploration program were the subjects of this experiment. As with the previous studies, reinforcement conditions were found to be more relevant to self-image than to task performance, with a general tendency for peer reinforcement to be more potent than experimenter (authority) reinforcement and praise more effective than criticism.

Study No. 4–In this experiment, conducted with female high school students, neither peer nor experimenter reinforcement alone affected the persistence with which subjects worked at an assigned task. Subjects did persist longest, however, when they received peer group reinforcement and when the experimenter (authority figure) was absent.

These are, of course, only a few highlights of the major study findings. However, they can suffice as a backdrop for tracing at least some limited implications for social reinforcement theory, future research, and training strategy.

With respect to theory, it is reasonably clear that the findings are more easily explained by a model that stresses the appropriateness or relevance of evaluative feedback than by those theories that concern themselves only with amount of reinforcement. What appears to be at work is a judgmental process by which individuals react differentially to particular rewards as a function of variations in their reinforcement history. Therefore, the

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[1] Reuben M. Baron and Alan R. Bass, *The Role of Social Reinforcement Parameters in Improving Trainee Task Performance and Self-Image*, Department of Psychology, Wayne State University, Detroit, 1969. This study was done under Contract No. 81-24-66-04 with the Office of Policy, Evaluation, and Research of the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration. Copies of the report may be purchased from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Springfield, Va. 22151 (Paper copy, $3; microfiche, 65 cents.) Specify Accession No. PB-187700 when ordering.

most effective reinforcer for a given person is that which has optimal credibility–in other words, is perceived by him as appropriate to the present situation.

In the domain of research, it is essential that further study be made of the process by which social reinforcement is translated into effective performance if theory is to be refined and alternative models selected or rejected. Future research should be designed, for example, to determine the kinds of past reinforcement experiences that condition the effects. Clearly a much more precise specification of antecedent conditions along with the manner in which they interact with different kinds of feedback is a requisite for the application of reinforcement techniques to actual training programs.

Research should also have as its goal the clarification of relationships between self-image and task performance. This investigation assumed that reinforcement effects changes in both variables and that self-image mediates changes in performance. Although the dual effect hypothesis was partially confirmed, the mediation hypothesis was unsupported. But the logic of a relationship between performance and self-esteem remains strong, and the dynamics of it need further clarification.

Finally, investigations should determine the extent to which the findings of largely laboratory research can be generalized to other settings and conditions. Studies should determine, for example, the relative effectiveness of Negro and white reinforcing agents, both as authority figures and peers. Research might also be developed in actual training situations where performance in the program itself can be used as the principal change variable. Such research could then be extended over time to gauge the stability of change after assignment to a job. The question of persistence of change as a consequence of reinforcement treatments seems to be particularly worthy of investigation.

While the major significance of the present study is its stimulus to further research, a few cautious suggestions might be made regarding the application of reinforcement in actual training situations. Generally, it seems likely that disadvantaged trainees will benefit most from programs if their self-esteem can be developed at an early point in the training process. These preliminary research findings also suggest that moderate praise of the individual via peer group reinforcement can contribute to improvement in both self-image and performance. It must be remembered, however, that the durability of such changes has yet to be established and that additional research is essential to specifying, with greater precision, the kinds of success experiences that are beneficial for individuals of varying backgrounds and reinforcement histories.

AVAILABILITY OF THE FULL REPORT

The full report is on file at nearly 100 libraries located in 72 different cities. For a list of these libraries write to the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210. The full report may also be consulted at the offices of the Regional Manpower Administrators at the addresses listed below.

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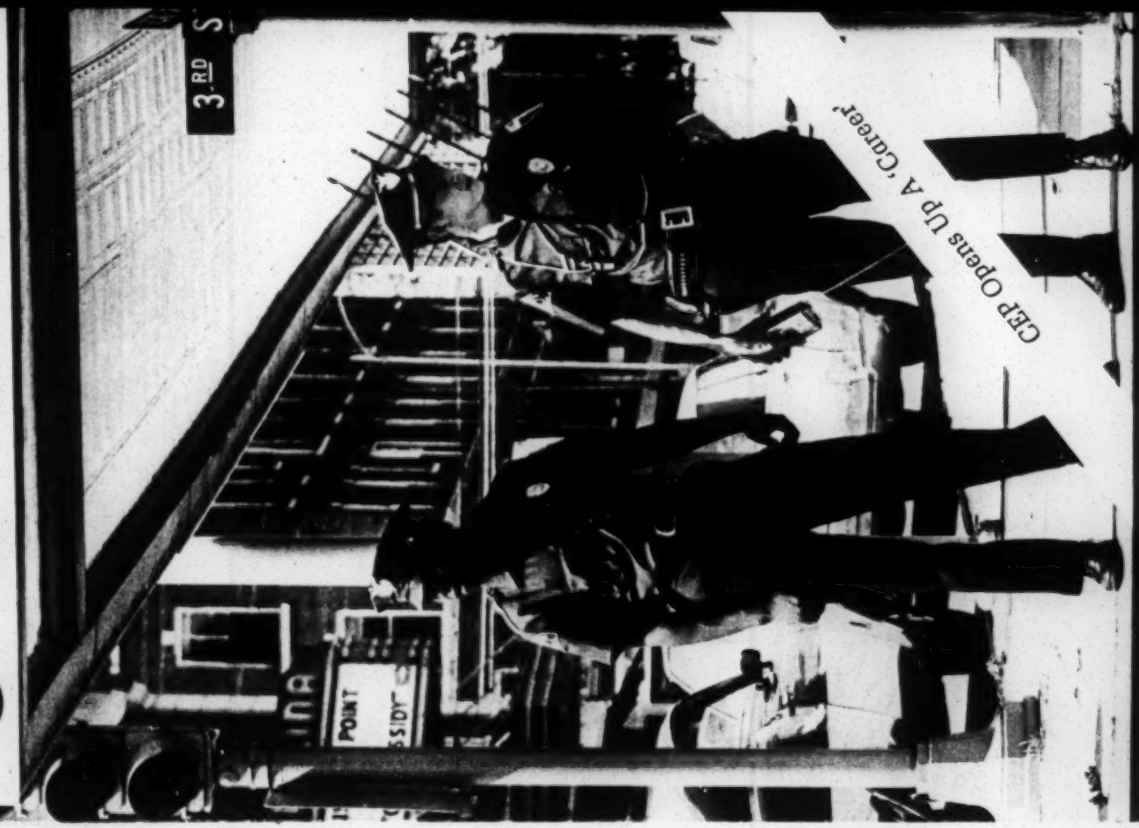

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The North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation is a private, nonprofit organization with government and private funding. Its role is to create a model of state-wide manpower services in N. C. **Manpower Digest** is a monthly publication designed to discuss candidly the state's manpower problems and progress. Reader response is welcomed.

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July, 1971

Four cadets (at right in photo) are briefed by veteran officers. . .

CEP Project Exploits City Personnel Needs

The N.C. Manpower Development Corp.'s Rural Concentrated Employment Program has tied in with the City of Lumberton in a cooperative project to develop personnel for two vital municipal services—law enforcement and sewage treatment plant operation.

The project aims first at filling these career-type jobs with CEP recruits drawn from among the area's unemployed and under-employed. But MDC also sees the project as a model for developing career jobs in other small cities. It expects the Lumberton experience to produce useful insights into ways to create Public Service jobs with a future.

Lumberton has typical small city personnel problems. It faces demands for more and better services for its 17,000 people. Despite efforts to keep its municipal pay scale competitive with private industry in the region, Lumberton has trouble attracting full qualified applicants for jobs in its service departments. And the city lacks the resources for extensive recruiting and training to up-grade the marginal applicants who make up a large proportion of the labor pool in Lumberton's predominantly rural region.

Through its Job Experience component, the CEP is giving Lumberton the recruiting, support and training capacity to tap this labor pool for select job areas. Although the training is just beginning, both Lumberton's personnel director, Wallace O'Neal, and Police Chief Wilbur Lovett are optimistic about the prospects. The courses are promising.

The six-month police cadet training course promises obvious advantages over the learn-by-doing method used by so many small cities to train new police officers. During the six months, cadets will spend 20 hours a week in uniform, performing non-hazardous police duties and familiarizing themselves with the workings of the Lumberton department.

They will get 10 hours a week of police-conducted classroom instruction. They will spend 10 hours a week in CEP-conducted classes in personal development and/or academic work (where necessary to bring cadets up to standards for police employment).

The cadet class also promises Chief Lovett the in-

MDC's CEP

The N. C. Manpower Development Corp.'s Rural Concentrated Employment Program serves a six-county area of Southeastern North Carolina from CEP headquarters in Lumberton. In addition to normal job placement goals, the $1.3 million-a-year MDC Rural CEP operation is committed through its contract to stress "innovative" projects useful in MDC's independent manpower research and development.

New plant needs staff. . .

creased numbers he has sought for his 34-man force. And it promises a significant increase in minority representation which can be invaluable to a department serving Lumberton's tri-racial community of whites, blacks and Indians.

Among the seven police cadets recruited by the CEP's Alvin Hill are two black men, one black woman, one Indian, one white woman and two white men. If all seven make the grade, effective strength of the department could be increased by more than 20 per cent, black representation could be doubled, and Lumberton could have its first policewomen. What's more Chief Lovett would have the personnel he needs to assign officers to specialized duties which an under-manned department cannot take on.

Cadets aren't city employees. They are paid ($1.60 an hour) through the CEP. They aren't guaranteed jobs after six months. However, Chief Lovett sees no job-hunting problems for these who do well in training.

(Continued On Reverse Panel)

Patrol Captain explains meter procedure to Cadet Ola Manning. . .

(Continued From Inside Panel)

Job prospects for successful trainees in wastewater treatment are as good or better. Lumberton is one of a dozen small cities and towns in Southeastern North Carolina that will open their first sewage treatment plants in the next year or so. None has State-certified operators available to run those plants now. Pressure to clean up pollution has concentrated on treatment plant construction. No comparable effort has been made to develop State-certified plant operators who are in short supply throughout North Carolina.

So the Lumberton training project is expected not only to staff Lumberton's first plant when it opens next year, but to supply operators for new plants in surrounding cities and towns as well. Trainees will be prepared for examination for their Grade I wastewater certificates through a combination of classroom work and job-familiarization in the Lumberton facilities. Once certified in Grade I, operators can qualify for examination for higher certification through job experience.

Equipping unemployed or under-employed men and women for jobs where the work will serve, in effect, as further training is the key to success in the broad aims of the Job Experience component. MDC planners believe a variety of small city service jobs can be exploited to this way to develop personnel useful to cities like Lumberton and to private employers.

For example, Hill points to turnover among heavy equipment operators in Lumberton's public works operations as evidence of another area where short-term training could begin developing personnel in demand among private as well as public employers in the region. By carefully exploiting opportunities like these throughout the six-county CEP area, Hill thinks the CEP can develop significant career opportunities for its recruits and provide valuable evidence of how to keep proposed Public Service Employment programs from merely creating dead-end jobs.

manpower research

BULLETIN NUMBER 6
OCTOBER 1964

M – Training

THE MENTALLY RETARDED:

Their Special Training Needs

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR: W. WILLARD WIRTZ, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

Training

Paper presented to
Manpower Conference
Charlotte, N.C.
Dec. 9-11, 1964

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS ON RETRAINING IN THE SOUTH

J. Earl Williams*

In 1960 the South[1] had 21.7 percent of the population and 20.4 percent of the national labor force.[2] Surprisingly, during the period 1957-1963, the tabulations of the southeastern states indicate that most of them had a lower rate of unemployment than the national average.[3] Thus, even though the South's percent of the labor force remained fairly constant through 1963, only 17.6 percent of the total unemployment in the nation was officially recorded in the South during 1962. Consequently, when the 1964 Manpower Report of the President indicated that 18 percent of the trainees approved for MDTA training programs through December of 1963 were in the Southeast,[4] it appeared that the South was matching the rest of the nation in meeting retraining needs.

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*Professor of Economics, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]From the standpoint of tracing common ideas and standards that might affect retraining, it is best to choose what is commonly described as the Southeast. This includes all of the states of the Old Confederacy except Texas and adds the border state of Kentucky. Thus, the Southeast will include Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

[2]National Planning Association, Regional Projections to 1976: (Population, Labor Force, Employment, and Income), Technical Supplement No. 8, National Economic Projections Series, February, 1962, p. vi.

[3]See Table I.

[4]See Table II.

M— Training

Prepared for the
meeting of the
American Economic
Association-Industrial
Relations Research
Association
Chicago
December 28, 1964

A BENEFIT-COST ANALYSIS OF MANPOWER RETRAINING

Gerald G. Somers
University of Wisconsin

and

Ernst W. Stromsdorfer
University of Tennessee

INTRODUCTION

Government-sponsored retraining of the unemployed may be viewed as the major development in U.S. labor market policies of the 1960's. In addition to recently enacted state and local programs, retraining has been assigned a central role in such federal legislation as the Area Redevelopment Act (ARA) (1961), the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) (1962), the Trade Expansion Act (1962), amendments to the vocational education system and to the MDTA (1963), and the anti-poverty program of 1964.

The emphasis on retraining has been prompted primarily by the relatively high rates of unemployment in the American economy during the past seven years. However, new skills to fill expanding jobs are even more important in an economy moving toward full employment. This need, together with the growing interest in general and vocational education, ensures that the emphasis on government-sponsored retraining is likely to increase rather than diminish in the coming years.

[1965]

MDTA

A SUMMARY OF THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT OF 1962, AS AMENDED

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR • W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary • MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

Manpower — Training —
(Research)

THE NORTH CAROLINA
RESEARCH COORDINATING UNIT IN OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION

School of Education
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina

Purpose:

The overall purpose of the proposed research coordinating unit is to improve the climate and circumstances for the production of research and to close the gap between research and practice in occupational education. A major function will be the dissemination of research findings.

One of the most pressing problems in occupational education in North Carolina is for staff and other resources to encourage and to assist in the production of more and better research and to secure more effective use of research findings by policymakers, administrators, and teachers of occupational education. There is a need for more research. There is a gap between occupational education research and occupational practice.

The purpose of the proposed research coordinating unit is, therefore, to encourage and to coordinate the production of occupational education research and its utilization in developing solutions to problems in occupational education programs, in diffusing these new approaches to other practitioners, and in adopting new approaches in local and area school systems. More specifically, the proposed research coordinating unit will:

(a) Stimulate research in occupational education.

(b) Identify problems for research.

(c) Develop a system by which national, state and local data on occupational education my be organized and made available to researchers, policymakers, and practitioners.

(d) Maintain communication between people who are working in occupational education programs and research workers and encourage the development of additional mechanisms to facilitate activities along the research-action continuum.

(e) Assist in conducting training programs on activities involved in the research-action continuum for state-level research workers, policymakers, administrators, program specialists and for local and area personnel.

(f) Provide consultant services in state, local and area research and developmental activities.

Location:

The unit is located in the School of Education, North Carolina State University. The School of Education serves as the official teacher education agency for the State Board of Education in the fields of Agricultural Education, Trade and Industrial Education, and Occupational Information and Guidance. Presently, there are 25 faculty members at North Carolina State University directly engaged in the production of occupational education research. These faculty members are located in the several departments in the School of Education and in Economics and Sociology.

Organization:

The unit is organized as part of the School of Education of North Carolina State University under university administration and control. In addition to the unit staff an Advisory Council has been established consisting of representatives from:

The School of Education, North Carolina State University

The Division of Vocational Education, Department of Public Instruction

The Department of Community Colleges

The Center for Research, Development and Training
in Occupational Education, North Carolina State University

The North Carolina Employment Security Commission

Personnel:

The unit director has a background of research experience in vocational education. Two assistant directors will be employed. One will be responsible for the research services; the other assistant director will be responsible for the diffusion of research findings, and will prepare written materials for publication.

The Director of the Division of Vocational Education in the State Department of Public Instruction has assigned his associate director to the RCU on a one-fourth released time basis to serve as a research associate.

The Department of Community Colleges has also appointed an individual on a one-fourth released time basis to serve as a research associate. One full-time secretary has been employed.

The Dean of the School of Education serves on a part-time basis.

The Division of Vocational Education, the Department of Community Colleges, and the School of Education at North Carolina State University will use other personnel on a released time basis to assist in initiating, stimulating, coordinating, and utilizing research.

For further information, contact:

Research Coordinating Unit
School of Education
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina

The University of Wisconsin

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
RESEARCH CENTER

M— Training

Retraining—A Problem Created Through Equipment Replacement

by

Edward B. Jakubauskas

Reprint Series No. 45

[1964]

~~DONALD K. STEWART~~

~~Ed~~ Manpower - Training

RETOOLING THE MIND*

by NEIL W. CHAMBERLAIN

The continuing explosion of new knowledge is so basic to our entire economic life that "it is upsetting many of the traditional relationships in our social system," says Neil W. Chamberlain, professor of economics at Yale. In the article which follows, Professor Chamberlain suggests methods whereby education may become a lifetime process.

On our home front we have been preoccupied for some time with problems of jobs and job security, automation, and unemployment. The issues which dominate our thinking relate to the impact of income, unemployment, health, education, and age on a person's place in his culture. But only in the last few years has there come a growing recognition that many of these problem areas cannot be set right by legislative action touching on them directly, or by private initiative on the part of managements or unions, acting either independently or jointly. These can help, but they cannot cure.

The fundamental change which has taken place in our culture is a speeding up of the rate of accumulation of knowledge, an acceleration so much in excess of what we have been accustomed to that it is imposing unexpected strains. The number of people receiving higher education has increased enormously, and more of them are devoting their time to the pursuit of new knowledge, financed by ever growing sums from public and private treasuries. The productivity of the knowledge-makers is being augmented by better-organized and better-equipped facilities in an expanding number of specialized research units and institutions. The stream of new knowledge has swelled into a flood, but we act as though the environment had not changed at all.

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*Permission for reproduction of this article was granted by The Atlantic Monthly.

John Foster (?) - Dir
has visited practically all
Negro Schools in South Carolina
with Voc. Ed.

NC State
Center for Occupational
Studies (?)

B. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES

This section of the proposal for the continuation of the Center for Research, Development, and Training in Occupational Education (1) presents a resume of the work accomplished or to be accomplished by the Center during the initial period of approval ending December 31, 1966, (2) presents the proposed program for the continuation of the Center, and (3) describes the administration and organization of the Center.

RESUME OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE CENTER

The initial program of the Center was centered on two major activities:

1. The development of a program of research and development on fundamental problems of occupational education, organized in six subject matter areas.

2. The development of a program to upgrade training and education through conferences and short courses for lay leaders, vocational education personnel, and researchers.

A brief resume of the work accomplished or to be accomplished at the Center during the initial approval period ending December 31, 1966, is presented in this sub-section of the proposal.

The Research and Development Program

The initial proposal for the Center provided for major concentration on the research and development program, which was divided into six subject matter areas. This provision enabled the Center to draw heavily on the research background and personnel of the cooperating and participating departments and the disciplinary resources represented by these departments. Reports of 16 research projects will be issued at the termination of the initial approval period. Developmental programs have been started or are in the process of being started in two areas, and other developmental programs are projected as projects are completed. Resumes are presented by subject matter areas.

THE IMPACT OF RAPID TRANSIT ON METROPOLITAN ATLANTA

Corridor Impact Study

Prepared for

ATLANTA REGION METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMISSION

Prepared by

ERIC HILL ASSOCIATES, INC.

Atlanta Winston-Salem

In Association with

MULDAWER AND PATTERSON, AIA

Atlanta

The preparation of this study was financed in part through a grant to the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority from the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the provisions of Section Nine of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, as amended.

March, 1968

Inaugural run of new Metroliner service was saluted by VIPs and Navy band at Washington's Union Terminal.

EV – Transportation Pub facilities

TRANSPORTATION

Do fast trains have a real future?

Penn Central's Metroliner starts on New York-Washington run that may show whether high-speed trains can make grade with U. S. passengers. For now, emphasis is on convenience

Northeast Corridor Metroliner trains went into service between New York and Washington last week on the Penn Central RR. Although the Jan. 15 inaugural date was more than a year behind the original schedule, the public didn't seem to mind.

First-day passengers were simply grateful that the train was on the track at last. The Metroliner isn't the high-speed cannonball express that some might have expected, but it does beat the regular trains on the 226-mi. run by 36 minutes. It makes it from New York's Penn Station to Washington's Union Terminal in 2 hours and 59 minutes.

Comfort. But more important for now, it offers the traveler a fast, comfortable alternative to the crowded airlines and highways in the eight-state supercity of the Northeast Corridor. Higher speeds may come later.

Said a college professor on his way to a Washington conference: "I'm tired of being stacked up at both ends and in the middle. I think I'll be able to relax on this train."

A suburban housewife who boarded the Metroliner in Philadelphia on her way to visit friends in Washington said that the train was a "delightful surprise." She thought that if the standards of service remained at opening-day levels, she would probably make the trip more often. She finds driving tiring, doesn't like to fly, and doesn't like the "old trains" either. "This is what trains ought to be like," she said.

Said outgoing Transportation Secretary Alan S. Boyd at opening-day ceremonies: "The advice of the press and public has been a resounding 'go!' The train is popular even before it begins service. If a measure of this popularity translates into ticket sales, its future will be a good one indeed."

Preview. The service that was opened to the public Jan. 16 with one round trip daily between New York and Washington was an abbreviated foretaste of one of two demonstration projects authorized by the High-Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965. The other will test turbine-powered trains between New York and Boston.

Under a contract signed by the pre-merger Pennsy and the federal government in April, 1966, the Metroliner service will be partially subsidized as part of a study of the effect of high-speed ground transportation on intercity travel systems. But the two-year demonstration project will not begin officially until a majority of the 50 cars ordered are on hand.

At this point, only 12 cars are

Mobile phone lets Metroliner passengers make or receive calls while en route.

available, and only six are in regular service. The present train has two 32-seat parlor cars and four 60-seat snack-bar equipped coaches on its round trip. Eventually, there will be 22 trains a day, with half-hourly departures most of the day between New York and Philadelphia and hourly to Washington. Seats will be reserved. Typical fares, including a Metroliner surcharge, will be $19.90 first class or $12.75 coach between New York and Washington.

Faster future. Although the Metroliner has been popularly identified as America's answer to Japan's high-speed Tokaido line, its appeal—initially at least—will not come from exceptionally fast running times. It will average 75 mph, against 103 mph for the Tokaido trains.

Later, if funds estimated as high as $250-million can be found to straighten curves, eliminate grade crossings and tunnels, and complete a track improvement program already begun, the Metroliner may run closer to its design maximum of 160 mph than its present top operating speeds of 110 mph. But for now, its big selling point is in offering the traveler a way to avoid the Northeast Corridor's increasing air and highway congestion.

These problems are not unique to the northeastern U. S., nor are Metroliners the only representatives of a new generation of passenger trains designed to alleviate them. Ready for service between New York and Boston—as soon as Penn Central and the Transportation Dept. agree on a contract—are two turbine-powered three-car trains designed by United Aircraft Corp.

Temporarily out of service are five similar seven-car trains operated between Toronto and Montreal by Canadian National Rys. CN's Turbos made the 335-mi. trip in four hours, averaging 84 mph when all went well—but they ran as much as three hours late on almost half the runs since the service started in mid-December. Problems in electrical systems impaired lighting and heating (fresh-water pipes froze and burst). But CN says it has had very little trouble with the turbine power units and trains will be back in service soon, perhaps in February.

Overseas. The 320-mi. Tokaido line between Tokyo and Osaka has been a popular and financial success since it was opened by the Japanese National Rys. in 1964. In the year ended last Mar. 31, the line carried more than 55-million passengers, up 26% from the year before. The Soviet Union is working on a 125-mph train, scheduled for 1970, for the Moscow-Leningrad corridor. And both Italy and Germany have plans for high-speed "superexpresses."

A glimpse of tomorrow

The first American superexpress, the Metroliner, is designed to present an image of a new era in passenger railroading, at least as it is practiced in most parts of the U. S. Coach seats, for example, are high, wide, and spacious, resembling seats in the first-class section of an airliner. Floors are carpeted. Each seat has adjustable lighting. The air-conditioning not only avoids alternately roasting and freezing passengers, but makes it possible for a smoker to puff away at any seat without offending a nonsmoker next to him.

And a mobile telephone system

permits direct distance dialing, whether the train is moving or standing still. The phones will also receive calls.

Thanks to long strings of welded rail replacing bolted rail over most of the route, even the old clickety-clack is largely gone. Another innovation: Passengers are no longer asked to "please refrain from flushing toilets while the train is in the station." The Metroliner toilets have airline-type disposal units.

Some bugs. With all the improvements, though, the Metroliners have a closer resemblance to conventional trains than to the futuristic high-speed ground vehicles that may someday replace them. A muted rumble of steel wheels on steel rail is audible over the soft background music. It is still necessary occasionally to grab a seat back for support if you are on your feet as the train leans into a curve. Coffee at the snack bar still sloshes to the rim of the cup. And some debugging remains to be done before the demonstration project can begin.

Inauguration of the service on the present limited basis came less than a week before Boyd, a mover and shaker for the project, bowed out of office. Still unsettled is the starting date for the official demonstration project. Boyd and Penn Central Chairman Stuart T. Saunders have said that it would not begin "until at least 28 cars—20 coaches and 8 snack-bar coaches—are available." The Transportation Dept. says that only 13 snack-bar coaches and seven parlor cars have been accepted.

Argument. The 20 coaches without snack bars, none of which have yet been accepted, have been the cause of argument, confusion, heartbreak, and threatened litigation between Budd Co., their builder, and Westinghouse Electric Corp., which supplies the electronic control and power equipment for these coaches.

The extent of the problem has never been divulged, but one source suggests that Budd, Westinghouse, and the railroad are negotiating some changes in specifications involving speed and braking limits. The six-car train with which service was begun is powered by General Electric Co. gear.

Robert A. Nelson, director of the Transportation Dept.'s Office of High-Speed Ground Transportation, says the 20 Westinghouse-equipped coaches are "essential" for the federal demonstration program.

Defense. The Transportation Dept. is pleased that Penn Central chose to start service without waiting for delivery of all 50 cars, Nelson says. He admits that the 75-mph average speed of the new service is "not high-speed transportation. It's a demonstration of improved rail service." However, he doesn't think that the delays have wiped out public interest. And he argues with critics who complain that the full demonstration will be too small to be meaningful.

"If we had taken a more ambitious approach," he says, "there might not have been service for some time to come." Penn Central is adding $43-million of its own money to $12-million of federal funds to get the project started, he notes, and "we don't have sufficient knowledge at this time to make a judgment to expend additional large sums of public money that would be needed."

Ticket to the future

The merit of the demonstration project, when it finally gets under way, says Nelson, will be that "it should end speculation about the future of rail passenger service. If the demonstration is a resounding failure, for example, this should end all the talk that the railroads could provide their own salvation."

Although he expects "incremental improvements" in technology to emerge from the demonstration, he thinks real breakthroughs in ground transportation are more likely in such developments as the air-cushion vehicle. Currently, a research vehicle is under construction to test a 2,500-hp linear electric motor this spring. The next step will be to test the motor in a tracked air-cushion vehicle on which both Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp. and GE are working.

Next generation. With possible speeds of 250-300 mph, "this is the next generation in the development of high-speed ground transportation," says Nelson. "If we could move on this project, we could have a system operating in four or five years." Another project he mentions is the tube transit system being studied at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, N. Y. "We're learning a great deal from these studies," Nelson says, "but it wouldn't be fair to say we've achieved any breakthroughs."

So for the present, there's the Metroliner. Says Senator Clairborne Pell (D-R. I.), who took the leadership in stimulating Congressional interest in Northeast Corridor transportation. "For more than eight years, I've had a dream of decent, clean, prompt, polite service for people up and down the Eastern Seaboard. I'm glad this day is here."

1968

The Public Facilities Gap

The growth of public facilities and public services in America has not measured up to the needs of a steadily growing, increasingly urban population. Despite a stepped-up effort in recent years, there is still a sizable backlog of unmet needs.

With the population continuing to grow—and with more and more people crowding into urbanized areas—these needs also will continue to grow. The nation will require still more in the way of public facilities and public services. And the only way these needs can be met is by substantially increased outlays for these purposes by government—federal, state and local.

In a very real sense, the pressure for expanded public facilities and public services stems from technological progress. This is no longer a nation of farmers as it was at the turn of the century, when approximately 40 percent of the employed manpower was engaged in agriculture. Today, because of improved technology, it takes only about 5 percent of the workforce to produce enough food for the population—and a considerably larger population at that. In 1900, this was a nation of 75 million; now there are nearly 200 million people in the United States.

There has been a steady movement of people off the farms and into the growing industrial and commercial areas. The growing numbers that first crowded into the cities has overflowed into the suburbs—into one suburb after another, stretching the urban area far beyond the boundaries of the central city and leading to the suburban sprawl.

At the turn of the century, less than one-half of the nation's population lived in such urbanized areas. Now the figure is around 70 percent and still climbing. By 1980, it will be close to 80 percent, but of a much larger population—250 million. And, by the year 2000—when the population is expected to reach 350 million—one estimate places the urbanized portion at 95 percent.

The growth of urban areas—together with the greater aspirations—has led to a growing demand for public facilities and public services: paved streets and highways; bridges and tunnels; storm sewers and sanitary sewers; schools, colleges and libraries; hospitals and clinics; police and fire protection; public utilities; parks, playgrounds and recreation centers; airports; museums and theaters; clean air and clean water; public transportation.

Some of these public services are provided mainly by private businesses for a profit. This is true, for example, in the case of gas and electric utilities. These are usually, but not always, privately-owned operations.

And some are provided by so-called private, nonprofit organizations. Many hospitals fall into this category.

But for most of these services, and for the facilities they require, people depend upon government—mainly state and local government, with a helping hand from the federal government.

A Ten-Year Program

For many years, when the Depression and World War II caused shortages of money, manpower or materials, these public needs went neglected. And programs initiated since the end of the war have hardly reduced the backlog. Of the nation's public schools, for example, 14 percent were built before 1920, while

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15 percent of the libraries date from before the turn of the century.

Meanwhile, the needs have continued to grow and they will keep on growing. A reluctance to spend enough money to meet these needs has been the basic problem. But it has not been the only one.

There also has been a lack of information. That is to say, detailed estimates of the full range of needs have been non-existent, especially as regards estimates of future needs. And without such data, long-range planning—the only effective way to meet these needs —is next to impossible.

A major step in closing this gap has recently been taken. Thanks to the efforts of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, there exists now a pretty solid blueprint—projected to 1975—of state and local public facility needs. It provides the basis upon which to embark on a long-range, planned program to meet those needs—to catch up with the present backlog and meet the future needs as the population grows.

The information contained in the Committee's study, which is titled "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing," represents the findings of experts in their respective fields.

And it is comprehensive, covering needs in about 40 different kinds of public facilities: basic community facilities, such as water supply, sewers and waste treatment; transportation facilities, such as roads, turnpikes, tunnels and airports; educational facilities, including all levels of schools as well as college housing; health facilities, such as medical schools, hospitals and clinics; recreation and cultural facilities, including neighborhood centers, arenas and auditoriums; and public buildings, such as jails, fire stations, armories and courthouses.

The study does not deal with housing and urban renewal, important though these items may be. They were regarded as outside the scope of the definition of public facilities. Moreover, the projected cost estimates contained in the study cover only the capital outlays for the facilities—the costs of construction and equipment. They do not include the cost of providing the services—the additional teachers, doctors, policemen and numerous other personnel—after the facilities are built.

Nor is it beyond the realm of possibility that the experts have underestimated state and local public facility needs. "It is conceivable," the introduction to the study says, "that many of the chapter authors preferred to employ conservative judgments . . ."

Even at that, the experts believe that state and local governments will have to step up their public facility capital outlays considerably if they are to meet these needs. In 1965, these expenditures came to $20 billion. By 1975, they will have to total more than $40 billion. And, over the entire 10 years, the experts estimate that state and local governments will be required to spend a grand total of $328 billion to finance public facility needs.

Viewed against a backdrop of needs and capabilities, these projected figures are not as large as they initially appear.

In the first place, there exists a substantial backlog of sorely-needed facilities.

Second, the population, which totalled under 195 million in 1965, is expected to reach 230 million by 1975 and the proportion of the population crowding into urbanized areas will continue to increase. And, finally, by 1975 the total output of the nation's economy, assuming continued high levels of employment, will be in the vicinity of $1,250 billion per year—as against $680 billion in 1965.

Thus state and local expenditures of $40 billion per year for public facilities would not represent a significantly greater rate of spending—in terms of the nation's output—than did the $20 billion in 1965.

Funds for these outlays come essentially from three sources—borrowing, taxes and other current revenues such as user charges, and federal grants-in-aid.

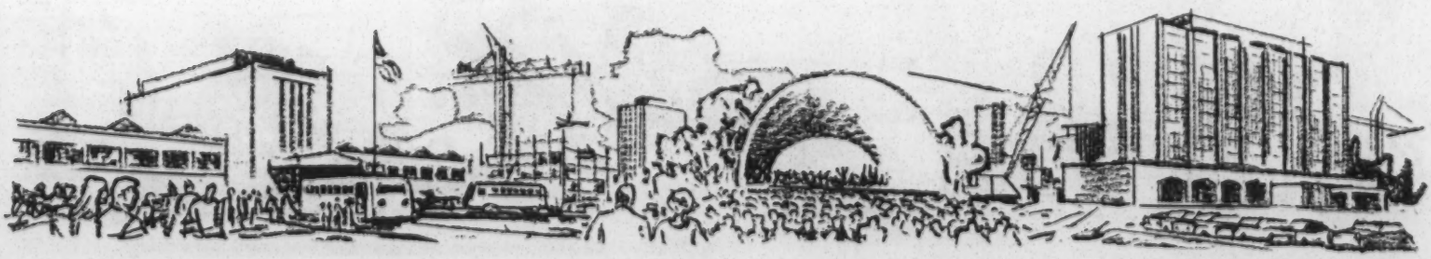
In the recent past, borrowed money has provided about 50 percent of the needed funds. Taxes and other current revenues have accounted for 30 percent and federal grants produced the remaining 20 percent.

On the assumption that high levels of economic activity are maintained, the report of the Committee anticipates that these sources will be adequate to finance the needed increase in outlays. That is to say, with adequate economic growth these outlays can be met in the future in much the same way that they have been in the past and without any greater strain.

In other words, the nation is fully capable of meeting its rapidly-growing needs for additional public facilities.

The Employment Impact

As a matter of fact, a stepped-up, planned program to meet the needs in public facilities—not only state and local, but also federal—will be required in the



years ahead to provide jobs for a rapidly-growing workforce. Over the next decade, the labor force will increase by about 1.5 million workers per year and, unless the number of job opportunities keeps pace, unemployment will rise. A logical policy would be to see to it that these two needs—the growing need for jobs and the pressing need for public facilities—are brought together in a planned program.

The employment impact of these construction activities is substantial. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has estimated that each million dollars spent in this way creates approximately 100 jobs for the year—about 40 jobs at the construction site and about 60 jobs in industries supplying building materials, equipment and services, including unskilled and semi-skilled jobs badly needed in an automated economy.

Moreover, to this must be added the indirect impact—that is, the impact felt as a result of the wages and salaries paid to these workers. As these wages and salaries are spent, retail sales are increased and still more jobs are created—in stores and warehouses and in companies producing consumer goods. This adds another 50 to 100 full-time jobs.

This would mean that $1 billion spent on public facility construction is worth 100,000 jobs directly created on the construction site and in the production and distribution of equipment and materials, plus somewhere between 50,000 to 100,000 more jobs as a result of the increased sales to consumers.

It is obvious from these figures that outlays for these public facilities have a significant employment impact. But the basic reason for these outlays is to provide much-needed public services. And with the growth of the nation and its urban areas, these needs will grow.

It might be well to take a look at a few types of state and local public facilities—and at how much capital outlays will have to be increased, according to the estimates of the Joint Economic Committee's experts, if the needs of the people are to be met.

Public Water Supply

Not too many years ago, most Americans took their water from wells or springs. As a matter of fact, not much before the turn of the century, the public water supply system served only about one-third of the population. Today, it serves about 80 percent and it will grow. Increasingly, Americans are getting their water supply by turning on a faucet.

But it costs money to put that water, literally, at the consumer's fingertips.

It first has to be taken from its source and this may necessitate the construction of dams or the creation of reservoirs. Then it must be transported and this means pumping stations and pipelines. And it is usually transported first to treatment plants—another expense—because even water of excellent quality very likely needs a disinfectant as a safeguard. And, if it is not of excellent quality, it requires much more extensive treatment to make it safe and palatable.

When the water is ready for consumption, it goes through the distribution system and that system requires pumping and storage facilities and water mains.

In 1965, state and local governments spent just over $1 billion in capital outlays on such public water supply systems. The needs estimated for 1975 will require $2.25 billion. And, from 1966 to 1975, the total amount that will have to be spent by state and local governments for these capital outlays will be roughly $19.5 billion.

Storm Sewers

If getting water to the urbanized population represents a problem and an expense, so does getting rid of an excess amount. It is estimated that the failure to provide adequately for the runoff—that is, to provide enough storm sewers—costs the nation about $1 billion per year in property loss. The Joint Economic Committee described the problem this way:

"Inadequate disposal of runoff often results in widespread loss of valuable time and frequently causes great inconvenience to urban populations. This is characterized by persons arriving late to places of employment, or perhaps not reporting at all, because of delays in transportation caused by street flooding, or resulting from the need to care for property being endangered by flooding.

"Flooding of basements can result from unsatisfactory or nonexistent storm sewer systems. The results may vary, from mere inconvenience and loss of use of basement facilities, upward to very serious threats to health and safety. The extensive use of combined sewers presents a threat of disease to the helpless public in such areas.

"In commercial areas, where food may be served in basement cafeterias and restaurants, such basement flooding admits sewage which could cause disease to spread rapidly to many persons and, if communicable, thence to others over wide geographic areas.

"In industrial and commercial areas, basement flooding from combined sewers frequently causes serious damage to mechanical, electrical and processing equipment, such as power generating equipment, heating and cooling equipment, transformers, mechanical shop equipment and stored equipment, goods and supplies."

And, the report points out, "the present rate of industrial expansion and population growth in urban areas [will very likely mean] an increase in losses due to such property damage."

The cost to state and local governments to meet the nation's needs in storm sewers, in order to cope with the runoff problem, will grow substantially. The needed capital outlays estimated for 1975 will be about $1.8 billion—in contrast to 1965 outlays of approximately $400 million. The total amount required for the 10 years between 1966 and 1975 is estimated at $16 billion.

Waste Disposal

Inadequate facilities for the disposal of waste are a danger to health and safety. And with the continued growth of the population in urban areas, and with

increased industrialization, the need for expanded and improved facilities also grows.

Facilities to dispose of this human and industrial waste include sanitary sewer collection systems as well as waste treatment plants. The waste must be subjected to extensive treatment so its subsequent discharge will not be a health hazard.

According to the report of the Joint Economic Committee, existing combined sewer systems—that is, systems used both for water runoff and for waste—constitute "the single largest problem involving adequate sewage collection facilities which must be resolved. . . ."

In 1965, state and local government capital outlays for sanitary sewers amounted to $385 million and outlays for waste treatment plants amounted to $625 million. To meet the projected needs, these figures will have to rise, respectively, to $1.1 billion and $1.2 billion in 1975. Over the 10-year period, the total outlays required for these two types of facilities are estimated at more than $17.5 billion.

Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

In the postwar period, there has been a tremendous upsurge in enrollments in public elementary and secondary schools. In contrast to the 25 million pupils who attended public schools in 1947, enrollments in 1965 reached 42 million. The estimate for 1975 is 48 million.

Despite the increase in state and local outlays for additional public elementary and secondary school facilities in recent years—the amounts rose from $111 million in 1946 to about $3.7 billion in 1965— not enough has been spent. Millions of children and youths are still being shortchanged on their education because inadequate and overcrowded classrooms lead inevitably to inferior education. And these are the conditions that presently prevail.

The estimate of the number of classrooms needed depends upon the standards used concerning the number of pupils per room. The U.S. Office of Education, in a chapter written for the Joint Economic Committee study, applied as a standard the present national average of 27 pupils per room. As a result, it estimates that 107,000 classrooms are needed now to handle overcrowding.

This is a highly conservative estimate. Many education experts, including those in the AFL-CIO, believe the present national average itself represents general overcrowding. The AFL-CIO estimate of needs to deal with overcrowded rooms—based on 25 elementary school pupils per room and 20 high school pupils per room—is 286,000 classrooms, considerably in excess of the 107,000 rooms suggested by the Office of Education.

Regardless, however, of which estimate one accepts, it is obvious there is at this time a substantial backlog of classrooms needed simply to deal wtih overcrowding.

But this is only a small part of the total backlog. According to the Office of Education, there is, in addition, a need for nearly 200,000 classrooms to replace existing facilities that ought to be abandoned because they are unfit. While the exact number of youngsters subjected to schooling under these conditions cannot be determined, it runs in the millions.

All told, the Office of Education places the nation's need for new public elementary and secondary school classrooms at 750,000 over the next 10 years. Of this number, 300,000 would be required to cope with the present backlog and 350,000 to take care of increased enrollment. The remaining 100,000 will be needed to replace facilities which will become outmoded.

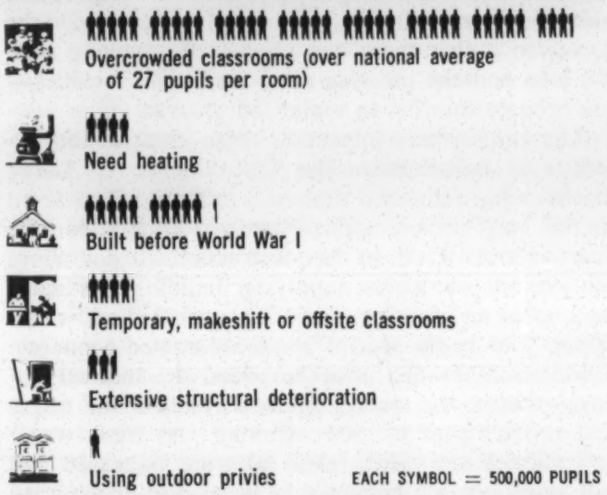
In order to meet these needs, state and local outlays for public elementary and secondary classroom construction will have to rise to $5.3 billion by 1975. In 1965, the outlays came to $3.7 billion. Over the entire 10-year period, the amount which will be required totals $42 billion.

Included in these figures are outlays for area vocational schools. Over the 10 years between 1965 and 1975, capital expenditures for these facilities will absorb over $6 billion of the $42 billion total.

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the need to modernize vocational education. The quality of the training has left much to be desired and, as a consequence, too many youngsters have been turned out inadequately prepared for the modern job market.

Area schools are essential to this effort to improve vocational training because, for many occupations, facilities for small numbers of students cannot be economically provided. The cost involved for adequately-equipped shops and laboratories—if students are to

The Backlog in Classrooms



* The number of pupils cannot be added together since there is duplication. That is, some of the pupils are in classrooms which suffer from more than one of the problems listed. In other problem areas, 185,000 pupils are in schools without running water and 64,000 are in schools lacking electricity.

Source: "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing;" Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, December 1966, Pg. 347.

be trained for some of the better jobs in a highly-automated economy—makes it necessary to develop more of such facilities on an area basis.

Higher Education

In part reflecting greater aspirations as a people, an ever-growing number of young people are attending college. And, while a substantial number seek their higher education in private schools, the large majority depend upon publicly-supported institutions.

In 1955, publicly-supported institutions of higher education—four-year colleges and junior colleges—had approximately 1.5 million students enrolled. By 1965, this figure had risen to more than 3.5 million. And in the years ahead it is expected to increase still further, by about 5 percent per year.

If this growing demand for higher education opportunities is to be met, state and local governments will have to spend $13.9 billion for academic facilities during the 1966-75 decade. And, in addition, another $6.1 billion will be required in order to provide housing and related facilities for the students. As a result, outlays for academic and housing facilities will have to climb from approximately $1.2 billion in 1965 to nearly $2.5 billion in 1975.

Health Facilities

According to the projected needs, state and local capital outlays for health facilities will have to reach $1.7 billion in 1975. In 1965, these outlays amounted to $500 million.

The growing needs in this field reflect both the growth of the population and the growth of aspirations. An ever-growing number of people are intent upon receiving the best possible health care and existing facilities in many instances are either inadequate or overburdened.

Although most of the hospitals in the country are not governmentally operated, a substantial number—approximately 25 percent of the total—are operated by state and local governments. Over the decade of 1966-75, total capital outlays by states and localities to provide the additional facilities that will be required will come to nearly $4 billion.

The health needs of the people also will compel state and local governments to step up outlays for many other health-related facilities, such as clinics, mental health centers, medical research facilities and medical schools.

The total capital outlays by state and local governments for all types of health facilities in order to meet the growing needs of the people will have to reach over $13 billion during 1966-75.

Transportation

As a people on wheels, Americans depend heavily on highways, roads and streets—to move commerce, to get to work, to take care of chores and to enjoy leisure hours. And since people are so dependent on a big and growing network of highways and streets, it is not at all surprising that these types of facility should represent a fairly substantial expenditure by state and local governments.

In 1965, $7.9 billion was spent by state and local governments for road construction. In order to meet estimated needs for 1975, the annual expenditure should be over $15 billion, or not quite double the rate of spending in 1965. And over the 10-year period of 1966 to 1975, the total outlays—if expected needs are to be met—will have to be more than $121 billion.

The nation's transportation needs, however, do not end with highways, roads and streets. They include bridges and tunnels and parking facilities, as well as airports and marine port facilities. During the 10 years of 1966-75, state and local capital outlays to meet these needs are estimated to total nearly $12 billion.

Moreover, several million Americans, especially those living in the urbanized areas, depend daily on mass transit facilities. The fact that a declining number of people rely on such public service—while a growing number have turned to the automobile—does not mean that mass transit is any less of a problem. Service is generally inadequate and fares constantly rise and, as a result, more and more people turn to the automobile. As the number of riders shrink, the fares go up again, and service may be reduced. This forces still more commuters to turn to the automobile.

One end result of all this is substantially increased automobile traffic and frequent traffic jams—and the demand for still more roads and highways which, of course, means more spending.

Congress finally recognized the transportation plight of the urban-area dweller in adopting the 1964 Urban Mass Transportation Act. As a result, federal grants are now available to aid state and local governments in connection with capital outlays for mass transit facilities.

In 1965, state and local governments spent $242 million in capital expenditures for urban mass transit facilities. In order to meet the needs estimated for 1975, spending for these purposes will have to climb to nearly $1 billion in that year. The total cost projected for the entire 10-year period is about $5 billion.

The Need for Long-Range Planning

These are but a few examples of growing public facility needs and the estimates of experts as to how much they will cost. And, as the urbanization process continues and as the population grows, these needs also will continue to grow. And they will grow also because man's aspirations—spurred on by scientific and technological advances—will continue to rise.

President Johnson in 1965 called the city and its suburbs "a community for the enrichment of the life of man." But it can be this only if it serves his wants —only if it helps to make his life more pleasant. And, in the crowded, urbanized areas—indeed, also in the less crowded areas—this cannot be done without adequate attention to needed public services. And these require public facilities.

The fact that the nation has the capability—the money, manpower and materials—in no way guaran-

PUBLIC FACILITY NEEDS

Projected Capital Outlays Of State and Local Public Agencies

(Dollars in Millions)

	1965 Actual	1975 Estimated To Meet Needs	Percent Increase in Annual Outlays 1975 vs 1965	1966-75 Estimated 10-Year Total
BASIC COMMUNITY FACILITIES				
Regional and river basin water supply systems	$2	$30	1,400%	$170
Public water supply systems	1,040	2,250	116	19,440
Rural-agriculture water supply systems	*	140	*	1,100
Sanitary sewer collection systems	385	1,090	183	7,750
Storm sewer systems	417	1,820	336	16,000
Water waste treatment plants	625	1,240	98	9,830
Solid wastes collection and disposal facilities	130	270	108	2,170
Electric power	766	1,350	76	12,250
Gas distribution systems	44	70	59	550
Subtotal, basic community facilities	$3,409	$8,260	142%	$69,260
TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES				
Highways, roads, and streets	7,782	15,330	97	121,650
Toll bridges, tunnels, and turnpikes	388	500	29	4,000
Offstreet parking facilities	102	300	194	2,400
Urban mass transit facilities	242	960	297	7,600
Airport facilities	261	530	103	4,980
Marine port facilities	159	50	(—)69	430
Subtotal, transportation	$8,934	$17,670	98%	$141,060
EDUCATION FACILITIES				
Public elementary and secondary schools	3,650	4,480	23	35,500
Area vocational school facilities	**	790	*	6,300
Academic facilities for higher education	915	1,750	91	13,870
College housing and related service facilities	301	720	139	6,080
Educational television	5	30	500	230
Subtotal, education facilities	$4,871	$7,770	60%	$61,980
HEALTH FACILITIES				
Hospitals	494	480	*	3,930
Clinics and other outpatient facilities		100	*	810
Long-term care facilities		130	*	1,060
Community mental health centers		220	*	1,470
Facilities for the mentally retarded	34	130	282	1,070
Health research facilities	*	240	*	1,920
Medical and other health schools	*	360	*	2,880
Subtotal, health facilities	$528	$1,660	214%	$13,140
RECREATIONAL AND CULTURAL FACILITIES				
State and Federal outdoor recreation facilities	313	530	69	4,400
Urban local outdoor recreation facilities	360	2,200	511	17,600
Arenas, auditoriums, exhibition halls	600	910	52	7,200
Theaters and community art centers	*	460	*	3,620
Museums	14	40	186	270
Public libraries	103	240	133	1,910
Subtotal, recreation and cultural	$1,390	$4,380	215%	$35,000
OTHER PUBLIC BUILDINGS				
Residential group care facilities for children	*	70	*	560
Armories	1	15	1,400	150
Jails and prisons	*	120	*	920
Fire stations	191	170	(—)11	1,370
Public office and court buildings	218	400	84	3,250
Other	214	*	*	*
Subtotal, other public buildings	$410	$775	89%	$6,250

* Not available.

** Included in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools.

Source: "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing"; Joint Economic Committee of the Congress; December 1966, Vol. 1, Pages 24-25.

tees that these needs will be met. There is still the problem of commitment and planning. That is, government at all levels still must make the decision to meet the needs and this can be done effectively only if there is adequate long-range planning.

The study of the Joint Economic Committee has provided numbers in the aggregate. What is sorely needed at this point are the details—state by state, community by community. The federal government should lose no time in urging these other governmental units to come up with the specific projects, based on their anticipated needs over the next decade.

The federal government can then plan ahead in terms of its grant-in-aid programs. During the current year, federal grants to help state and local governments with capital outlays for public facilities approximate $4.9 billion. In the years ahead, this figure will obviously have to increase considerably in view of the expected growth in public facility needs.

The development of such an inventory and a long-range planned program has been long advocated by the AFL-CIO. In its policy resolution on "Public Investment to Meet America's Needs," the 1965 AFL-CIO convention declared:

"A vast and planned national effort, under federal leadership, is needed to apply as much of our resources as possible to meet these [public] needs within a reasonable period of years. Such effort should be based on a national inventory of needs in the various categories. . . .

"The AFL-CIO urges the federal government to develop, coordinate and maintain a national inventory of needs . . . based on present backlogs and future population growth. Each state and metropolitan area should be encouraged to develop an inventory of needs within its geographical jurisdiction, in addition to the development of a coordinated national inventory, prepared by the federal government.

"Such comprehensive inventory of needs should provide the foundation for nationwide programs in each category—based on federal financial and technical assistance to the state and local governments, including federal grants-in-aid and guaranteed loans, as well as direct federal efforts. Target dates should be established for achieving specified objectives and the pace should be speeded up or slowed down, depending upon changes in defense requirements and the availability of manpower and productive capacity.

"We urge the federal government, the states and metropolitan government authorities to develop such inventories of needs in housing, community facilities and public services as soon as possible and to move ahead rapidly, with sufficient funds and resources, to meet the requirements of a rapidly growing, urban population."

Each year the needs increase. There is more and more pressure for additional facilities to catch up with the backlog and to provide for growth. These needs can be met effectively only by a planned national effort, with vigorous federal leadership and financial aid.

DOT OFFICIALS

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3/10/69

STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE

MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA 94025

March 7, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Director of Labor Progams
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via,

This letter is to confirm our telephone conversation regarding the Wednesday, March 12 advisory panel to the Urban Mass Transportation Administration of visiting expert professionals. The purpose of our meeting will be to discuss Potential Impacts of Providing Demonstration Grants to Non-Conventional Carriers, and to provide guidance to the federal government on relevant matters concerning the best interests of the nation.

Members of the panel will meet at noon in Mr. Thomas Floyd's office, room 704, U.S. Department of Transportation, 800 Independence Avenue, before proceeding to the department's executive dining room for lunch.

The closed meeting will begin after lunch and will be considered informal, and off the record. Enclosed is the agenda of the meeting in addition to an outline of relevant topics to be discussed.

Any direct costs incurred by you will be reimbursed. I look forward to our meeting.

Sincerely,

John L. Crain

John L. Crain
Consultant to UMTA

JLC:nje

March 27, 1969

Mr. John L. Crain
Consultant to U.M.T.A.
Stanford Research Institute
Menlo Park, California 94025

Dear Mr. Crain:

I was embarrassed after having agreed to set aside the afternoon for the panel discussion on the impacts of non-conventional carriers to have to leave early; my other meeting concerned a matter on which I had been working for two years and was in the nature of an emergency. I trust the remainder of the meeting went well and I would like to receive any informal report of the results.

Attached are summary, non-technical, reflections of my views as of the time I left the meeting.

Thanks for your invitation to join the group. If there were to be another discussion we now would be in better shape to suggest participants for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

Hardcore unemployed transportation problems are serious. They require immediate attention. Constructive Federal policies could prod local communities and transit systems to undertake efforts aimed at providing transportation which is realistic from the view of the hardcore worker. Where the offer of a first refusal results in no action, Federal policy should be such as to encourage other groups to provide service.

Although sympathetic to the problems of dislocation of existing services through "competition," I feel that this is a risk worth taking. Some non-conventional approaches will not disturb existing services. Some will be temporary. A system of adjustments, payments if need be, to traditional carriers for demonstrated loss, would be better than simply saying that unknowns are too great or institutional barriers too high. In this regard would it not be possible to make sufficiently educated estimates of possible impact on traditional carriers, by-pass delaying studies, and begin to meet the immediate social needs?

I would think that flexible approaches tailored to the character of city and transit system would be possible. Perhaps all non-conventional schemes, except where city and transit system are willing and competent partners, should be established for limited time periods, subject to review and revision if negative impacts can be shown.

I would have been interested, as a non-specialist, in more discussion of non-conventional services that might be offered by existing carriers. For instance, what are the problems of using smaller vehicles either as feeder or direct transportation where demand is low, streets won't take heavy vehicles, etc.

I bow to the experts on the panel in their observations

about regulatory agencies. If the agencies are as unresponsive and resistant as pictured, then it seems to me public policies must be obtained which reconstitute them, by-pass them, or abolish them.

****

April 1, 1969

Mr. George B. Autry
Executive Director
North Carolina Manpower Development Corp.
P. O. Box 1057
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Mr. Autry:

Thanks so much for sending us copies of the reports on transportation as related to jobs. I hope to get to them soon and I am certain they will prove helpful.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation

LUTHER H. HODGES, JR., *Chairman*
GEORGE B. AUTRY, *Executive Director*

919 — 942-5796

March 26, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is a copy of the Manpower Development Corporation's study of Transportation Concepts for Unemployed and Under-employed Persons in North Carolina and a proposal drafted pursuant to that study. George Esser suggested that these copies be made available to you.

We would greatly appreciate any comments you might have.

Sincerely,

George B. Autry
Executive Director

GBA:h

Enclosures

P. O. BOX 1057, 137 E. ROSEMARY STREET, CHAPEL HILL, N. C. 27514

Braintruster Paul Cherington brings problem-solving approach to transportation ills.

EV & copy to MS

M - Transportation

TRANSPORTATION

A tough professor climbs aboard

Paul Cherington, Transportation Dept.'s policy developer had a reputation for toughness at Harvard. This trait and his cool practicality are expected to get the agency off 'dead center'

"After 18 years in the academic quiet, I decided it was time to get back to real life and see if the things I've been talking about will work."

That's why Paul Cherington early this year gave up his chair as James J. Hill Professor of Transportation at the Harvard Business School to move into one of the hottest seats in Washington as top policy developer for the Transportation Dept.

If anything can get transportation policy off its position of "dead center" in this Administration it will probably be the thinking of the 50-year-old Cherington. To a unique degree he combines the detachment of a college professor with a vast knowledge of transportation problems. He also has a cold, practical, emotionless approach to what can and cannot be done.

Cherington accepted his new job as Transportation's Assistant Secretary for Policy & International Affairs because it involves "a hell of an interesting batch of problems which I know something about, and which I believe I can do something about," he says.

As a key adviser to Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe, Cherington is quickly getting an opportunity to test his ideas. Volpe swore him in only a month ago. Already he has contributed to an Administration decision on the fate of the supersonic transport plane due to be announced shortly and has evolved a plan to expand the country's airport and airways network. He was also a key figure in the revised transpacific airline route decision (box), updating economic data and relating their impact to the foreign policy aspects of the case. And all this is only a beginning.

Faster tempo. "Real life" for the former Harvard professor in the early days of the Nixon Administration is a rush act. Lighting a cigarette as he settled behind his desk early one morning last week, Cherington commented: "I usually smoke a pipe, but I find it hard to keep it going around here."

The relative calm of classes and seminars at Cambridge has given way to a hectic work schedule that runs from eight to eight and includes weekends. Typically, a recent day opened with a job seeker's interview, included a meeting with Air Transport Assn. officials, a briefing on Great Lakes pilot problems, lunch with "a theoretical job seeker," discussions with McDonnell Douglas Corp. executives on the company's aerospace industry projections, a session at the Budget Bureau, and a high-speed ground transportation review.

Well prepared. Cherington isn't unprepared for this onslaught. He knows the pitfalls of Washington bureaucracy from his staff experience at the Civil Aeronautics Board in the late 1940s. While at Harvard he collected extensive transportation industry background through a string of consulting assignments for many railroads and maritime companies and for nearly every major U. S. airline.

"For every hour he spent at the Business School he spent three on the outside working for clients," says a longtime friend. Cherington was for several years president of United Research, Inc., a Boston company specializing in transportation consulting. More recently he was associated with the Boston-based management consultants, Harbridge House, Inc.

Provocative cynic. Transportation's new Assistant Secretary for Policy isn't easily overwhelmed. A genial man with an easy grin, Cherington is remarkably open and frank for a Washington newcomer. "I want to operate this office on an open-door basis," he says. "I'm willing to talk to anyone as long as I can fit them in. The only limitation is the length of the queue."

This doesn't mean he can be easily buffaloed. "His sense of humor serves him well," says a staff aide. "It has a nice cutting edge that he uses effectively to reduce the overinflated."

He was known at Harvard for being rough on his classes, even to the point of cynicism. "He gave the impression he thought most of his students were a lazy lot and not particularly bright," says a friend. Cherington used the case method of teaching, standard at the Harvard B School, in which there is generally no one "right" answer to a problem. He was often brutal with a student who couldn't adequately support whatever answer he chose. And yet, Cherington was also considered by the students to be one of the most provocative and rewarding teachers at the school.

His cynicism stands him in good stead in his government post. He knows all the pleas and pitches from the transportation industry's never-ending parade of special interest groups. He has a way of shutting his mind to all their emotional and tired cliches. Without saying anything, he can let a visitor to his office know it's time to leave once everything new and important has been covered.

Cherington's announced willingness to talk to anyone is not exactly accurate. When word got around that he was reviewing the Pacific route case, at least one airline president deeply involved in the case suggested a lunch meeting. Cherington turned the invitation down flat.

Stingy with words. Transportation staffers working for Cherington express approval of their new boss. Says one: "He's very New Englander like—a very quiet individual. He's pithy, even stingy with words—spoken or on paper. He listens closely and soaks up what's important. To sum up his approach: absorption, then decision."

Secretary Volpe has great respect for Cherington's judgment, department officials report, seeking his opinion constantly through private memos and calls.

"Of course, the secretary doesn't buy everything he's offered," one official observes. "He's a very independent operator, too."

Programs coming up. The primary offering so far from Cherington's office is a new federal airport and airways program, now undergoing scrutiny within the Administration. Says Cherington: "We haven't discovered any new magic formula. We've simply reformulated past approaches."

The package is expected to include a plan for a practical user charge formula and increased participation by Washington in development programs through outlays from a new airport and airway trust fund, similar to the existing highway trust fund. The bigger federal role in Cherington's proposal would go further to meet industry desires than the plan proposed last year.

Cherington's testimony last month before the House Commerce Committee studying new legislation on acquisition of airlines reflects his characteristically pragmatic approach. He avoided enunciation of broad prin-

Pacific air-route expansion deflated

New economic data developed by Assistant Transportation Secretary Paul Cherington laid the foundation for a sharply revised final verdict from the White House last week on the long-disputed transpacific airlines route case.

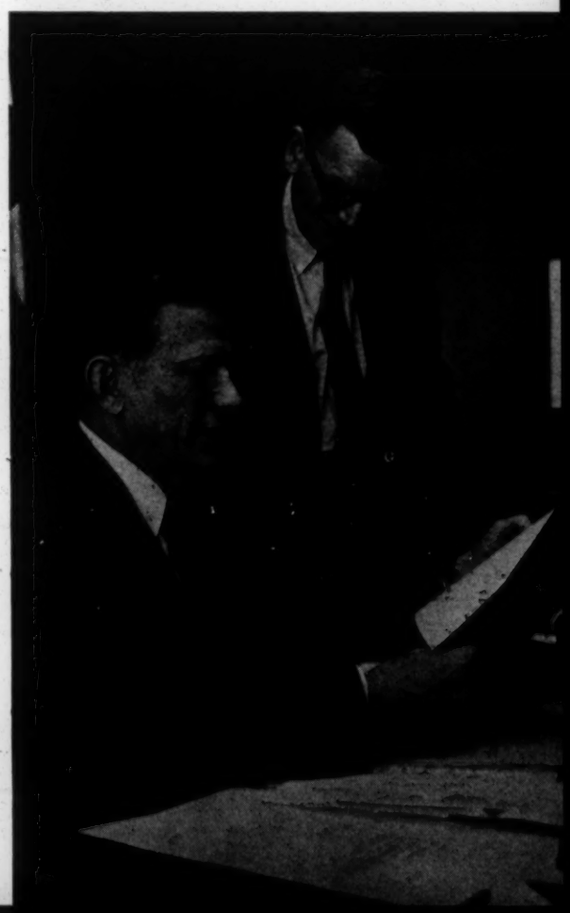
President Nixon reduced the scope of the Civil Aeronautics Board's plans—essentially approved by the Johnson Administration—for heightening competition in the Pacific. Heeding Cherington's advice, Nixon turned down some recommended new authority for Pan American World Airways and Northwest Airlines, and cancelled key international awards to Continental Air Lines and Braniff Airways. But Trans World Airlines does get to close the gap between Hong Kong and Los Angeles in its otherwise global routes, and Flying Tiger Line keeps new international awards approved last year. Pan Am and Northwest remain the only U. S. passenger carriers to Japan.

Braniff loses a crack at Hawaii via Mexico. Continental is shut out as competitor to Pan Am on the promising South Pacific run to Australia and New Zealand. The White House objected to Continental's plans to fly from West Coast terminals. It asked CAB recommendation of a new carrier to serve from Eastern and Midwestern terminals. A CAB examiner earlier in the case proposed such service, for Eastern Air Lines.

Fear of retaliation. Cherington recommended slimmer pickings for U. S. airlines after finding that CAB forecasts for Pacific traffic were excessive by as much as one-third. A White House official said the Johnson Administration's version would have resulted in "inflated route awards lacking in economic viability." Nixon feared this might lead to tough retaliatory measures abroad, particularly from Japan.

Loser Continental this week brought suit in the U. S. Court of Appeals in Washington, charging that President Nixon intervened illegally in overruling the CAB decision approved by President Johnson. If Continental follows this with a request for a stay of board action, first flights under the new authority might be further delayed.

Cherington (right) is key aide to Secretary John Volpe (seated).



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Big cat cracker for extra big production

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ciples about the right or wrong of the conglomerate takeover trend in transportation.

Instead, he suggested that a holding of 10% by one interest would more realistically represent control of an airline, rather than the 5% defined in the bills. He asked for a clearer delineation of any new authority granted to CAB over conglomerate plans to acquire airlines, to insure that the legislation doesn't provide an umbrella that will shield such transactions from antitrust laws.

Policy review. High on Cherington's list of things to do is a review of U. S. maritime policy. There have been legislative proposals calling for a reloca-

Cherington, in his new job, is wary about overdependence on studies.

tion of the Maritime Administration, now under the Commerce Dept. A new attempt will be made in Congress this year to give the agency independent status. There is also some feeling within Transportation, expressed strongly by former Secretary Alan S. Boyd, that it should be moved to that department.

Comments Cherington: "If you don't have much more of a maritime program than we do now, it doesn't make a damned bit of difference where the Maritime Administration is located. If Commerce wants the scrawny old thing, I'd be disposed to let them have it." What's needed is a whole new policy, he says, which his office will help develop.

Wary about studies. A surprising element in Cherington's approach, at least to several Transportation staffers, is his wariness about studies as a policymaking tool. "He isn't partial to so-

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lutions by way of lengthy, expensive studies," observes one. "In fact, he can be quite cynical about this; he'd prefer to make a beginning than wait for one more study result."

But if Assistant Secretary Cherington is bored with reading expensive studies, Professor Cherington was not backward in producing them. He has had a hand in dozens of them.

Cherington observes that "your ideas change when you move from the banks of the Charles to the banks of the Potomac." Used to approaching transportation problems with his students along the puristic avenue of systems analysis, Cherington says: "You don't give much attention to the real constraints of politics. You might come up with the right program, but it would have no chance of acceptance."

He adds: "Now you have people talking back to you; you have to sell at the fare box."

Piecemeal approach. Knowing how to get things done in Washington is a valuable asset in the two-year-old Transportation Dept. Since its inception, Transportation has been plagued by the jumble of different regulations, restrictions, and administrative agencies that control the different forms of transportation.

Late last year, Cherington's predecessor at the department, M. Cecil Mackey, bluntly characterized the situation as "a mess," and urged that one of the first orders of business in the new Administration should be to reevaluate the entire system of transportation regulation.

Cherington agrees that all is not perfect when it comes to operation and coordination of such independent agencies as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the Federal Maritime Commission. He does not, however, feel that revolutionary changes are in order.

"Rather than go in with a meat ax," says Cherington, "and take the agencies over or merge them into one, I'd approach the problem piecemeal in particular areas, and try to work out what relations should be between agencies and with Transportation. I'd take it very slowly and work out solutions one by one rather than have some great and glorious coup in which you abolish these people or take them over."

Long-range goal. For the long haul, according to Cherington, the goal of the department should be to "establish an integrated transportation system that works pretty efficiently in terms of the economics of moving people and goods around. And this, he adds, "will involve more integration and coordination between types of transportation than in the past." **End**

M— Transportation

5

NEW YORK TIMES

JUN 13 1969

WELFARE SHOWS SLOWER GROWTH

But Ginsberg Says Medicaid Cut Could End Decline

By DAVID BIRD

Mitchel I. Ginsberg, the city's Human Resources Administrator, said yesterday that the latest figures indicated a "dramatic and drastic decline" in the rate of increase on the city's welfare rolls.

But he said the state's cutback in Medicaid—a move he described as "utter insanity"—could reverse the decline by forcing "at least 50,000 or more persons" on to welfare.

Mr. Ginsberg said that in the first quarter of this fiscal year, which began last July 1, there was a net increase of 21,500 in the welfare rolls. This dropped to an increase of 14,200 in the next three months and to an increase of 9,200 in Jan. 1. The latest figures, for April and May, show the increase is only "averaging about 7,000," he said.

The total number on welfare now, Mr. Ginsberg said, is 1,012,000.

Mr. Ginsberg emphasized that this was only a slowdown in the increase and not a decrease, and that the number on welfare —currently 1,012,000 is continuing to rise.

Mr. Ginsberg said it was difficult to cite a specific reason for the decline in the rate of increase, but he said the factors included a better economic situation generally, a slowing migration to the city and programs to help welfare recipients to become employed.

200,000 Cut From Medicaid

In an economy move to help balance the state budget, this year 200,000 people just above the welfare level were dropped from the Medicaid program, which had paid for their medical bills.

Appearing on the WCBS TV program "Newsmakers," Mr. Ginsberg said that "there's simply no justification" for the cutback in Medicaid.

He said that, "humanitarian concerns" aside, it will cost the taxpayers much more to handle the people who are forced on to welfare than it would if only their Medical costs were paid.

"Our records indicate clearly," Mr. Ginsberg said, "that if you're poor and in poor health, you are five times as likely to end up on welfare than if you're poor and in fairly good health. Now what kind of sense [does the Medicaid cut make] from a dollar and cents point of view?"

Sees Lower Level of Care

As a result of the cuts, Mr. Ginsberg said, "the medical care to people just above welfare is now at a lower level than before the whole Medicaid program started."

This was so, he said, because the patient would now have to pay for clinic services that were fre before Medicaid started.

In another matter Mr. Ginsberg said that only about 35,000 jobs—5,000 fewer than last year—would be available in the summer youth program because of a cutback in Federal funds. He defended the decision to cut back the jobs rather than the number of hours each youth is employed as the best choice among "undesirable alternatives."

Cutting back the hours was rejected, he said, because it would have been a substantial reduction in pay and a disruption in activities.

"If you're on a day camp," he said, "or on a program of that nature, what do you do? Walk off your job at 11 o'clock Friday morning?"

Although he termed the job cut "serious," he said he had hopes that a "concerted effort" in the private sector would provide more jobs there.

Despite the problems in the department he replied with an emphatic "heavens, no!" when asked if he was disillusioned over his job.

WASHINGTON POST

JUN 13 1969

New Bus Line Links Inner City and County

By Alexander Ward
Washington Post Staff Writer

An experimental bus route designed to help inner-city residents reach their jobs in Montgomery County was initiated yesterday by D. C. Transit.

The route, designated as X-6, begins at 9th Street and Constitution Avenue nw. Buses will leave from there at 6:32 and 6:46 a.m. and follow the regular "Silver Rocket" line along the Georgia Avenue corridor, ending up at Aspen Hill Road and Connecticut Avenue.

Unlike the express rush hour service set to begin Monday between the District and Prince George's County, this route is aimed only at improving service for those who travel out of the city in the morning and back at night, a transit official said.

Passengers will be charged normal fares for the service—the cost of making the entire trip one way is $1.05. Running time for the trip is 45 minutes in the morning and an hour in the afternoon.

The return trip begins at Aspen Hill Road at 4:22 and 4:38 p.m. The service makes all the scheduled "Silver Rocket" stops.

The route, which is on a 180-day trial basis, is not being subsidized by the Federal Government, as is the Prince George's service.

The idea for the route originated with Henry Bain, of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, who made a study of Montgomery County's transportation needs for the County council.

"Bain recommended that a bus service to help the excessive flow into the County be started," said Richard Dawson, director of traffic for D.C. Transit, "so that's what we've done."

The route has a temporary authorization from the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission, and any losses incurred will be taken out.

The fund was established in 1967 to help finance such experiments.

The criteria for maintaining the route will be its popularity. Passengers on yesterday's morning's first run were scarce, but Dawson believes business will pick up when more people find out about it.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUN 18 1969

BRITAIN ABANDONS ANTISTRIKE PLANS

Wilson Drops Legislation in Return for Unions' Pledge for Internal Reforms

By Reuters

LONDON, June 18 — The Labor Government tonight dropped its controversial plan to introduce penalties for wildcat strikes tonight. But it received a solemn promise from labor unions that they would impose self-reforms.

The decision was viewed here as an about-face by Prime Minister Wilson after months of tough talk about wildcat strikes.

Today's agreement was reached in a daylong conference between the Prime Minister and chiefs of the Trades Union Congress, which speaks for nine million British workers. It followed a yearlong controversy that threatened to split the ruling Labor party.

The proposed legislation would have curbed wildcat strikes by imposing fines on workers who refused to obey an order for a 28-day cooling-off period. The law, submitted by Employment Minister Barbara Castle, will be dropped from the Government's legislative program.

Government Harassed

Union leaders in exchange agreed to sign a solemn and binding promise to deal with Britain's frequently anarchic industrial trouble.

The agreement announced tonight had the appearance of a face-saving alternative for the harassed Labor Government, which has been beset by defeats in special elections, internal disaffection in Parliament and the prospect of a revolt by the unions.

The unions, a major power base for the Labor party, had threatened industrial chaos if the Government went ahead with fines on workers for unofficial walkouts.

Mr. Wilson said tonight the Government would go ahead with a general bill on industrial relations in the next Parliamentary session, starting in October, but would cancel plans for the anti strike legislation.

Both items arose from the report of an inquiry commission in June, 1968, condemning both management and unions for creating a situation of "indecision and anarchy."

The commission, headed by High Court Judge Lord Donovan proposed sweeping reforms.

Among its suggestions were penalties against wildcat strikers. These and reforms covering wage negotiations, working agreements and conditions of hiring were later put forward as an official document, "In Place of Strife," by Mrs. Castle.

The unions agreed to the reforms except for the proposed fines on wildcat strikers.

For weeks the Government refused to budge on this issue. The promise by the union leaders tonight means that they will assess the facts in an unofficial dispute that involves large numbers of workers or serious economic consequences.

The unions agreed to the reforms except for the proposed fines on wildcat strikers.

For weeks the Government refused to budge on this issue. The promise by the union leaders tomorrow means that they will assess the facts in an unofficial dispute that involves large numbers of workers or serious economic consequences.

The union will insist on a series of settlement procedures and defiant unions could be suspended or expelled from the organization.

Mr. Wilson said the Government was "very satisfied indeed." He will make a statement in Parliament tomorrow.

Sun., June 8, 1969 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Job Need Rises On School Closing

St. Louis public schools will close Friday and about 23,000 high school students will be at liberty — available for jobs, available for education and recreation programs, available for a wasted or even destructive summer.

Last year the St. Louis branch of the National Alliance of Businessmen placed about 2000 young persons in jobs; state, federal and local agencies provided employment for about 8000 youngsters. But a study made last fall by the National Committee on Employment of Youth not only estimated that 5000 additional jobs would be needed this summer but criticized the way the problem was being met here.

The study of 20 major cities made by the private, nonprofit committee said that the summer job program here was hampered by the large number of agencies participating and the lack of co-ordination between them.

No Central Agency

St. Louis had no central agency or administrator that gave specific orders and determined later whether they had been carried out, ther eport said.

"If some of the leaders who worked on their own this year will take orders next year, then the 1969 effort cannot help becoming an outstanding success," the report stated.

The problem of too many chiefs and not enough Indians does not seem to have substantially lessened, some of those involved say. All believe that co-ordination is essential and yet none is optimistic that it will ever come to pass in the form of a central authority.

"You look at all these agencies that are tring to get jobs for kids — the Urban League, CORE, the NAACP, religious organizations, the YMCA — the don't want to funnel all the job openings they dig up to one central agency," said a person deeply involved in the summer job program.

"And it's the same with federally funded programs. Everybody has a board of directors he's responsible to, a board that likes to see a list of job pledges secured and job openings filled. It's just human nature — everyone wants credit for what he's done."

Some believe that this approach can lead to a situation both discouraging to the job applicant and irritating for the businessmen who make the jobs available.

Lond Waits

A young person may wait long hours at Missouri State Employment Services before his application is processed. If he is sent on lengthy bus rides to apply for jobs that turn out to have been filled through another job program, it is difficult not to become discouraged.

The employer, also, may encounter frustration. One of about 80 persons soliciting job pledges on behalf of the NAB may be followed by representatives of several other job-seeking organizations. An NAB spokesman said many employers had complained about multiple solicitations.

Some of the organizations engaged in bringing the job and the youngster together have specific criteria for the latter.

Lawrence Copenhaver, director of the NAB program this summer, said, "They must be young ladies and gentlemen, 16 to 21 years old, who are in school and returning to school.

"They must meet one of the following requirements: Be a member of a family receiving welfare or a family with an income below the poverty level." (A family of four isconsidered to be in poverty if the annual income of the whole family is not more than $3300.)

"Or the youngster must live in or attend school in a low-income area, be a former member of the Neighbor Youth Corps or the Job Corps, be a ward of the court or live in an orphanage. The last criterion is that the boy or girl be genuinely disadvantaged, especially a member of a minority group," Copenhaver explained.

Job Pledges

He said that the NAB had received more than 2000 of the 2200 job pledges that are its summer goal. Job pledges received by NAB solicitors are turned over to Missouri State Employment Service, which verifies the pledge and converts it into a job order.

The YMCA, which last summer placed 2837 youngsters in jobs, has different criteria for those who participate in its Youth Achiever in Industry program.

Although the YMCA tries to place needy boys and girls, it aims first for those who are well recommended by high school advisers.

"We like to see that they've had some work experience, too," said James Covington of the YMCA. "We like to think of havingthequalitykid s — we like to think of this as a program for the high achievers."

The YMCA shares its applications,distributed through the schools, with the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Covington said that 2176 of the 6050 he has received have been turned over to the Corps because "the kids met the Corps' strict poverty requirements.

Urban League Active

The Urbban League is also involved in the job hunt. Wilbur Stewart of the League said, "Our philosophy is primarily toward employment for the mothers and the fathers who have to take care of these kids. Butthis year we're co-operating with the Mayor's program — they're going to send us lists of job openings and we'll fill them with our kids,"he said.

The Urban League does not establish poverty requirements for those who apply. "Anybody looking for a job has a need," Stewart said.

Jesse Horstman of Human Development Corp. said that the federally-funded poverty agency had no specific job program. "We're interested in social change not just employment per se, but if jobs are available through HDC-funded programs we'll try to fill them," he said. "If a church or a neighborhood group wants to run a recreation program, say, we suggest that they make the jobs that go with it — counselors, maintenance workers — available to Neighborhood Youth Corps kids." The Corps is funded by the Department of Labor through HDC.

Some organizations that had participated in the summer job program have given up. Catholic Employment Service attempted to find jobs for youngsters last summer, "but we were not at all successful. We send them to the YMCA now," a spokesman said.

The director of Jewish Employment and Vocational Services said: "We tried to get job pledges and couldn't get any at all. Youngsters are better off going through family or neighborhood contacts if they have any."

GRAPE STRIKE (continued)

aries" who ultimately aim to expropriate their property. Their economic motivation in fighting the boycott is compounded by a conviction that they are fighting a battle for the right of free enterprise.

The halting efforts of the growers and the union to reach some agreement also points out the lack of any formal ground rules governing labor relations in agriculture, which is not now covered by the National Labor Relations Act.

The conflicts over these two issues—the contract between the union and the growers, and the long-range rules governing agriculture—will not be resolved quickly. But labor experts agree that la causa—the movement of farm workers for economic security and human dignity—has made a significant step forward.

Sun., June 8, 1969
ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Summer Classes In Office Skills

A special summer program for recent high school graduates will be offered, starting tomorrow, by the Urban League's Clerical Up-grading School at 4422 Easton Avenue.

The program was made possible by a special grant from the Charitable Trust Fund of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. It will enable participants to acquire clerical skills and learn office procedures. Upon completion of the program July 3, the Urban League will help the young people find positions.

JUN 18 1969 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Mayor Cites Decline In City Youth Program

The city's summer education and employment program for ghetto youth is about half as successful as last year, Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes said yesterday.

The Mayor told members of the Council on Human Relations that "there seems to be a stiffening in the community toward aiding the program. Neither funds nor job offers are coming in this year as well as last year.

"I realize that last year the program was new and everyone was enthusiastic about helping. But the problems in the ghetto remain with us this year, and we need as much help and more to aid ghetto youth."

The Mayor said that his brother, the Rev. Lucius Cervantes, "has been working twice as hard this year but accomplishing about half as much."

A spokesman for the Mayor's Council on Youth Opportunity, headed by Father Cervantes, said the council hoped all programs combined would produce a total of 15,000 summer jobs.

The figure is 4800 more than the 10,200 jobs obtained last summer.

The local goal of the National Alliance of Businessmen is 2200 summer jobs for disadvantaged youths.

Asked today about the Mayor's comments, Father Cervantes said the statement about accomplishing only about half as much as last year might be "a little strong." However, he said he believed the community should do significantly more.

He said hope for exceeding last year's total of 10,200 summer jobs was pinned primarily on $500,000 in Model City money earmarked for such jobs if the program is funded and on an application for $363,746 in interim assistance money from the Federal Government.

"When you realize that we've had some 180 programs lined up since January and that we've had more people contacting businessmen than before, I think you'd have to say the response has been less than we'd hoped," Father Cervantes said.

July 17, 1969

Mr. John L. Crain
Senior Transportation Analyst
Stanford Research Institute
Menlo Park, California 94025

Dear Mr. Crain:

Your letter of July 3 enclosed a Stanford Research Institute check, #P-109092, for $106.95. This was to reimburse me for travel expenses to Washington, D. C. on March 12.

Today I received a second check for the same amount (Check #2992) which I am returning to you with this letter.

You had indicated that you had requested some special handling of this matter to avoid further delays and I would guess that was done and now the routine procedures have sent me a second check.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc. - Check $106.95

July 14, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth House Vick

FROM: Emory F. Via

- o -

The attached check for $106.95 is to reimburse SRC for that portion of my expenses for a trip to Washington on March 12, 1969 to consult with the Department of Transportation. The meeting was arranged by the Stanford Research Institute. Therefore, the check is drawn on their account.

I have already been reimbursed for my expenses on that trip.

EFV/km

Enc. - Check $106.95

M - Transp.

STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE

MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA 94025

July 3, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Attached is a check to reimburse you for your expenses in participating in the panel of transportation experts that met in Washington, D.C. on March 12.

I apologize for the delay in sending this. We were first slowed by receiving the written approval from the Department of Transportation, then because of a change over in the SRI computerized accounting systems to new equipment. To avoid additional delays, I requested that the attached check be written and mailed immediately.

Thank you again for your assistance. Your expert advice to the Department of Transportation has affected policy and specific decisions.

Sincerely,

John L. Crain

John L. Crain
Senior Transportation Analyst

JLC/vr

Attachment

STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE
P. O. BOX 2203 MENLO PARK, CA 94025

No. P 109092

SRI VOUCHER NO.	VENDOR'S INVOICE NO.	AMOUNT	DISCOUNT	NET AMOUNT
5/22769		$ 106.95		$
	Paid to SRI to reimburse for D.O.T. (Dept of Transp.) end of expenses for Washington trip on March 12, 1969. E.F.V.			
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SRI 1260 RI

REMITTANCE ADVICE - DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING CHECK

March 26, 1969

Mr. Andy Andryshak
Urban Mass Transportation Administration
U. S. Department of Transportation
800 Independence Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20590

Dear Mr. Andryshak:

My out of pocket expenses for the trip to participate in the panel on impacts of non-conventional carriers are:

Air transport (Atlanta-Washington-Atlanta)	$88.20
Ground Transportation	18.75
Total	$106.95

I was very sorry to have to leave the meeting early for other pressing business which was scheduled, beyond my control, for the same day. I would be happy to be reimbursed for only half of the above expenses or simply to have my organization assume the total.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Business Administration
100 TRINITY PLACE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10006
AREA 212-732-5820

TRANSPORTATION NEEDS OF THE POOR

by

Oscar A. Ornati

Chapter I of a forthcoming book to be published
Summer 1969 by Praeger Incorporated

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To know how the poor can get jobs means to know how they can get there. For the poor of the second half of the twentieth century this calls for focussing on the city. In the city it calls for turning to the anomalies of the public transportation network. Indeed, while odd that, e.g., a resident of central Brooklyn traveling to nearby industrial districts only four miles away, via one of the Nation's most efficient transit systems finds the journey longer and more complicated than a trip to the Bronx, some fifteen miles away, it is true. Anomalies of this type appear throughout American cities and, in most cases, they relate to the journey between poverty areas and the centers of employment where the residents of such areas might conceivably find jobs.

Policies aimed at reducing employment-related poverty must respond to the self-evident fact that travel inconvenience is a barrier to employment. How much of a barrier it is, we do not know. Nor do we make any estimate of the degree to which employment-related poverty can be reduced by increasing the convenience of travel. Nor is it argued that because a route is complicated, time consuming or requires payment of multiple fares, it represents a sole or a major or a permanent barrier to a job-holder. Simply put, the premise states that: accessibility as perceived by a job-seeker, is a determining factor of job search and job keeping patterns; this would be

particularly so for the poor, who are more likely to be unfamiliar with a city's complicated transportation network. Given this premise the first step is to identify the specific barriers that exist.

That barriers will exist in Los Angeles, the Nation's most expansive and sprawling city, does not come as much of a suprise. But what about older, more compact New York? Having the world's largest and most efficient, if not the most commodious, transportation system, one might predict that no significant barrier will exist. This would be in error as analysis of patterns of intrametropolitan development suggest the opposite.

If significant barriers or inconveniences in travelling to employment locations are found, the second step to which the analysis must turn to is the question of what to do about it. The doing something about it involves many considerations of financing, planning, public administration, political organization and so on. Clearly the needed action will differ from city to city, yet some similarities exist. We will turn to these after a general discussion of intrametropolitan developments as they bear on the accessibility of job locations from poverty neighborhoods.

INTRAMETROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENTS

What is known about spatial organization of the urban economy has been

the fruit of a crescendo of policy problems associated with the regulation of land resources, the provision of public facilities and the work of local planners. The efforts of the latter have led to "a realization that the internal organization of the city and the directions in which it tended to change were manifestations of powerful social and economic factors that determined land use patterns, the movement of goods and people and the distribution of infrastructure." /1 Yet this realization has not brought with it a unified theory with which one can truly move beyond description and onto which one could build an integrated explanation of accessibility to employment sites. Indeed, Edgar M. Hoover who has most meticulously disected the urban organism, finds no ideal or equilibrium state. For him spatial structure "represents a snapshot of current states of mutual adjustments. Impacts of one change upon another, physical facilities, habits, social and business ties, and political commitments are entailed." /2

What is known about the urban structure is drawn from the theory of industrial location, market area analyses, rent theory, etc., linking the bits and pieces together -- and they are many as the literature is large and elegant -- give us at least one stable datum -- the notion of the Central Business District -- and a set of recognized relationships which can be adapted to explain a multitude of urban conditions linked into the spatial context.

Clearly, to study the relationship of poor people's residences and their access to employment sites, we must look at the major determinants of household and firm location. This can be done in the aggregate for the general experience of American cities. Following a little known, but breezy, article by Charles Leven, /3 a gross summary of what is known follows:

A Synoptic View of Urban Spatial Development

Two established facts, (1) that American cities continue to grow larger and (2) that to sustain a labor-force large enough and varied enough to permit industry-mix shifts, cities have to have a population of at least one quarter million, set the outer limits of our "model-analysis-description." Indeed we are only interested in large cities as it is only there that difficulties of access to job locations arise.

The relationships involved in the analysis are: (1) the relationship between technology and the cost of land, and this is viewed as making space cheaper as the individual household and employer moves away from the city's center; (2) individual preferences as to "access", and this is viewed as leading individuals to prefer the time-distance between where they live and where they work or play to be smaller rather than larger; (3) the taxpayer's preference for paying lower rather than higher prices for increasing quantities of public services

of all types, including public transportation services; (4) the preference of people to live near people that are like rather than unlike them, indeed it has been shown that most people like to maintain "social distance".

With the above considerations in mind, a synopsis of urban development with reference to transportation can be traced through five typical stages.(See Fig. 1)

In stage one (Fig. 1A) the city is condensed, the Central Business District (CBD) is compact. The rich occupy land with advantageous accessibility and settle right around the CBD. The poor take the cheaper low access land and settle around the rich residences. Most employment opportunities are located in the CBD and right next door to where the poor live, indeed most manufacturing establishments that service the CBD settle where land is cheaper. The poor walk to work, with some of them walking through the richer residential areas. "This is the Chicago of the 70's and 80's -- the great days of LaSalle Street and Prairie Avenue, surrounded by the stock yards". /4 The city's internal transportation system provides no problem and has little influence in determining locations.

In stage two (Fig. 1B) the construction of large avenues with streetcars and later buses, and the commuter railroads play an important role. Middle income groups split off into outlying city locations while the

FIGURE I

A Synoptic View of Metropolitan Growth

The rich live at high access locations around the CBD and the poor cluster about job locations.

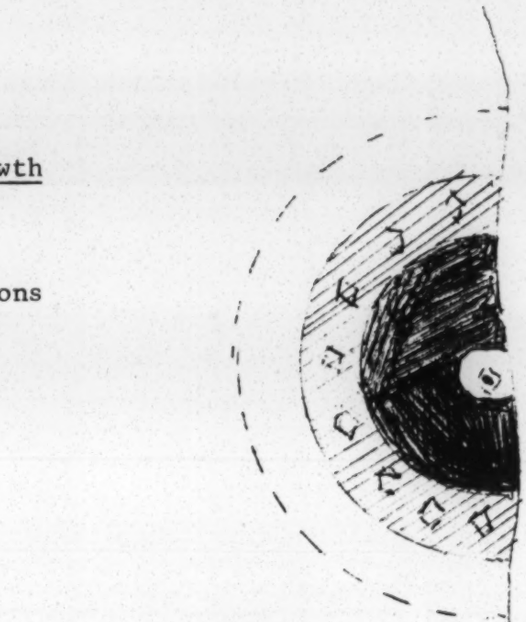


FIG. 1a

The middle class split off to outlying central city locations serviced by the internal transportation grid. The rich relocate to commuter suburbs serviced by the railroads.

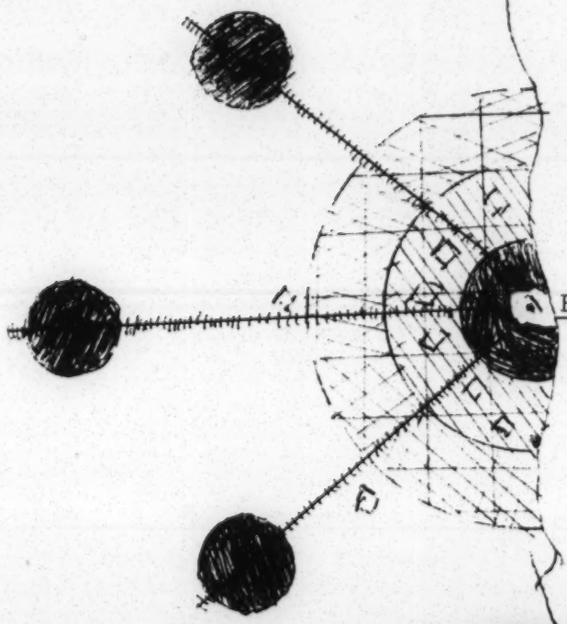


FIG. 1b

The rich fill the first suburban ring. The middle class and the poor take over most of the central city.

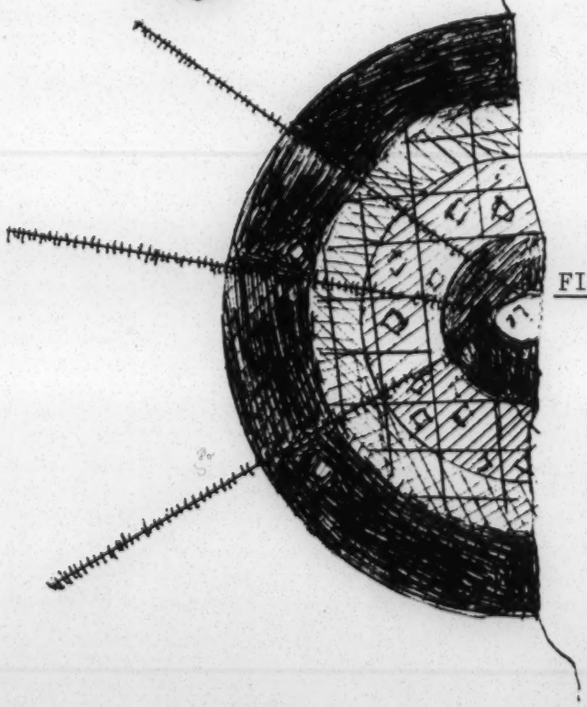


FIG. 1c

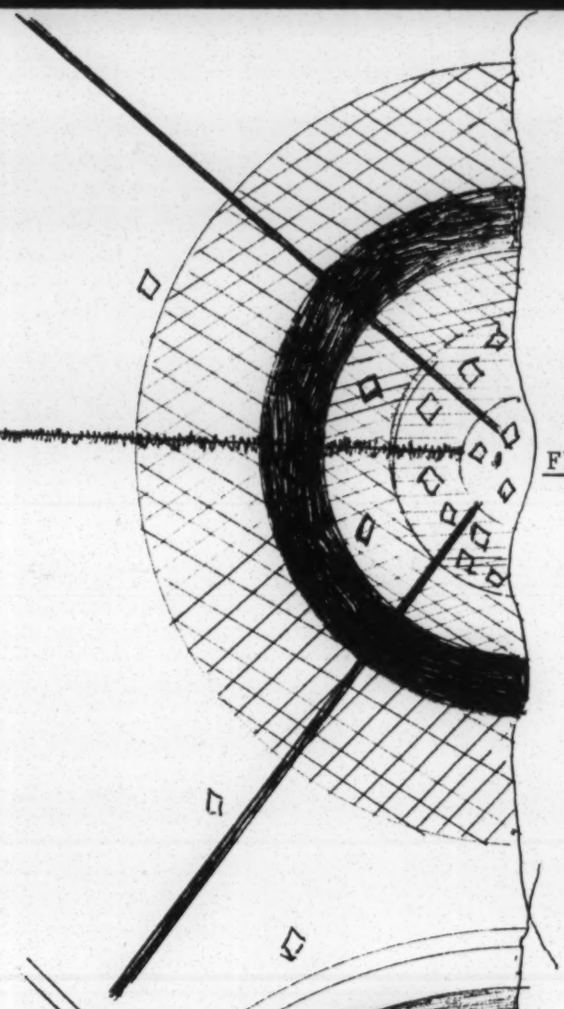
= upper income groups

= middle income groups

= lower income groups

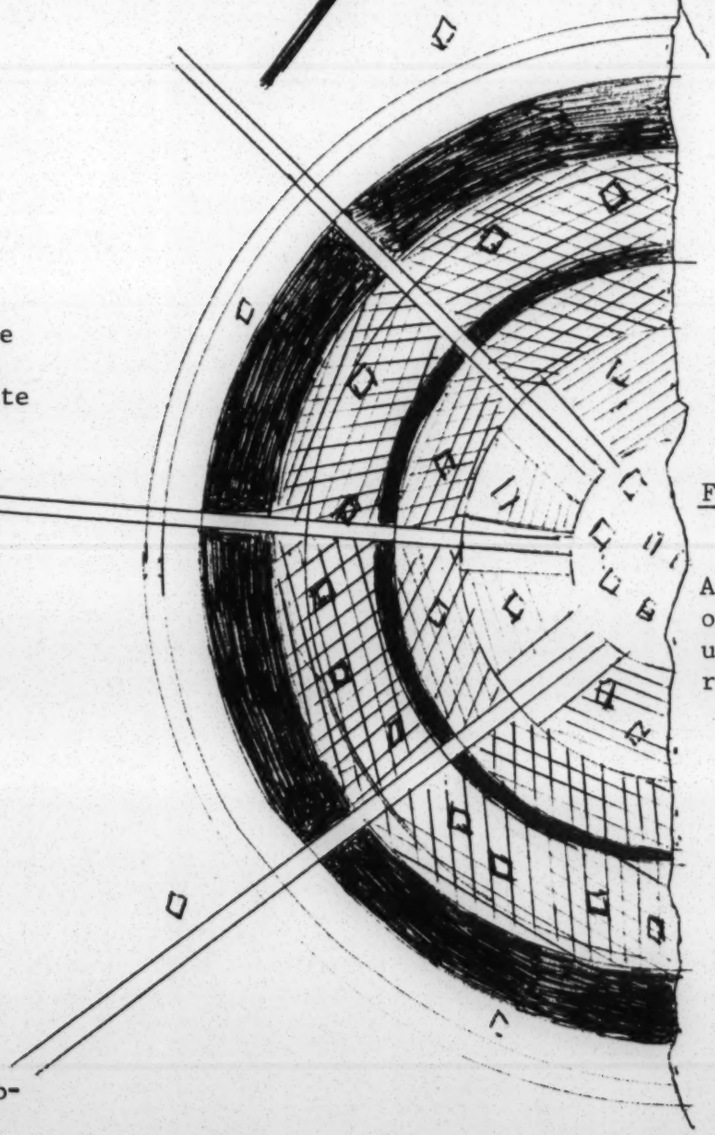
= employment locations

FIGURE I (continued)



The middle class begins to escape from the central city and sets up the second suburban ring. Some job locations emerge in the outlying parts of the central city as well as in the outer suburbs. Access to CBD is easy but movement within the central city is difficult.

FIG. 1d



The middle class dominates the first and the second suburban ring. Some businesses relocate in the second suburban ring. The rich establish a third suburban ring. For the ~~poor~~ still mostly in the center of the city access to the new suburban job location depends upon car ownership.

Fig. 1e

Areas of urban renewal

poor are brought into closer contact with the rich that live around the Central Business District. As the railroads have reduced access costs and to regain the social distance which they lost, the rich leapfrog over the middle class residences and move out to outlying commuter suburbs that spring up along the railroads' radials. Most employment sites remain in easy access to the poor. A few employment centers develop outside the areas inhabited by the middle classes not far from the railway lines; they are easily staffed, provide no problems and are the harbingers of later stages. Stage two is well represented in the development of New York in the period from the turn of the century to the early 1920's -- in "the apartment houses of the Bronx, the six family flats of Chicago, the two family flats of Cleveland" /5 and the two story houses of Cambridge or Somerville around Boston.

In stage three (Fig. 1C) automobile ownership by the higher income groups becomes determinative of the city's spatial organization. The rich keep moving out of the city to fill a first suburban ring. Thereby they maintain their social distance, escape the tax burden of the central city and give a boost to the creation of suburban governments. The inner ring of wealthy residences is narrowed, as, on one hand their mansions are taken over by the businesses of the CBD, and on the other hand by the poor. New York City's Fifth Avenue, with its stores and hotels moving up to 59th Street and the slums of Harlem

moving down to 108th Street, is almost perfect paradigm of this phenomenon.

In stage three the poor and the middle class take over almost all of the central city. Work places rapidly increase in number and in distance from the original CBD. Some work locations develop in middle class areas and occasionally outside the first suburban circle. For most of the poor access to the work sites is still not a problem as most jobs are linked by the transportation network developed in stage 2.

Job locations in middle class areas are also generally accessible as they have developed mostly along the avenues used by the middle class to move back and forth to the CBD. Whether a city's road network is a grid or a radial matters little as buses, streetcars and subways are plentiful having been built in response to middle class pressures. Stage three represents most of the cities of the 1930's. The diagram, were the circles to go all around, being a good representation of Indianapolis.

Stage four (Fig. 1D) is characterized by widespread (except for the poor) automobile ownership and by the leapfrogging of the middle classes who now create a new, the second, suburban ring. The second ring develops because, like the rich, the middle class wants to

maintain its social distance and, again, because access costs have gone down. At stage four there is still only limited outward movement of job sites, yet the poor's access to them has worsened. The public transportation network, whether grid or radial, is less effective as the new employment locations are set up in response to automobile and truck routes -- indeed now the expressways replace the railroads. Travel into and out of the CBD is easy and rapid but travel within the central city is difficult. Travel across and within the second suburban ring is almost impossible without an automobile. To go from the expanded central city poverty ring to work in the middle class suburbs is difficult as there are no systematic political pressures for helping those involved in "reverse commuting." Stage four is the prototype of the large city in the late forties and early fifties. Modified forms of stage four represent contemporary urban places of between one half and a million people. In the late sixties, Rochester, New York; Albuquerque, New Mexico and Denver, Colorado, all qualify as stage four cities.

Stage five (Fig. 1E) represents the large metropolitan centers of the 1960's. It embodies the repetition of the dynamics of earlier stages: the rich move out of the first suburban ring -- increasingly taken over by the poor at the near end and the middle class at the far end -- to escape to a new, third, suburban ring. In the second

suburban ring the middle classes are not faring well as their public services, mostly schools for which they clamor - are costlier. To broaden the tax base of their towns and unincorporated areas, they invite in industry from the central city. Businesses are eager to move out as transportation in the central city is getting costlier, municipal services are deteriorating under the strain of increased density of the poor population and of their demands. New suburban industrial districts get formed in the less populated parts of the second suburban ring.

The residential locations of the poor and their work sites are now no more linked by transportation. Indeed, expressways that provide access to the CBD have improved but the poor do not benefit from them. The central city transportation network remains unchanged in size and routes when it does not deteriorate from overuse and obsolescence. Where it expands, it mostly expands to take care of the needs of the middle class in the first suburban ring. The poverty areas of the central city show little change except for the beginning of the poor's outmigration often accelerated by urban renewal along the expressways. Some of the poor move out to the second suburban ring and settle in the older and denser parts thereof. Having moved to the suburbs they have improved their situation somewhat. In most cases they are still far away from the industrial parks that provide the bulk of

the unskilled employment potential because these have settled in the least densely populated areas and there still is no way to move across and within the second ring unless it is done by automobile.

In the model sketched above, time and space intertwine. It shows that job sites are least location bound over time, that the residential locations of the poor are -- in respect to job location -- more rigidly fixed. From it we can say to the poor, if you came this way taking the route you would be likely to take, from the place you would be likely to come from ... going to work is hard. The measure of fit of the hypotheses, implied in the dynamics of the model, will vary from city to city with the history, the physical contour, the industry-mix and employer-size-mix of each. So will vary the travel inconvenience of the job seeker. If potential employment sites are concentrated, the task of the job seeker is eased once he gets to the general area. Holding on to jobs when these are hard to get to is easier when job sites are contiguous as transportation habits develop faster (car pooling is easier) and as, eventually, the public transportation network adjusts to service concentrated employment locations. When, on the other hand, jobs are scattered the problem of access to job sites is compounded and particularly so for the job seeker. In New York City, for instance, particularly outside of Manhattan,

there is no one area of unskilled work, nor any one large scale employer; typically New York's manufacturing, the usual source of blue collar work, is smallscale and, in recent years, has become increasingly decentralized. This means both that it is pratically impossible for any one individual to check significant numbers of possible job openings; and by the same token, that the probability of finding a job at any one firm is fairly small. The added travel inconvenience of searching for employment in cities with scattered and small job sites thus can be easily assumed to add significantly to the time and cost for the poor and therefore to be a meaningful barrier to employment.

Ethnic makeup and degree of residential segregation of each city will also influence the degree of fit of any test of the above hypothesis. The residential segregation of Negroes has become one of the most important issues involved in the "equality" revolution of the day. Doing away with this form of segregation, it is argued /6 will contribute to the reduction in white-non-white differential in employment opportunity. As far as this analysis is concerned what needs clarification is whether there indeed is greater difficulty in job accessibility between low income whites and low income non-whites. Related issues, such as whether residential segregation itself reduces the total stock of available jobs, discrimination in employment, schooling, etc., are not part of this

particular study.

The issue of whether differential accessibility to job location between whites and non-whites exists can also be recast by asking whether the historico-spatial development traced earlier suffices or not to predict the presence of a racially linked differential job-accessibility. So posed the answer appears to be negative. Indeed, contrary to popular belief, residential segregation of Negroes cannot be explained primarily in terms of average income and occupational differential between whites and non-whites. Both the Taubers /7 and Pascal /8 have shown that little of the Negro residential segregation vis-a-vis the white population can be so explained.

To shape our analysis to suit the problem rather than pursuing it as an intellectual challenge we must trace the issue further through two related questions: 1) is car ownership -- which we have seen to be important in shaping urban spatial distribution and in general travel to work patterns -- differentiable in terms of race, and 2) are the job search patterns of non-whites different from those of white poverty area residents? The answers are clear: keeping income constant Negroes, on the average own fewer (not more as the mythology about Blacks buying pink Cadillacs would have it) cars, and non-whites have more extensive--although

less successful--job search patterns. Thus we can conclude *a priori*, even though our previous analysis did not suggest it, that job accessibility presents more of a problem for non-whites than for whites and that inconvenience in travel to work sites are compounded for the Negro job-searcher.

THE METHODOLOGY

The general methodology through which one can establish the poor's relative case of access to job sites is simple and easily applicable to any large center. Fundamentally, what is called for is the overlaying of three maps: one pinpointing employment locations particularly fitted to the employment potential of the poor, one identifying residential areas of the low income population and one tracing the routes of the public transportation network.

There are complications with the construction of each of these maps and variations among cities in the availability of needed data. Employment locations can be derived from land use or zoning maps supplemented with information drawn from local business directories. Such sources generally yield only data as to employment locations; they need adjustment to identify locations of employment particularly open to the poor. To achieve the latter the investigator can be guided by general notions as well as specific data on the industry's proportion of skilled to unskilled, and on

the average wages paid in the industry. The judgement of the investigator is, of course, crucial.

The residential areas of the low income population can be plotted from census tract data through the cumulation of adjacent tracts of low median income. What is a "low" median income -- to say nothing of the problem of the peculiarities of the income distribution below the median -- is as difficult as deciding what being poor means. In other contexts I have discussed extensively the whole problem of the definition of poverty and of how such a definition affects the problem under discussion. /9 Here suffice it to say that the choice of the income cut-off must reflect social judgements, the particular city's overall income average and, that ideally, instead of one income cut-off one should use several to identify the "band of poverty" involved. In many cities the identification of poverty neighborhoods is already available in the work of various agencies involved in anti-poverty activities. In certain cities data are available to distinguish areas of first, and second poverty magnitude. This is the case in New York City and in the case study presented in this volume much reliance has been placed in the Human Resources Administration identification of areas of poverty of first magnitude (See Appendix A for the detailed methodology.)

Maps describing the routes and the stops of the public transportation network are generally available from the local transit authority. In other cases they either are not existent or they cover only routes serviced by some form of fixed plant such as subways or trolleys. In such cases the investigator must construct, either directly or in combination with existing maps, a new map.

The overlayed maps will readily indicate whether accessibility of employment sites through the public transportation network exists or not.

Establishing the pure and simple existence of accessibility does not suffice. A judgemental factor as to its convenience for the poor--relative to the non-poor--is also needed. The relative convenience of a public travel system is determined by time, cost and complexity. These factors can be established by drawing boundaries along these three dimensions. In addition, in cities with large areas of poverty, detailed studies of the transportation situation in specific poverty neighborhoods help throw light on the situation. In the New York study the largest conglomerate of first magnitude poverty areas was redivided into four subareas. (See map in Appendix A) each of which is locally recognized as having certain traits of neighborhood commonality.

In the following chapters the situation of New York City and the transportation requirements of residents of poverty areas is discussed in detail.

Footnotes

1. H. S. Perloff and L. Wingo, Jr., editors, "Introduction" in Issues in Urban Economics (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968) p. 17.

2. E. M. Hoover, "The Evolving Form and Organization of the Metropolis" in Perloff and Wingo, Op. Cit. pg. 238.

3. C. Leven, "Trends in Metropolitan Growth and City Form" in Education for Architectural Technology, an AIA Educational Research Project Conference.

4. Op. Cit. pg. 8

5. Ibid.

6. J. F. Kain, "Testimony" in Employment and Manpower Problems in the Cities, Hearings, Joint Economic Committee, U. S. Congress, May 1968, p. 65.

7. Cfr. K. E. Taeuler and A. F. Taeuler, Negroes in Cities, Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change (Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co., 1965).

8. A. H. Pascal, "The Economics of Housing Segregation." Abstracts of Papers Presented at the December 1965 Meetings (New York: Econometric Society 1966) p. 2.

9. O.A. Ornati, Poverty Amid Affluence (New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1966) p. 26.

News
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M — Transportation

For Immediate Release
November 18, 1969

For further Information:
Vicki Reed

CITY REPRESENTATIVES TO MEET:

SEEK SOLUTION TO CENTER CITY TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS

Federal and city officials, transportation consultants, architects, private developers, and advocate planners from more than 34 cities will meet November 24 and 25 in Washington, D.C., to discuss means of solving center city transportation problems.

The meeting is sponsored by Urban America Inc. as part of the U.S. Department of Transportation Center City Transportation Program. The Program is designed to nudge cities into thinking about and achieving transportation improvements that are community-inspired and supported, but nationally coordinated.

The center city houses the primary decision-making bodies of society -- the local government, the business and financial community, educational and cultural institutions -- yet faces increasingly severe constraints on the movement of people and goods.

(more)

Transportation development has failed to keep pace with rapid center city growth.

Urban America's role in the Center City Transportation Program is to establish an intensive process of communication and national participation in the development of concepts, principles, and procedures for center city transportation planning, design and implementation. Part of that process involves a series of seminar-workshops that will offer an opportunity to evaluate the status of current center city demonstration projects, innovations in transportation hardware, mechanisms for financing transportation development, and issues unique to particular types of center city areas. The first three seminar-workshops dealt with the problem of defining transportation needs and of developing criteria for evaluating transportation projects.

The Washington seminar will provide participants an opportunity to consult directly the officials from various federal agencies who are responsible for programs concerned with the development of urban areas. Guest speaker will be J. Dorm Braman, Assistant Secretary of Environment and Urban Systems for the Department. Urban Mass Transportation Administrator Carlos C. Villarreal will give the keynote address. Other UMTA officials include: William B. Hurd, Assistant Administrator of the Office of Program Operations, who will explain the capital grant and

(more)

technical studies program; H.W. Merritt, Assistant Administrator of the Office of Research, who will discuss his agency's research, development, and demonstration grant program; and Gordon M. Murray, Assistant Administrator of the Office of Program Planning, who will outline legislative alternatives involved in planning and implementing mass transportation improvements.

At a previous seminar, Villarreal said that the Center City Transportation Program "recognizes the lack of attention given by the Federal Government to the movement of people and goods within the downtown areas of the Nation's cities." If legislation is passed increasing funds for urban mass transportation programs, the study that Urban America is conducting will have laid the groundwork for their use by helping the Department determine programs and policies to solve the urban mass transportation crisis.

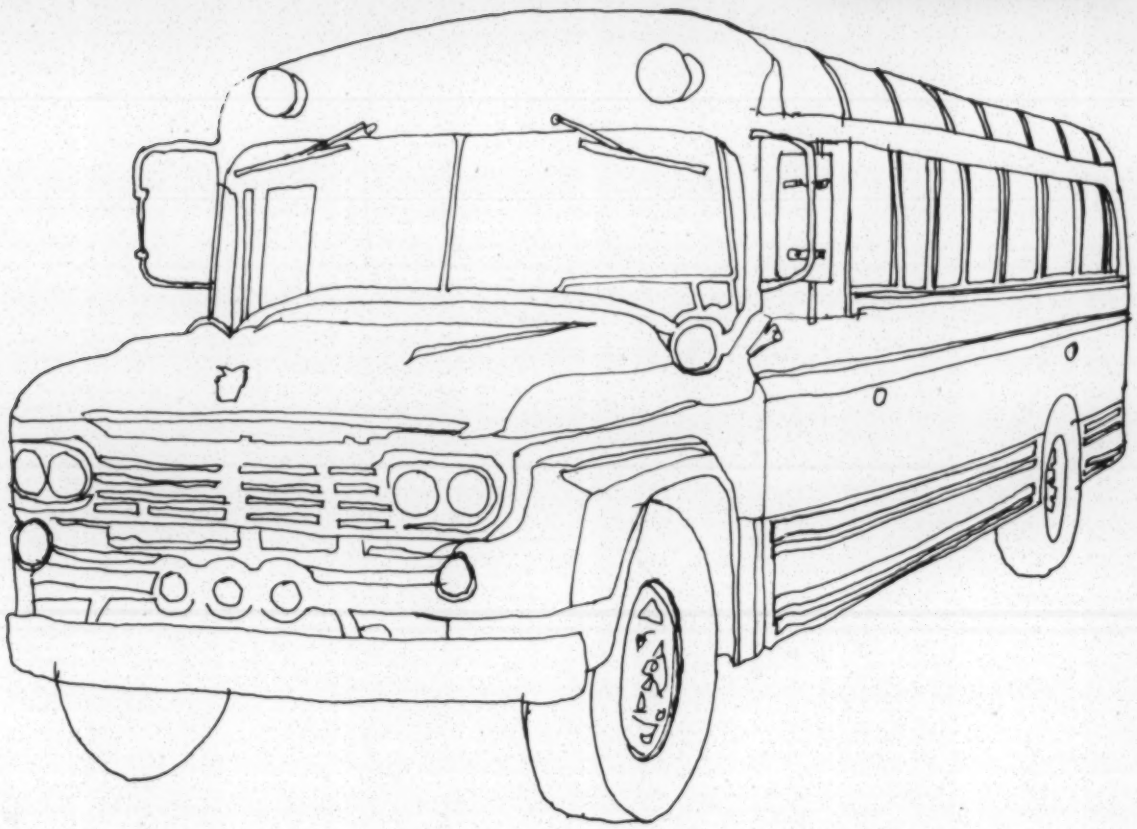
Urban America Inc. is a national, nonprofit, membership organization dedicated to improving the social and physical environment in the nation's cities through a broad range of programs. Its Center City Transportation Project is backed by a $270,000 grant from the Department for a 15-month period ending in June, 1970.

In addition to the Urban America Project, which includes 21 cities, a consortium of consultants led by Arthur D. Little will carry

out demonstration projects in five cities. The U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National League of Cities are studing non-technological barriers to transportation solutions in eight cities.

M- Transportation

They Grease Their Own Wheels



By I. WILLIAM ARSHACK
and DON MCGHEE

Detroit, the automobile capital of the world, is short of transportation—at least for inner-city residents. Many of them find it impossible to work in the suburbs, where so many of the good-paying jobs are these days, because they cannot afford cars and adequate public transportation is not available.

Now some of these men and women have turned entrepreneurs so they can continue to be workers. They operate their own busline so they can get and keep jobs on the fringes of the auto city.

Formation of the innovative transportation cooperative was spurred by Garnell McAfee, an energetic auto plant union official. As a United Auto Workers bargaining committeeman at a suburban plant located 28 miles from Detroit, McAfee saw that poor transportation was a major cause of tardiness, absenteeism, short paychecks, and often dismissal from the job. No public buses ran from Detroit to the plant. Makeshift arrangements for a ride to work often broke down for those who did not or could not own a car.

McAfee and 14 others from his union local raised $6,000, mostly from individual contributions, and in July 1968, the United Brotherhood Club, Inc., bus service was born. A 1959 schoolbus was purchased for $125. Volunteers spent hundreds of spare-time hours reconditioning it. The engine was rebuilt; the outside was repainted; air-conditioning was installed; card tables, a television set, stereo music, and draperies were added.

Mr. Arshack is the Michigan Employment Security Commission coordinator for Detroit's Concentrated Employment Program and Mr. McGhee is an information officer for the Commission.

Wheels *continued*

By October, the old schoolbus had been transformed into a luxury van and was displayed in the parking lot of the suburban plant. Two hundred employees joined the Brotherhood club. Each bought a $5 share of stock and was assessed monthly dues of $5. Each new member also agreed to pay $5 a week once he began riding the bus to and from work. The weekly fare was to remain constant, whether the member worked 5, 6, or 7 days per week.

The company credit union agreed to deduct dues and bus fares from members' pay and send a monthly check to the United Brotherhood Club. ("As a side effect of this arrangement, many members have started a regular savings account with the credit union," said McAfee.)

With 200 members, the Brotherhood needed more equipment and facilities. It obtained a $50,000 loan from a local bank, bought a building to serve as a garage for storage and repairs, and added seven more used schoolbuses. McAfee took a leave of absence from his union duties to devote full time to the project. Again hundreds of hours in volunteer work were spent in renovation. The building was rewired. Doors were raised to allow entry of the buses, which were completely rebuilt, inside and out. McAfee and his volunteers worked as carpenters, mechanics, electricians, plumbers, and masons, getting the old building and vehicles ready for operation.

Regular bus service to the suburban plant got underway late in 1968. Initially, only 88 members signed up as daily riders. They were transported on two buses driven by men employed at the plant, and the buses were left in the company parking lot during the day.

A number of central points were designated for passenger pickup. Riders were assured that if they became ill on the job or had an emergency call from home, a private car would be dispatched for immediate transportation.

An appearance by McAfee on "Job Opportunity Line," a local public service television program coordinated by the

Labor Dept. photos by Billy Rose

United Brotherhood President Garnell McAfee discusses operations with Jack Tasse (standing), member of the board and one of the program's originators.

When a driver fails to show up, McAfee often takes time out from running the entire operation to run a bus. As do the other drivers, McAfee uses a citizens band radio to contact riders and let them know he is on the way. Some passengers have bought small citizens band receivers that they carry in their pockets and purses.

Conversation and cards are two of the passengers' favorite pastimes.

Mechanic Sandy Evans works on a motor block.

Michigan Employment Security Commission, and a number of newspaper stories brought the Brotherhood to the attention of people outside the plant where it was formed. Some local groups offered financial support. And requests began coming in from other plants and organizations for transportation service.

The Brotherhood has done what it can to meet the demand. In June 1969, the State employment service arranged to use the Brotherhood bus service to transport trainees under a Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) contract to the employer's suburban plant. The facility was not served by public transportation and none of the potential trainees owned autos.

The employment service persuaded the employer to establish a payroll deduction plan for payment of the transportation fees due United Brotherhood. It is doubtful if the trainees could have taken the suburban jobs without these special arrangements.

In September, 22 young men from the inner city were hired by Hawthorn Metals, a suburban firm, at a starting rate of $3.09 per hour. Public transportation to the plant was not available. The employer conducted his interviews at the Michigan State Employment Service's Youth Opportunity Center in downtown Detroit. Arrangements were made with the United Brotherhood to provide bus service to those youth who had been offered jobs but had no way to get to work. Now each afternoon a red and white United Brotherhood bus stops in front of the Youth Opportunity Center to pick up these young men and take them to their jobs.

In late summer, when model changeovers temporarily closed the auto plants and some of United Brotherhood's riders were out of work, the red and white buses were not idle. They were used to give hundreds of inner-city children transportation to day camps, the local zoo, beaches, and matinee performances in downtown theaters.

McAfee emphasizes that the cooperative bus service is as helpful to the suburban employer as it is to the inner-city worker or jobseeker. "We customize transportation to the needs of the individual plant," he says. "The problem

workers face in finding a way to reach the many well-paying production jobs located in the suburbs is obviously the other side of the problem the employer encounters in filling jobs."

Even if public transportation were available, McAfee points out, the timetable of the buses would not necessarily coincide with the plants' work shifts. Inner-city residents traveling 10, 15, or 25 miles to reach suburban plants usually find it necessary to transfer from one bus to another, a very time-consuming procedure. On the other hand, United Brotherhood bus service is direct and nonstop.

Passengers board the bus in Detroit for the 25-mile run to their jobs in an electronic assembly plant outside the city.

McAfee says the cooperative has been especially valuable to women. Before the bus service, he says, inner-city women simply did not bother to apply for well-paying jobs in the suburbs that were open to them. The jobs were too far away, and lack of transportation presented a seemingly total barrier. According to one woman now riding the coop buses 25 miles to work, city jobs usually do not pay enough to cover babysitting and other expenses. Now she makes more than $100 a week.

Regular busdrivers are now hired for most runs, to allow fuller use of the bus fleet. "It's a waste to leave them parked on a company lot while the driver and his passengers are putting in their 8 hours," McAfee says. "But these full-time busdrivers are also mechanics. They must be able to make emergency repairs enroute, if something goes wrong." The driver-mechanics also perform regular maintenance and repairs on the buses.

United Brotherhood's maintenance and service capabilities have expanded along with its transportation operations. It has opened a gas station midway between Detroit and the plant where the idea of the cooperative was conceived. The station, which is open to the public, makes it possible to buy gas for the buses at lower prices. Gas station attendants also serve as utility drivers to provide emergency transportation home for members who work at the nearby plant. Between runs, busdrivers work at the station.

An oil company has agreed to allow the cooperative to manage additional gas stations. Candidates for station managers selected by the Brotherhood attend the oil company's training school. Two are currently enrolled.

The Brotherhood's main depot in Detroit has the tools, testing equipment, and machinery necessary to perform all maintenance and repair services on the fleet, including painting.

The Brotherhood has been able to expand its fleet of buses by negotiating a unique arrangement with several small churches in the Detroit area. McAfee noticed that a number of churches owned one or two old buses that were used primarily to transport members of the congregation to and from Sunday services. Most of the week the buses stood idle, but it required a considerable outlay of church funds to keep them in running order.

The Brotherhood repairs and maintains the buses without charge in exchange for the right to use them when they are not needed for church activities. The Brotherhood also supplies the churches with additional buses when they are needed for special occasions.

The Brotherhood's fleet now consists of 11 buses, plus the church vehicles that are available as a reserve during the week. Over 500 people ride the buses regularly, and the Brotherhood also operates a charter service for school groups and other local organizations for outings and travel to other cities.

McAfee says more buses could be put to use if the cooperative had the funds to obtain them. But monthly dues and weekly fares barely cover operating costs —gas, bus maintenance, driver salaries, and repayment of the loan.

"We've asked a number of foundations and civic organizations for help, but nothing has happened yet," says McAfee. "We've encountered a lot of problems, both financial and others, and have solved many of them. None of us have had experience in operating a bus service until now."

Financial and other problems notwithstanding, McAfee is making plans to improve and expand the Brotherhood's operations. "This is only the beginning," he declares. □

Floyd

Express Bus Service } funded –
Poverty → Jobs

Service development grant

Stanford Res. Inst – to collect data

Have funded few if any non-conventional

Crain

Co-op buses –
Sell space in car pool – weekly fare
driver, alternate
jitney service –
Job development function provides transp. service
as they see fit – esp. 1st week

Dept of Transp –
Labor – NAB (JOBS)
will increase transp. pressure smaller employers prove better

Ornatti

No one has argued anybody denied jobs
because of Transp —

Mee's Blood

FV —
Inst'l Barriers
L tradition of lines & who does —
Employer interview, Atlanta
Most said services problem

Union
ornatti — if No to # 1 then
why labor

Whitehurst

Collision courses in N.J.

Monarch Associates

Car leasing & car pooling

making ups & selling seats in

leased vehicle —

ICC & State get into —

Clearing through local regulatory

London Bureau

Reconsideration

Mass Bus [Unfamiliar with Act]

Flexible Service of Existing Transit

Atlanta Experience & Proposal

Union Interest

Chamber

Tentative Proposal

Plant Location

Housing & Job Location

Moderator: Mr. E. C. Wood, Stanford Research Institute

Subject: What are the potential impacts on transit operations and service if UMTA funds demonstration programs in which non-conventional carriers are involved?

Definition: An unconventional carrier is one that is exempt from one or more of the following:

- a certified common carrier
- employing non-passenger drivers
- subject to regulation as to vehicles, operator licensing, fares and routes
- subject to union work rules and prevailing wage rates

Underlying issues:

1. Would the development of such carriers impair the economic health of the mass transit industry by limiting its area of service, growth, or depriving it of patronage? Generally no

2. Would the flourishing of such small, specialized carriers result in an insuperable service coordination problem, producing unacceptable voids in service and economic inefficiencies? no

3. What changes in organization, structure and mission of regulatory agencies would such a development make necessary? yes, cheaper

4. What are the implications for public safety? minor

5. What is the impact on organized labor? Eventually be opposed — would increase antagonism to

MASS TRANSPORTATION DEMONSTRATION PROJECT
(PROJECT DATE)
DIRECT ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT

Exhibit I - General Discriptions

A. Problems

1. The present Atlanta transit system is based on funneling people through the central business area. This system provides only for travel in-to and out-of the Central Business District, which is designed to serve suburban residents and central city business transportational needs.

The needs for direct transportation to resources of greater employment opportunities and community activities is not met by the present transit system design. This system of operation has attributed to the following:

a. The lack of mobility of low-socio-economic residents to industrial complexes located on the city's perimeter.

b. Commuter patterns which limit employment opportunities of low-socio-economic residents.

c. Travel burdens in terms of time, which influences unemployment.

d. Ineffective transportation in deprived communities, because of inadequate direct and cross-town routes.

e. Sterotype employment.

f. The reduced mobility of deprived residents within their own community.

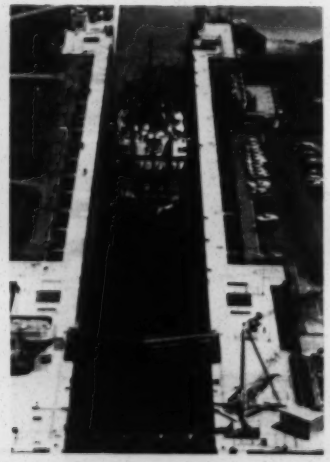
g. The cause of unrest in these communities.

B. Project Objective

The immediate objective of this project is to make accessible job opportunities in perimeter industrial complexes more accessible to low-income residents through subsidized transportation.

UNITED STATES

department of transportation



manpower evaluation report

NUMBER 5
OCTOBER 1965

[post 1964]

Training

All Sectyl.

GRADUATES OF THE NORFOLK PROJECT 1 YEAR LATER

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR: W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

Hold for meeting 5/23/69
with Sam Steen & other
at employment
Survey

Week of May 19, 1969

TOMORROW'S MANPOWER NEEDS

WASHINGTON -- About three and one-half million job openings will arise annually through the mid-1970's because of employment growth and the withdrawal of older workers from jobs, the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics has reported.

Employment opportunities will open not only in growth occupations but even in many occupations that are declining or are considered "obsolete," the Bureau pointed out in releasing data on annual training needs for workers in 240 occupations that account for two-thirds of the total annual job openings.

For example, there will be job openings for 600 blacksmiths each year, despite all the "horseless carriages" on the highways. In an occupation heavily hit by automation, telephone operators, there will be 28,000 openings annually, the Bureau estimates.

These findings are based on information in "Tomorrow's Manpower Needs," a 4-volume study just released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

"Recent legislation, including the 1968 amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act, emphasizes the need for information about occupational requirements and job opportunities," Commissioner of Labor Statistics Geoffrey H. Moore said in releasing the report. "Such information is essential in planning education and training programs to meet future needs and for the guidance of young people in choosing careers."

Tomorrow's Manpower Needs provides State and local manpower analysts with the information they need to develop local manpower projections within the context of nationwide economic and technological developments. The report presents the latest projections of national manpower requirements and provides information on techniques for using these data to develop State and area

(MORE)

manpower projections. As background information and tools for the appraisal of manpower requirements at the local level, the report also presents the results of research on the growth and changing composition of the population and labor force, the relative growth of industries, the effect of automation and other technological changes and economic factors on industry employment, the occupational structure of industries, patterns of working life, and techniques for appraising the supply of workers having various skills.

This study includes the most comprehensive information on national manpower estimates and projections ever published by the Department of Labor.

The Department of Labor will give technical assistance and will aid State agencies in checking the consistency of their projections with those for other States and with nationwide trends, with the aim of developing a systematic and continuous appraisal of manpower training needs, as required by the Manpower Development and Training Act. Estimates of annual training needs can also be used by national training and education agencies, education and training officials in industry, and apprenticeship councils to assess the adequacy of current programs in the light of total national needs.

# # # #

Hold for meeting with Stern.

NAT WELCH
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

ATLANTA COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION
1203 CITY HALL 522-4463, EXT. 433

BLS

Growth & Displacement

Can give State

employment

~~John~~ Caldwell
Dan Magnum
Richard
Mrs. Marie Mallat
6550 Brooks

Industry — Matrices

1960
1965
1975

also prepared an interim projection

S. C. has done Flavell do

Tech gradient assistance in applying the matrices —

Partial magnetic tape

State needs to restructure employment estimates

Project employment then occupations

Mrs. Mallard
fear of statistical manipulation

Cost —

Depends how they classify

if use BLS — she would be to do some of industry report of needs — ad hoc guesses

$1400 →

Takes 6 mos

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160 occupations

Interpretation & analysis St. 11 left open —

[Welch]

Asst. to

Nat

by late Summer

BLS — Bulloch

Strife or Legislation: Oct 8, 1966 Farm Labor. AFL-CIO NEWS

Farm Workers' Future Linked To Coverage Under Labor Law

FARM WORKERS have proved they want and can build unions, but without legal safeguards, the process is slow, expensive and disruptive, the AFL-CIO's chief organizer has declared.

William L. Kircher, director of the federation's Dept. of Organization, said the AFL-CIO victory on the big DiGiorgio grape farm in California has shown "the whole farm labor community that collective bargaining can be accomplished." Without the protection of law that other workers have, he said, "it is going to take a lot more time; it is going to take a lot more money; and it is going to cause a lot more bitterness."

He called for expansion of the National Labor Relations Act to include farm workers, warning "there are no two ways about it—without legislation, strikes and boycotts, and struggles and strife become necessary, inextricable parts of developing a union." Kircher's statements came during the network radio interview, Labor News Conference, aired weekly over the Mutual Broadcasting System.

He said that the growth potential of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, recently chartered by the AFL-CIO, can "reasonably be set as high as 750,000 to 1 million" members. But the growth, he said, hinges on the "extent to which the federal government and Congress see fit to extend the Labor Relations Act to farm workers and give them some kind of protection and some kind of machinery to organize themselves."

KIRCHER DENIED claims that unionization of farm workers will increase food prices. He said economic experts agree that farm labor is such a small part of food costs that meeting "their economic problems with improved wages and realistic conditions and benefits would have a very small effect on the price of vegetables and fruit."

"But even if it did, the more important question that we have to ask ourselves is if we want the farm worker to subsidize the vegetables and the fruit that go on our tables by working at poverty levels—at substandard wages—and under conditions that we should all be ashamed of," he asserted.

Reporters questioning Kircher were William Eaton of the Chicago Daily News and Sam Sharkey of the Newhouse Newspapers.

Return to EV

BLACKS AND THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

by Don F. Hadwiger
Professor of Political Science
Iowa State University

The U. S. Department of Agriculture has received many verbal tributes that were more than perfunctory, especially from its employees with lively intellectual interests. Gove Hambidge, former editor of the Year Book of Agriculture, viewed the USDA as an idyllic workplace in the 1920's, at which a group of distinguished plant scientists could lean back around an old kitchen table with a coffee pot on it, talk philosophy and anthropology, and sprinkle in anecdotes from their adventures in searching out useful plant varieties around the world. Hambidge quoted a USDA Law scholar during the late New Deal period who felt there was more freedom and more vital work to be found in the USDA than in any University. A USDA historian told Hambidge at that time, "I haven't found an atmosphere I liked so well anywhere, or more satisfying work, or a more interesting lot of people to work with." Hambidge said of his own situation: "I expected to stay . . . for a year at most. Now I shall probably not leave it until I'm retired for decrepitude. For the work . . . has got its hooks into me."*

*Gove Hambidge, The Prime of Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1942), pp. 89-91.

The Department has also been a sturdy home for the leaders of unprthodox bent--the hearty missionaries of the gospel of preserving natural resources, the serious advocates of scientific excellence, the advocates of grass roots democracy, and the social experimenters. One gathers from Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., that the Department of Agriculture during the early New Deal was frenetic with energy, innovation, and sparkling leaders.* Other fine attributes had been present in the Department's early development, according to Leonard White's history of the Republican era from

*Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Roosevelt: The Coming of the New Deal (Cambridge, Mass: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), chapters 2-5.

1869-1901.* White reached the following conclusion about the Department of Agriculture during that time:

> In a period when laxness and indifferent standards were common, the record of Agriculture stood out in bold relief as a gratifying symbol of potential achievements in administration and in service to the American people.**

---

*Leonard D. White, The Republican Era: 1869-1901(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958, ch. 11.

**Ibid., p. 256

Even "unfavorable" publicity about the USDA was not always unfavorable from every point of view, as when Henry Wallace, the USDA's Secretary and President Roosevelt's choice for Vice-President in 1940, proved to be almost too mystical, too philosophical, indeed almost too much for the Democratic Convention to swallow. Wallace's controversial image coincided with that of the Department, which was bouncing along in the main currents of social innovation, techniological development, and cultivation of new attitudes and beliefs during the period before World War II.

What I wish to do in this paper is to n ote several of the elements contributing to the greatness of the prewar Department, and to suggest that in the period after World War II Black Americans in particular have contributed much to the Department with little or no encouragement from within the Department, and could have contributed more, had the Department been as receptive to the elements of greatness as it once was. I think there is surely an underlying assumption in this paper that the postwar Department hasx not opted for the role of leadership that it earlier chose to provide in the area of domestic social policy. It has been less eager to be in the middle of the stream although it has nevertheless been obliged to swim there frequently. I will not concentrate on explaining why the Department "lost its nerve", so to speak, but rather will suggest that some of the resources it chose not to organize were held by Black Americans. Black Americans, even without invitation, did much for the Department and for themselves, but not nearly as much as could have been done if the Department had been inclined

toward an aggressive Rather than a stand-pat role with respect to the great social issues of the postwar period.

The success or greatness of the earlier Department had to do with its capacity to become identified with the achievement of great national goals-- goals such as the advance of science, conservation of natural resources, preservation of the family farm, vocational education, and the elimination of poverty. This identification occurred when the Department became involved in describing a problem and bringing wide attention to it and in developing and being willing to organize strategies for solving it. This process required leaders with great talent but who also had extraordinary personal commitment to the goal, and it also required political support, initially provided by the Administration and subsequently by the organization of a supporting constituency from among those benefiting most directly from the policy.

The theme of this paper is that Black Americans had much to contribute toward two great postwar goals which came within the Department's field of interest. These goals, as they came to be expressed, were to improve the situation of the rural poor, and to eliminate hunger and malnutrition among all the poor. Committed and talented Black leaders appeared, who along with a number of White leaders communicated these problems to a wider public, and revealed shortcomings in existing USDA policies. These Black leaders did not move into the Department to develop and implement new policy. Still the political forces they linked to generated did contribute to major program reforms. These reformed programs created a large constituency of those served, including many Blacks, which has yet to be utilized to support and guide programs in the manner that previous USDA constituencies were used.

The USDA's reluctance to take leadership in pursuing these domestic goals, its unwillingness to co-opt the committed leaders and to accept support and control from those served, has been a source of embarrassment to the Department, and more important, has left the programs in a paternalistic framework which may have been characteristic of welfare programs generally but was uncharacteristic

of other major USDA programs. We may begin with a discussion of the problems, and the contribution of Blacks in exposing them.

The Situation Posed

The American political system has been quite insensitive to some kinds of situations, including the situation of the poor in America, and the impact of federal policies that are supposed to serve the poor. This is particularly true of policies for the rural poor, because these have become entangled with policies for commercial agriculture. Agriculture policy generally has been uninteresting and seemingly complex, and therefore has been left to a few insiders, except in the few cases in which some dramatic event, or a series of them, has engaged the concern of a wider public. To illustrate such a case, Hugh Hammond Bennett presumably won congressional approval for a comprehensive approach to soil conservation by arranging to have his testimony interrupted by a frightening dust storm over Washington, D. C.*

*Wellington Brink, Big Hugh, The Father of Soil Conservation (N. Y.: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. 3-7)

Groups of people can serve as dust storms too, such as the Okies and the Blacks, whther or not this is the function that was intended for them. Extraordinary, sometimes cataclysmic, human tragedy has sometimes punctured the curtain of obscurity erected by an inner circle of policy-makers. The condition of American Blacks has become particularly visible--in some respects more visible than others of similar socio-economic status, and so Blacks have been the basis for a rough sedimentation test of the effects of federal programs in rural America, a test important at least for its dramatic impact. As a subgroup within the poverty class, Blacks have usually been the worst off, and their plight has dramatized that of others.

Observation of the living conditions and appearance of Blacks in the South has aroused the sentiments of distinguished visitors, including Henry A. Wallace, who was prompted to say, after his Southern tour of 1937,

> I have never seen among the peasantry of Europe poverty so abject as that which exists in this favorable cotton year in the great cotton states from Arkansas to the East Coast . . . *

*Gladys L. Baker, Wayne D. Rasmussen, Vivian Wiser, Jane M. Porter, Century of Service: The First One Hundred Years of the U. S. Department of Agriculture (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 204

In 1967, a poignant encounter between a few U. S. Senators and some starving babies in Mississippi brought the following whispered comment from Senator Robert Kennedy: "I've seen bad things in West Virginia, but I've never seen anything like this anywhere in the United States."*

Nick Kotz, Let Them Eat Promises: The Politics of Hunger in America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, I c.), pp. 1-3.

Blacks have given poignancy also to the statistics on the conditions of life in rural America. Recent USDA surveys of Southern poverty areas indicated that a majority of Black heads of households were partly or completely disabled,* and this striking fact may have obtained greater visibility for findings in a parallel study of the Ozarks** which indicated that one-fourth of the White heads of households there were also partly or completely disabled.

*

**Human Resources in the Ozarks Region. . . with Emphasis on the Poor, U. S. Department of Agriculture - Economic Research Service in cooperation with the Universities of Arkansas and Missouri Agricultural Experiment Stations, Agricultural Economic Report No. 182, p. iv.

Blacks have also illustrated the failures of agricultural subsidy programs, again because they were at the economic bottom. They were tenants, usually, rather than owners, small farmers rather than large farmers, the lower caste, the most marginal of all farmers. Federal assistance to rural America has been channeled through programs designed to control production of certain commodities and to subsidize the income of the producers of these commodities. These programs gave little or no help to poor farmers--this was illustrated at the time these programs were first passed in the 1930's, when many landlords pushed the Blacks off the

unused lands in order to keep for themselves the entire federal subsidy.* The evicted families were obliged to camp along the roadsides, and their plight was reported in the New York Times.** The Administration responded with token steps to protect tenants, but conflict within the USDA over proposals for more adequate protection finally precipitated the dismissal of several liberal USDA officials, perhaps signaling a trend toward giving Southern conservatives their way with respect to these Departmental programs.***

*Fred A. Shannon, American Farmers Movements (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1957), p. 94. See also David Eugene Conrad, The Forgotten Farmers: The Story of the Sharecroppers in the New Deal (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1965).

**Ibid., pp. 182-186

***Schlesinger, op. cit., p.

In that case, as in some others, dramatic illustration produced widespread knowledge of the policy inadequacies, but no adequate remedy. In the years which followed policy-makers were able to ignore the increasingly inequitable distribution of farm program benefits which resulted from the fact that benefits were apportioned on the basis of the amount each farmer produced. Even the rural liberals confused themselves and others by justifying production subsidies as equity measures, as economist Kenneth Boulding once pointed out . Boulding noted,

> Agricultural policy has been sold under the name of justice on the basis of a wholly fallacious syllogism. The major presmise is, 'We ought to help the poor.' . . . The minor premise is that farmers are poor. . . The difficulty here is in the minor premise. Some farmers are poor and some farmers are filthy rich. When you help farmers you tend to help the rich more than the poor. . .*

*Kenneth E. Boulding, "Agricultural Organizations and Policies: A personal Evaluation," in Farm Goals in Conflict: Family Farm, Income, Freedom, Security (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1963), pp. 159-160.

Scholars have long been at pains to point out that subsidies geared to productivity provided littlehelp to small operators. Economists at Iowa State did so in the 1930's.* Economist Clay Cochran stressed in 1950 that 38% of the agricultural

*Charles M. Hardin, Food and Fiber in the Nation's Politics, Vol. III of the Technical Papers for the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber (Washington: Government Printing Office, August 1967), p. 18.

population, living on the smallest units, produced only 5% of the agricultural product, and thus received few federal benefits. Cochran added, with some feeling,

> No serious inroads have been made into the poverty of the lower one-half in agriculture, and millions of farmers, farm laborers and their families still live in grinding misery and poverty, and the babies of the migratory workers are still dying of malnutrition in the richest agricultural areas of the country.*

More recently it has been hypothesized that farm subsidies actually passed into higher land values rather than into higher farm income, thus benefiting owners as against tenants. Economist Mason Gaffney wrote:

> The proximate beneficiary of most farm programs is the landowners, per se. Farmers who are not landowners, like the migrant harvesters who get down to 25 cents an hour in some places, do not gain, but suffer from lower demand for their services. Land owners who are not farmers, such as the matinee idols, senators, industrial executives and country bankers who sink their spare change in rural real estate, benefit hugely.**

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*Clay L. Cochran, "Price Supports and the Distribution of Agricultural Income," The Southern Economic Journal, Volume XVII (January 1951), pp. 331,333.

**Mason Gaffney, "The Benefits of Farm Programs: Incidence, Shifting, and Dissipation," Journal of Farm Economics, volume 47 (Dec. 1965), p. 1252.

Social scientists were most likely to be aware of the discriminatory effects of farm programs, and those who wished to urge reforms proceeded in various ways. Some joined forces with conservatives who wanted to phase out farm programs on the grounds that they were an unnecessary interference with the market economy; but this appeal to conservative interests, led most prominently by Secretary of AGriculture Ezra Benson, did not succeed in phasing out the farm program, nor did it make them more equitable. One approach was that of Professor Theodore Schultz, who devoted himself for years, without very noticeable impact, to the task of analyzing the effects of farm programs, and suggesting reforms that would frankly achieve welfare goals rather than production control. Schultz repeatedly criticized --

> the practice of mixing production and welfare into a policy brew so spiced that no one could distinguish one ingredient from another. This mixing of policy objectives has led to much confusion and waste; all too often, as a result, particular farm programs have improved neither production nor welfare. These errors have led to a serious neglect of the welfare of farm people, and it is no wonder that farm people have fallen behind the non-farm population in education, nutrition, housing, modern medical facilities, free time, old age and disability benefits, and other phases of social security.*

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*Theodore W. Schultz, "Production and Welfare Objectives for American Agriculture," Journal of Farm Economics, vol. XXVIII (May 1946), p. 451.

Another leading economist, Professor Walter Wilcox, preferred to continue the commodity programs because of their contribution to a stable commercial farm economy, but he expected commercial farm leaders in return to accept the moral obligation to provide special programs for low income citizens, the "other half" of rural America. In his book, Social Responsibility in Farm Leadership, Wilcox seemed actually optimistic in 1956 that commercial farm organizations would support programs for low-income citizens. He said -

> Thus far . . . the general farm organizations made up of family farmers have given relatively little special attention to this persistent problem. The Farmers Union has been most active, particularly in the working for an expanded supervised credit program for these families . . .
>
> All three general farm organizations in their policy statements for 1955 indicated that they are now concerned about these problems of low-income farm families and will support programs for dealing with them in the future. Since the farm organizations are primarily concerned with the interests of their members, however, the ethically sensitive farm leaders have the special responsibility of keeping the members informed of and interested in the solution of these problems, which have been regarded as outside of their ordinary concern.*

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*Walter W. Wilcox, Social Responsibility in Farm Leadership (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), pp. 171-172.

Wilcox hopes were unfulfilled, as Farmers Union subsequently joined with other organizations that were largely indifferent to the plight of "the people left behind." Even a new farmer protest organization, The National Farmers Organization, turned out to be only another set of commercial farm leaders with another strategy to serve the medium and large commercial farmers.

In addition to farm organizations, another locus of farmer political power was the congressional agriculture committees, but no one expected reform from that quarter. During the New Deal and since, issues relating to poverty in the South and other rural areas were usually controlled by Southerners in whose constituencies the economic class conflict was clearest cut. A minority of Southerners favored measures such as the 1949 Brannan Plan designed to achieve a more equitable spread of farm program benefits, but most of them came down hard on proposals which might enhance the status of tenants, Blacks, and the poorer classes generally.

Existing farm programs were also supported by farmer voters everywhere, and attacks upon them by Secretary Benson proved costly to the Eisenhower Administration.

Therefore, the Freeman Administration did not hesitate to support these programs. Freeman favored additional programs to serve the poor, but achieved relatively little change. The political climate in agriculture seemed so hostile to welfare or equity goals that Freeman's Under-Secretary, John Schnittker, urged that the Department honestly acknowledge that its farm programs did not serve the rural poor as a first step toward permitting other agencies to assume full responsibility for that group. Schnittker said in 1965 --

> Farm policy needs to be primarily commercial farm policy. Price-support levels, production incentives, and income objectives must be geared to this central fact.
>
> This in no way diminishes the importance of public and private efforts to speed rural development and reduce rural poverty. Other programs--some of which are administered by the Department of Agriculture but primarily programs which are the responsibility of other departments--must provide the jobs, the education, and the opportunities so essential to better lives for those persons in rural America not on adequate-sized farms. Farm policy can help but it cannot do the job for these people.*

*John A. Schnittker, "Farm Policy--Today's Direction," Journal of Farm Economics, vol. 48 (Dec. 1966), pp. 1093-1094.

Freeman, however, was not ready to relinquish the argument that farm commodity programs were of substantial assistance to poor farmers. During the Poor People's Campaign of 1968 he told Rev. Ralph Abernathy, "When the farmer loses it is the poor, small farmer who suffers most.*

*Letter from Freeman to Rev. Ralph Abernathy, May 23, 1968 (USDA history files).

Thus there was no effective voice within the rural establishment in behalf of those discriminated against by farm programs. In attempting to explain this, John Brewster suggested that the technological revolution in agriculture, while displacing most farmers, did not bring about a social revolution in its wake. Brewster said --

> Technological advance in agriculture thus has the singular distinction of being mechanically progressive but socially conservative. It creates no new occupational class of people whose new ways of living and of making a living force them to reweigh America's pre-machine creeds of life in light of their new needs of livelihood and sense of status deserts. Farm people may be experiencing painful conflicts among their older creeds, but the point here is that the

generator of such conflicts lies outside their own rapid technological advance.*

*John M. Brewster, "Society Values and Goals in Respect to Agriculture," in Goals and Values in Agricultural Policy (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1961), p. 126.

There was no new occupational class bristling with self-confidence and power. A large segment of the agricultural workforce had been plucked off, but this segment lacked class consciousness and was tending toward retirement or migration to the towns and cities.

Given the fact that the rural poor lacked visibility and class consciousness, the emerging visibility and solidarity of Blacks as an ethnic group has tended to project a compensatory image, and to provide some leadership for the rural poor. The condition of Blacks who remained in agriculture was illustrated in newspaper stories, for example, which contrasted the wealth of Senator James Eastland with the poverty of Negroes resident on his property, and this condition also could be illustrated by analyses showing that virtually all Negro farmers fell into the class of farmers that received little benefit from farm programs.*

*Of 868,908 farmers with sales of $10,000 or more, only 7,036 were non-white operators living in the South, according to the U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1964 U. S. Census of Agriculture, Vol. II, ch. 6, Table 25; and Ch. 8, Table 26.

Further light on inequitable distribution of farm program benefits was shed by investigations of race discrimination in farm programs, findings which had a way of proving discrimination by economic class.* The relationship between poverty and race could be used to help all of those in poverty as it had previously been used by some Southern leaders to divide and conquer the poor.**

*See particularly Cycle to Nowhere (Washington: U. S. Government printing office, 1969).

**Fred Shannon, op. cit., p. 94.

For example, it was noticed that there were only one or two Negroes among those thousands of county committeemen who administered farm programs locally, a finding which created the suspicion that farmer committees contained few low-income representatives from any race.*

*Robert J. Morgan, Governing Soil Conservation: Thirty Years of the New Decentralization (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), p. 319.

As another example, when equal protection guarantees were made applicable to USDA loans for recreational development, the first major violation of the guarantees was proved, to the apparent satisfaction of all parties, by the fact that the three Negroes who had been listed as members of the organization which received the loan were all too poor to pay the dues.* Mississippi hearings by the Civil Rights Commission in February 1967 first exposed the fact that the food stamp program was generally not reaching the poorest and hungriest citizens.**

*Washington Post,

**U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, Poverty, Hunger, and Federal Food Program Background Information, 90th Congress, 1st Sess., 1967, pp. 88-91.

Blacks as a class have consciously taken part in communicating the existence of poverty. The most notable effort was the Poor People's Campaign of 1968 in which Blacks were leaders and chief participants. The campaign was less than fully successful, partly because most Administration officials, including Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, took a defensive stance which ruled out meaningful communication. Yet the Poor People's Campaign did thrust poor people onto the front pages over a period of weeks, and its focus on hunger helped make this a salient national issue. Partly as a result of this campaign, whose Black leaders included Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Hosea Williams, Sterling Tucker, Jesse Jackson, Andrew Young, and others, the primary objective of food programs was changed from that of facilitating disposal of farm program surpluses to that of alleviating hunger among the poor in America. Major if not thoroughgoing reforms then followed in both the food stamp and the school lunch programs.

Black leaders had contributed in other ways to program reforms. A study directed by Mrs. Jean Fairfax made the nation aware that school lunch programs generally did not reach lower income children. Another Black lawyer, Miss Marian Wright,

drew the attention of Senator Robert Kennedy and other influential policy-makers to conditions in rural Mississippi, and followed through with other large steps toward removing the cloak of indifference towqrd hunger and misery in the United States. Black leaders were prominent and often preeminent in the important steps which produced a national consensus in support of ending hunger in the United States. It is interesting that these Black leaders and also the White leaders who built this national consensus did not enter the Executive Branch to implement it, under either the Johnson or the Nixon Administrations. Leaving the committed leaders outside was a departure from the way in which the USDA had met previous challenges.

Great Objectives and Committed Leadership

There was a common pattern in many of the great achievements by the Department of Agriculture. Each was the work of a large agency which grew up under a leader committed to a great objective. This leader was given a relatively free hand by the Secretary of Agriculture and he could depend upon the support of the Administration.

We should emphasize the typically close relationship between objectives supported by a large consensus and leaders committed to achieving that objective. A great objective became that only after a leader had created broad awareness of a problem, had conceived bold solutions, and had mobilized the resources to implement that solution. In that process, there were interests to be contested and to be overcome which worked through the Congress, through jealous bureaucracies, and through other power centers at all levels. The committed leader tended to be a visionaary person with technical competence and some political skill, who was also hard-headed, whose first task was to obtain presidential support, or at least the support of the Secretary of agriculture. The Secretary, who was not so free to enter controversy or to become engrossed in a single task, provided substantial support for as long as possible. A conflict might eventually grow up between the ADministration's desire to

reconcile the opposition, and the task leader's desire to see the task through regardless of the political cost. As Administration support began to flag, the successful leader relied upon satisfied constituents to provide continuing support for the agency.

There were variations on this pattern, as in the case of the farm program agency, which owed its success to not just one committed man but to a succession of leaders, including some drawn from its constituency. Several objectives which were developed by committed leadership from within the Department included soil conservation, preservation of forests and public lands, stabilization of farm production and income, and education of the farmer. These objectives, in their fulfillment, were associated with distinguished leadership. Indeed the history of the Department sparkles with dedicated leaders,* a few of whom should be cited by way of illustration.

*See Century of Service: The First One Hundred Years of the United States Department of Agriculture (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963)

Gifford Pinchot gained the support of President Theodore Roosevelt for programs to conserve forests and other natural resources, programs which seemed impossibly bold in that rapacious age. Pinchot spent years at the tasks of winning national support and implementing his programs. He accomplished these tasks while in the role of civil servant, as head of the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture. Under his guidance, the Forest Service became a model of excellence and high commitment, and not without enduring enormous opposition from spoilsmen and regional interests.*

*William Henry Harbaugh, The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt (N.Y.:Collier, 1961, pp. 313-319.

Seaman Knapp was also radical, in his way, and strong-willed, and is now regarded as a man of vision and dedication. Knapp's interest was in education, and he believed that the ignorance of the masses, particularly of farmers, was attributable to an ~~unresponsive~~ unimaginative educational system rather than to a hopelessly apathetic people. He developed the demonstration technique for communicating knowledge to dirt farmers, and then he insisted upon demonstrations in every farm neighborhood and even

in every household. Knapp's sustaining sense of mission was found in all of his statements, witness the following statement made to Georgia demonstration agents in 1910:

> But you are beginning at the bottom to influence the masses of mankind, and ultimately those masses always control the destinies of a country. If you allow their practices to sink lower and lower the country must ultimately drop to a lower level in its moral, political and religious tone, and we go down into degradation and infamy as a nation; but if we begin at the bottom and plant human action upon the rock of high principles, with right cultivation of the soil, right living for the common people, and comforts evewrywhere, and make wealth and prosperity all through the rural districts, the people will lend their support and all civilization will rise higher and higher, and we shall climb to the summit of human excellence and become a beacon light to all nations of the world. I do not glory in the wealth of a few, but rejoice in the general distribution of wealth and prosperity for the common people.*

*O. B. Martin, The Demonstration Work: Dr. Seaman A. Knapp's Contribution to Civilization (Boston: The Stratford Co., 1921),262

Hugh Hammond Bennett created the USDA's Soil Conservation Service. According to a Departmental history,

> Hugh Bennett saw soil erosion as a crime against nature and posterity. He issued repeated warnings that nations had disappeared from the face of the earth as a result of soil erosion. He estimated, in 1935, that approximately 125 million acres of land had lost all or the greater part of their irreplaceable top soil and that erosion was getting actively underway on another 100 million acres. The situation called for more than research. It called for action on a national scale.*

But action meant persuading millions of apathetic landowners, and equally difficult, countering the tendencies within the government towards token and single-faceted approaches. Bennett brought together an energetic group, and insisted on ever higher quotas of achievement, until in 1950 he projected realization of his objective based on progress during the prior 15 years. He said, "It is my belief, given adequate facilities, that we can get the job of applying the basic conservation measures to the land completed by 1970. . . "** Bennett, like Pinchot, proved that a dedicated civil servant can help to establish and to achieve a great national objective.

*Century of Service, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

**Wellington Brink, Big Hugh, the Father of Soil Conservation (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), p. 119

These controversial leaders were not easy to absorb, even in a Department accustomed to vigorous men, but the Department might have been even more uncomfortable had it forced Bennett into the less productive role of Departmental critic.

Rexford Tugwell was a leader with unorthodox background and unorthodox ideas who originated the Department's major program for the poor, which was first called the Resettlement Administration and subsequently called the Farm Security Administration. The programs ran into heavy criticism from within the Department and especially from the congressional committees. Tugwell assumed that it was hostility toward himself as an "outsider" that was the basis for much of the opposition, and he therefore resigned after three years in the hope, as he said, that "the removal of so controversial a figure . . . would perhaps soften the hearts of the legislators."* The agency nevertheless came to an early end. The cases above indicate that committed leaders were quite likely to be a necessary part of an agency's birth and development, more so than the cause of its death.

*Century of Service, op. cit., p. 250.

The above pattern of development, by committed leaders under a Secretary's umbrella, was not the pattern followed with respect to the development of the domestic food programs, or for that matter with respect to lesser initiatives on domestic policy in recent years. Instead the major steps toward adequate food programs were instigated by committed leaders outside the department. These steps, particularly with respect to the food stamp program, included the development of a supportive consensus in the nation and in the Congress, effectively changing the objective of the program from that of surplus disposal to that of meeting human needs, extending the program geographically, changing the terms of participation so that the poor could meet them, providing adequate and substantial benefits, and of course securing adequate funding for the program.

The reluctance of the USDA to take each of these steps, as chronicled by Nick Kotz, did not mean that there was a lack of support within the Department for the food stamp program. Indeed Secretary Freeman lobbied enthusiastically for the initial program, which was designed primarily for farm program rather than for welfare objectives. After Freeman learned about the program's shortcomings, usually

from his critics, he maintained a defensive posture but nevertheless implemented some improvements. During the Poor People's Campaign he decided to request funds for a more nearly adequate program, and was denied them by the President, so that President Johnson's priorities, rather than Freeman's, ultimately prevent the expeditious development of an adequate food stamp program.

Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin entered office committed to develop an adequate food stamp program. Like Freeman, he felt himself to be under pressure from an informed public to accomplish this goal quickly. He did not follow President Nixon's initial suggestion that the needed funds be extracted from elsewhere in the USDA budget, but his dilemma was ended when President Nixon, and also congressional liberals secured a large increase in appropriations for food stamps, which Hardin quickly put to use; and the program became defensible as a welfare measure.

The USDA's behavior on the hunger issue might have been different under the influence of a committed leader. Such a leader might have changed the USDA's view ~~that~~ domestic malnutrition ~~was not a serious problem, and in any case was not quickly remediable by income subsidies. He might~~ have exchanged this view for ~~the one~~ subsequently adopted by the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health namely that there were many steps including income subsidies that the nation could and should immediately do to alleviate domestic hunger.* Meanwhile, the leader would have made himself and his agency a rallying point, through efforts to intensify public and congressional support, and having done ~~that~~ so he would have been assured that decisions relative to his agency and program could be referred beyond the micropolitical system which usually decided farm policy questions. Then also food programs would have standing within that system other than as a hostage to secure urban votes on agriculture policies. Obviously the willingness to risk a confrontation with the committees might have become a complicated and exhausting game, and it could have proven costly to the Administration, just as Pinchot's initiatives were thought to have cost President Roosevelt the Western states.*

*White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health, Final Report (GPO, 1969)

*William Henry Harbaugh, op, cit., pp. 313-319.

On the other hand, a successful effort to turn a national consensus into a national policy might have loosed the Department's hand to deal with other looming national issues, especially environmental issues such as control of soil and chemical pollution, and regulation ofagricultural chemicals.

It must be noted that confrontation within the system could not precede the development of public attention to the issue, and in the absence of prior concern about housing, the USDA's Farmers Home Administration ~~Confrontation, on the crest of a consensus on the hunger issue, was less likely to be successful on other less visible issues. The problem of poor housing, for example, did not become a matter of great public concern, but it could be argued that the USDA nevertheless did have committed leaders who worked within the microsystem of agriculture. The agency in this case was the Farmers Home Administration, which makes subsidized loans to rural residents, including housing loans.~~ Secretary Freeman's FHA Administrator, Howard Bertsch, with strong support from his superiors in the USDA's top echelon, exercised vigorous leadership internally but was careful in his relationships with the congressional agriculture committees, even to the point of being willing to make recreation loans to segregated country clubs. The agriculture committees did accede to many of Bertsch's requests although FHA's expanded housing authority came mostly from the congressional banking committees. Impressive increases in the number of low and moderate income housing loans, a considerable proportion of which were made to Negroes, continued into the administration of James V. Smith, with vigorous leadership being exerted also by Joseph Haspray and other top civil servants in FHA. However, Farmers Home will probably not be able to claim a large role in having defined the problem of poor housing or in having brought it to national attention. The agency may have developed comparatively good relations with its constituents, thanks to an attractive product and a sympathetic field staff, although it seems far from having created a supportive constituency such as other major USDA agencies have done.

Constituency

Most agencies have two-way interaction with those they serve--their constituents. Constituents help to guide the agency's programs and work hand in hand with the agency to generate political support for these programs. The political administration reinforces this relationship by using the agency to woo

constituents' support for the President.

A major department presumably has some discretion in choosing its constituents, over time. In picking constituents it may seek a balance of interests such as the mineral users and the conservationists served by the Department of Interior; and in orienting or socializing constituents the agency seeks to make them see their interests within a framework satisfactory to the larger public who are interested observers. To put it another way, the department wants to avoid becoming boxed in by an overjealous and greedy clientele.

The USDA has been unsuccessful in achieving balance, to put it mildly. Although its potential constituencies include all rural citizens and all participants in the agricultural economy, the commercial farmers, who fall into both categories, have gained and maintained great influence over the distribution of benefits. This is one reason why the very large programs for aid to low-income citizens recently given to the USDA have taken on a paternalistic pattern of administration.

These new programs, which were largely a product of leadership initiatives taken outside the USDA, include nutrition education food assistance, and also ~~nutrition education and~~ subsidized credit. The constituency of each will be discussed. In the nutrition education program, administered by the state cooperative extension services and subsidized and coordinated by the USDA, the link to the poor is presumably provided by several thousand nutrition aides, recruited from the poor, a majority of whom are Black. But these aides are neither fish nor fowl, since they are without permanent status as employees and yet lack a mechanism to perform as representatives of those they serve. So this program continues to be governed by commercial farmers and by college-oriented specialists.

The lack of responsiveness to low income constituents, and indifference to their needs, was evident in the administration of the postwar food assistance programs, beginning with the commodity distribution program in the 1950's. Discretion in using these surplus commodities was usually vested with county governments, which often did not use the program at all, or even used surpluses as one means of providing abundant and low-price labor by making food available during slack ~~seasons~~ seasons and then terminating the program or tightening requirements during work seasons.

For more than a decade the Department was stoic in the face of complaints voiced in behalf of recipients that programs were used to manipulate and to degrade them, that many poor people lived in counties that did not have food programs, that eligibility standards were arbitrary, that administration of the program did not serve the interests of recipients. The food stamp program which replaced the commodities was also designed and administered with little consideration as to whether those needing food assistance were getting it, and as to whether assistance was adequate. Indeed, the very low level of participation indicated that the program was either unavailable or unattractive or both.

Local administration of these food assistance programs was carried out, in most cases, by the federally-supported wselfare structure that handled aid to dependent children, old age assistance, and other categorical assistance programs. Experience with the food programs continually indicated that these agencies were no more adequate as a vehicle for distribution of food program benefits than they would have been as intermediaries in farm subsidy programs. Welfare agencies, particularly those in rural areas, were inclined to seek the smallest possible case load, and some were remarkably successful in this goal. In any event the existing welfare clientele was but a fraction of the universe eligible for food stamps, and those others were inclined to fear that to pass through welfare doors would cost them the esteem of others. The welfare offices, which might have used the opportunity to broaden their contacts beyond the welfare constituency and thus to change their image, tended instead to regard the food program as an extra duty to be performed in behalf of the Department of Agriculture.

Low-income credit has been provided through Farmers Home Administration. The local committees that oversee Farmers Home loans are appointed from among non-users, unlike the commercial farm programs that are run locally by elected committees of participating farmers. But one could argue, as Morton Grodzins did based on a study of farm program committees, that these elected committees do more to frustrate equity in distribution than to insure it,* especially in view of the fact that local FHA administrators, who worked mainly with low-income clients, were fairly responsive

to them. Exemplary of the direction given by state and national FHA officials was their effective record of having recruited many Black professionals, a few of whom were promoted to supervisor in charge of a local office. It appears that the presence of Black professionals in local offices was associated with increased local participation by both Black and White clients. In addition, it was decreed that the local FHA committees in predominantly Black counties were required to maintain a majority of Black members.

The question as to what is the proper vehicle for communication between agency and constituency has been a controversial one, especially after the inconclusive experiments under the anti-poverty programs, and perhaps in the last analysis a successful relationship is a product of many years of sincere and pragmatically-selected efforts. But one can point out the unsatisfactory extremes, on one side when the relationship is too close, as in the case of the USDA and commercial farm interests, and on the other side when it is too distant, as in the case of the USDA and food program recipients. The emerging constituency of the poor, in which most active participants have been Black, has apparently not considered it possible to communicate effectively with the USDA. For example, the National Welfare Rights Organization, whose leaders have been mostly Black and whose tactics have been as obstreperous as those of earlier and contemporary farm organizations, has developed local strength in some metropolitan areas, and has successfully exploited Washington forums such as the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health. Although food programs were a major interest of the Welfare Rights Organization, NWRO could not communicate with the USDA as well as it could with the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. NWRO and other similar groups, viewing the whole USDA scene, seemed to feel that the USDA was hopelessly enmeshed in what was often referred to as a "colonialist" mentality governing the USDA's relationship with poor constituents.

On the other hand, the USDA's relationship with commercial farmers, as communicated through farm organizations, congressional agriculture committees, and farm congressmen,

has been so close that the USDA has often preferred to suffer embarrassment from outside pressures in the form of legislative imperatives and even charges of incompetence rather than challenge the will of farmer interests. Overresponsiveness to these interests led economist Kenneth Boulding to say that he would like to abolish the Department of Agriculture, and the Departments of Labor and Commerce, too, because ". . . it is absurd to have commodity pressure groups in the executive branch. We have got quite enough of them in the legislature."*

*Kenneth E. Boulding, "Agricultural Organizations and Policies: A Personal Evaluation," in Farm Goals in Conflict (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1963), p. 160.

Boulding suggested that domestic services be reorganized within a Department of Science and Research and a Department of Poverty and Economics. This seems to assume, on the one hand, that a restructuring of agencies will lead to a restructuring of the micropolitical systems which are made up of congressional committees, bureaucracies, and constituencies, and on the other hand, that the micropolitical systems can not restructure their own house, that the Department of Agrficulture can not accept leadership of a vast new constituency made up of low-income citizens who already receive food assistance, housing loans, free lunches, nutrition education, and many other services from the Department.

Conclusion

Of course mobilization of a new constituency would be difficult, even for a Department with a distinguished history of experimentation in administrative democracy. Low-income Americans have been a low status group, and besides that have only begun to organize themselves. And in this case, too, the promise of administrative democracy has carried with it the threat that elites would ariae to bias the distribution of benefits. The chief elite in this case was a Black elite which, in the struggle for civil rights and Black identity, had broken free of community norms which still kept much of the White poor in its place. And Black leaders were obliged to represent those at the bottom of the constituent group if they were to speak for most other Blacks. The Black community has urged norms of solidarity

as a means of counteracting class interests, though these are far from fully effective.

This Black elite has already been of much assistance in providing a new mission and a new constituency for the Department, and in securing adequate resources for that mission. Yet this new constituency, and its leadership, still finds itself on the outside looking in. And a distinguished Department finds itself, as in a bad dream, a Gulliver amidst the surrounding crowd, some of whom are fixed on it with sad and reproving eyes, others having turned away in rejection, while angry forces are pushing it forward, despite itself, in the direction it wants to go. One might say this is no dream but real life, and the Department is behaving as gracefully as possible in circumstances over which it has little control. This deterministic view was not accepted by one distinguished observer of agr icultural politics, Professor Charles Hardin, when he was asked by a Presidential commission in 1966 for advice on the administration of farm policies. Hardin urged program revisions to deliver more benefits to the rural poor, and as a way to do that, he gave the following suggestion which appears not to have been fully heeded. Hardin said:

> . . My purpose is not to praise famous men. Rather, it is to counter any implications of institutional or social determination in what I have written. Dr. Johnson dismissed the argument on free will as follows: "Sir, we know that we are free, and there's an end on't." Famous faculties, renowned colleges of agriculture, effective agencies of government, and the USDA itself as well as Congressional Committees on Agr iculture and the farm organizations in their golden periods have been greatly shaped and guided by individuals who set the tone, defined the standards, and provided the examples. The inference is clear: Men may go on suffering "The stings and arrows of outrageous fortune, or . . . by opposing, end them. . . "*

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*Charles M. Har din, Food and Fiber in the Nation's Politics, Volume II of the Technical Papers for the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, August 1967), p. 19.

66 Eff

Farm Labor

THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS IN 1966

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

by Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary

> "Some of the [Mississippi] children could not go to school because they had no shoes, and had distended stomachs, chronic sores of the upper lip, and were extremely lethargic – all of which are the tragic evidence of serious malnutrition."
>
> Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, New York Times, 4/30/67

> "It was a simple business proposition [leasing 4,600 acres to the Hammermill Paper Company], Mr. Rogers explained. The rent for putting the land into pulpwood would far exceed the return from the 25 or so [evicted] tenant families . . . ."
>
> Sumter County, Alabama, landowner in the New York Times, 2/11/67

> "My mother . . . has been working in the fields for 40 years . . . . She just came back from Minnesota. Why should she have to do that? My father has cancer, yet he is working in the field. Forty years of migrating to look for food is too long."
>
> Father Gonzales, co-chairman of the Texas farm workers protest march

The Year in Brief

1966 was the year in which the United States discovered it still needed its farmers. Large-scale world food shortages resulted in the reduction of U.S. carry-over stocks from surplus to less than desirable levels. Cotton shortages also appeared abroad; these may affect U.S. surpluses in 1967 as the grain shortage has changed the food picture already. General farm income rose, but consumer costs rose so much more that widespread consumer protest was felt. Although farm wages increased too, and a minimum wage was established, they lagged so far behind general American standards that farm workers across the country undertook protest marches, union organization, and strikes, with first dramatic gains appearing in California. None of these gains was shared by small farmers, whose numbers continued to drop, particularly under forced evictions in the southern states.

The Vanishing Sharecropper

Since 1960, the total number of farm residents in the United States has dropped by 4 million, from 15.6 to 11.6 million people. The rate of decline is about 4 per cent for white and 10 per cent for Negro farm people. In eight southern states the number of Negro farmers – owners, part-owners, and tenants – dropped from 210,591 in the agricultural census of 1959 to 142,506 in the 1964 census. This was a loss of 32.4 per cent. In the same states the number of white farmers dropped 15 per cent in the same period, from 679,692 to 576,394. The exodus of rural Negroes in the sixties can be related directly to the number of mechanical cotton pickers. Alabama had 734 in 1960; 2,490 in 1964. South Carolina had 455 in 1960; 2,048 in 1964. Figures are similar in other states. Mechanization and use of chemicals have started the same process in tobacco production.

The out-migration is related, also, to the persistent difficulty marginal farmers – those who need help most – have in obtaining government assistance. Only 12 per cent of Farmers Home Administration loans in 1966 went to farmers who earned less than $4,000 – and most Negro farmers earn far less. In Hinds County, Mississippi, evictions are related directly to the tenant farmers' attempts to share in federal programs; to their asking for receipts in business dealings; to the election of Negro members of Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service committees. Tenant farmers were evicted in Alabama because they would not sign over their ASCS checks to the plantation owners. Some evictions can be attributed to voter registration drives and to fear of the growing Negro vote in the blackbelt counties. Landlord-employer attempts to evade application of the minimum wage have also speeded up evictions and in some cases spurred the shift from cotton to cattle.

Poverty in the South

Most of all, people leave to escape the poverty that is still more prevalent in the South than anywhere else in the nation. The southern states had only 25.9 per cent of the nation's population in the 1960 census, but nearly half its poverty. Yet their share in the federal programs that might relieve that poverty is near the population proportion, and far below the extent of need. For instance, only 31.8 per cent of public assistance payments in the United States in fiscal 1965 were made in the South.

The antipoverty program itself has been urban-oriented, but the rural roots of poverty are beginning to be understood. In fiscal 1966, less than one-seventh of total Community Action Program funds went into rural program development and administration. In Department of Labor programs, only 20 per cent of Manpower Development and Training Act funds went for projects in rural areas. In 1964, the Rural Community Development Service found that only 3.4 per cent of MDTA training projects were conducted in small towns under 10,000 population or their surrounding rural areas, and only 3.1 per cent of the number of trainees who participated were in rural and small-town projects. In fiscal 1966, 164 MDTA agricultural projects were approved for 7,100 trainees, a decrease from previous years. The total budget for the South's 16 Negro agricultural colleges was $32 million in 1962 while that for 4 southern white land-grant colleges, with fewer students, was $72 million.

Hired Farm Workers

More than 3 million persons did some work on farms for cash wages in 1965, the latest year for which full information is available. Of these, about 1.3 million were casual workers, employed for less than 25 days at farm work, and about 1.9 million were noncasual, employed for more than 25 days. In the labor intensive crops, the number of man hours increased – 2 per cent in both the record vegetable crop and in fruit and nut production.

Income. The 1.3 million casual workers averaged only 9 days of work and earned $66.00; although many of them were students and housewives, there is no way of knowing how many were trying to find work over the whole harvest season, and how much their incomes depended on farm work. Over-all, the 1.9 million noncasual workers averaged 137 days and earned $1,045 during the year. Whites averaged 142 days and earned $1,170; nonwhites averaged 125 days and earned $747. About 2 million persons did farm work only; they averaged 104 days' work and earned $805. In 1964, 2.1 million did farm work only; they averaged 100 days' work, and earned $698. A Department of Labor study submitted to Congress in January, 1966, revealed that although in 1947 the median annual income of farm laborers including foremen was 31 per cent of that for craftsmen, foremen, and similar workers in nonfarm industries, in 1964 it had dropped to 21 per cent. In the same period, average hourly earnings in contract construction increased 131 per cent; in retail trade, 108 per cent; in manufacturing, 107 per cent; in wholesale trade, 107 per cent; and in agriculture, only 64 per cent. Yet output per man hour in agriculture in 1964 was 2.7 times higher than in 1947, while in nonfarm industries it was 1.6 times as great.

Foreign Workers. The transition towards the elimination of foreign workers in favor of domestic farm workers continued but had not yet been fully completed. More than 500,000 man months of bracero (Mexican contract) labor were used in 1964; 27,000 in 1965; and about half of that in 1966. Three-fourths of the foreign workers in 1966 were British West Indians; two-thirds of them worked in Florida sugar cane; most of the rest picked apples further north. Employment of Canadians, mainly in northern potatoes and some in apples, declined 30 per cent to about 3,600 man months. The last Japanese contract worker left the country in September, 1966.

The Wall Street Journal for March 9, 1967, reported:

> The bracero cut-off clearly has accomplished one thing, however: Improving the lot of the farm workers who remain. According to Labor Department statistics, California's hourly farm wage rate climbed 22 cents from October 1964 to $1.58 in October 1966 as growers competed to attract workers . . . .
>
> While this was going on, the vast majority of the growers were hardly displaying the deep suffering they had so dismally predicted. From $3.67 billion in 1964, California's gross farm income climbed to $3.75 billion in 1965 and $3.95 billion in 1966. More importantly, net income, which dipped to $922 million in 1965 from $1.05 billion in 1964, rebounded to some $1 billion last year.

Housing. One of the greatest barriers to securing an adequate supply of domestic farm workers has been the lack of family housing. An eight-county survey made in California farm country showed that 80 per cent of the farm worker housing violated minimum standards of health, safety, and sanitation; 65 per cent of the housing was deteriorated and dilapidated; 33 per cent had inadequate sanitation facilities; 30 per cent had no bathing facilities; and 25 per cent lacked running water. This is, of course, a nation-wide situation and not peculiar to California. In New York State, a converted chicken coop in Portland was called typical of migrant housing. It was 3 stories tall and housed 400 workers in summer, 1966. It had no running water, only outside toilets, and most of the rooms had sharp breaks in walls or windows. A window that led to the building's only fire escape was nailed shut. (Within the past year, two serious fires have cost the lives of three migrant workers in upstate New York.)

Children. One result of migrant parents' substandard wages is that children are pressed into working to increase the family income. The present child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act provide a 16-year minimum age limitation during school hours for the school district where the minor lives while employed, and no minimum age is set for

work outside school hours. Minors employed by their parents are also excluded. Even with this inadequate legal protection for children, violations are constantly found by the investigators of the Department of Labor. In fiscal year 1966, 1,725 farms were found in violation, and 5,487 children were discovered working during school hours; more than half of these youngsters were between the ages of 10 and 13. It is estimated that approximately 375,000 children between the ages of 10 and 13 work in the fields.

Health. Farm workers lose more days due to sickness (an average 7½ days a year) than workers in all other occupations (average 6 days). More than 2 out of 10 farm workers have chronic health conditions that limit their activities, compared to about 1 out of 10 for all occupations. The Journal of Occupational Medicine for January, 1966, reports:

> Experience indicates that migrants generally have no greater incidence of venereal diseases and tuberculosis than other similar low-income nonmigratory residents. The migrant family does suffer, however, from diseases such as diarrhea, respiratory infections (including pneumonia), skin diseases, frequent pregnancies and complications of pregnancies, muscular aches and pains, and accidents and trauma. In past years, most communities have been able to provide little if any treatment for these conditions.

A survey taken by VISTA volunteers in Orange County, New York, in the fall of 1965, verified this situation in New York State, which has more facilities and less restrictive residence requirements than most states. Out of 258 farm worker family members, only 18.5 per cent had been immunized or innoculated for diphtheria, 20.3 per cent for tetanus, and 37.8 per cent for small pox; 13.8 per cent had recently had a tuberculin skin test, 44.4 per cent had had chest X-rays, and 21.4 per cent, a blood test.

Accidents. In the 20 states that reported injuries to farm workers during 1964, 1,400 involved children under 18 employed in agriculture. In 1965, agriculture again ranked as the third most hazardous industry, following mining and construction, according to the National Safety Council report, Accident Facts, 1966. There were 3,000 accidental deaths and 260,000 disabling injuries. Only 9 states and Puerto Rico provide workmen's compensation insurance for farm workers in the same manner as for other workers. Eight states provide coverage for specific agricultural occupations, usually the use and operation of machinery. A recent survey showed that only 42 per cent of all farm workers had hospital insurance and only 37 per cent had surgical insurance.

Legislation. In 1966, some 390,000 hired farm workers were included under the federal minimum wage law, although their hourly wage starts at only $1.00, an obvious poverty rate. But they are not yet covered by unemployment insurance, nor is their right to bargain collectively protected by law. Efforts to include farm workers' children under the protections given other children by the Fair Labor Standards Act have fallen short for many years. The major campaign at this time, spurred by organizing drives across the country, is to bring farm workers under coverage of the National Labor Relations Act.

Organization of Farm Workers

Most hopeful trend of the year was the upsurge in unionization of farm workers. Two major California farm worker unions merged into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO. Although UFWOC has gained contracts with both Schenley Industries and the DiGiorgio Corporation, the strike goes on against about thirty other grape producers, and organization has yet to be extended to other branches of California agriculture. Outside California, the most important current organizing effort is at La Casita farms in Texas. A dramatic feature of organizing efforts has been the marches on state capitals to ask for a minimum wage and other farm worker needs. Such marches have been held in California, Texas, Wisconsin, and Michigan, and have attracted wide community support. Union efforts have not been confined to these areas. They have been felt up and down the East Coast, particularly in Florida. Sugar workers are organizing in Louisiana.

Federal Programs

Farmers Home Administration. Total rural housing loans in 1960 amounted to about $40 million; in fiscal year 1966, loans for rural housing, farm labor housing, and rural senior citizens' housing had risen to more than $266 million. Farm ownership and operating loans went from $43 million in 1960 to more than $233 million in fiscal 1966.

The latest in yearly FHA surveys of farm ownership borrowers shows that on the average, over a five-year period, they raised their gross cash income from $9,383 to $17,410 and made substantial gains in net worth. While this is an important indication of how much farmers need low-cost credit and how well they benefit from it, the very average indicates that the loan program is not reaching low-income farmers. Operating loans were at $276 million in 1965, about the same as 1962 but about $25 million less than during the 3 intervening years. Yet low-income farmers went without needed credit.

Economic Opportunity Loans through FHA have begun to reach farmers who were too poor to be serviced by FHA previously. Seventeen thousand rural families were aided in fiscal 1966. There were 28,011 individual loans totaling $48 million, and cooperatives serving

low-income rural people received 473 loans totaling $5.6 million, all since January, 1965. The average gross income of those who borrowed to finance nonagricultural enterprises increased from $3,112 to $5,862; for agricultural purposes, from $2,505 to $3,436.

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. In Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, only two Negro farmers (in Georgia) won seats on the county committees in 1966 ASCS elections, and these were as second alternates. In the same states, 302 Negro farmers have been elected to the community committees but only 68 as chairman, vice chairman, or regular member. The rest were alternates. The gain over 1965 is 28 community committeemen.

Food Stamps and Surplus Food. The Food Stamp Act of 1964 seemed a promising plan because the food stamps could be used at the grocery store for a more varied diet than was available through the surplus food program. But it was a substitute for, not in addition to, surplus food. The stamps must first be bought and the Act did not take into account the fact that the poorest people – like sharecroppers and tenants – don't have cash. In Madison County, Mississippi, 11,244 families participated in the surplus food program but when the changeover was made only 5,951 participated in the food stamp program. In Harrison County the number dropped from 9,500 families to 2,201, and the situation is duplicated throughout the South. Under current regulations in Alabama, a family of 4 with an income of only $45 a month must pay $18 to receive $56 worth of food stamps; a family of 4 with no income must pay $8 a month to receive $48 worth of food stamps. The Secretary of Agriculture has legal power to distribute free surplus foods during "emergency" situations, even in communities which have food stamp programs. He could also develop realistic payment scales so that food stamps could be free for those without money. NSF and the newly organized Commission on Rural Affairs of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty are pressing for such action.

A Program for Rural America

If present trends continue, the next quarter of a century will see 100 million more people crowded into the great urban centers where already 7 out of every 10 people live. The mounting crisis of noise, dirt, and smog; poverty and illiteracy and despair; racism and tension and violence, will convulse the nation.

This need not be. Pilot projects in which the National Sharecroppers Fund has played a part have already demonstrated that poverty can be attacked successfully in the rural areas and the forced exodus from the land can be halted. Manpower training programs combined with crop diversification and loan assistance have enabled poor farmers to raise their incomes 100 per cent. Marketing co-operatives such as the West Batesville Farmers Association (Miss.) and the MidSouth Oil Cooperative (Tenn.) are saving small farmers money and helping them to increase their incomes. Farmers in South Carolina, Georgia, and other states are building low-cost homes.

But pilot projects are not enough. All rural people need literacy and skill training. Massive economic and technical assistance is needed if hundreds of thousands are to stay rather than migrate. Discrimination, repeatedly protested by NSF, against Negro farmers – and indeed against all small farmers – must end.

And because rural communities and areas have been impoverished along with their people, public investment is needed to build the roads, schools, hospitals, and other public facilities they need in order to attract new industries and institutions. From a quarter to a half million new jobs could be created to meet these basic rural needs. This new tax base, and increased purchasing power, could begin to break the cycle of poverty and start the spiral towards abundance.

National Sharecroppers Fund

*works in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, helping poverty-stricken people learn how to help themselves;

*cooperates with other concerned organizations, particularly with the Southern Regional Council and its state councils on human relations in the field, and with the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty in Washington;

*works to end the exclusion of agricultural workers from the protections and benefits of social legislation that other workers enjoy;

*supports the efforts of farm workers in organizing unions, and guides low-income farmers in organizing cooperatives;

*carries on extensive educational work through: publishing and widely distributing printed materials; presenting testimony before governmental agencies; supplying speakers and informational services for a great variety of public groups; maintaining contacts with the press and other media;

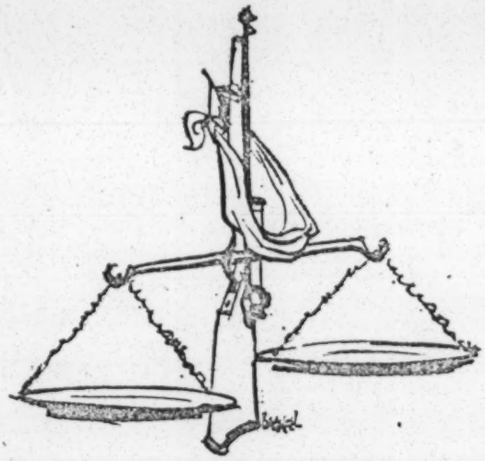
*works with government and private agencies to help low-income rural people build a better life.

National Sharecroppers Fund – 112 East 19th Street, New York, New York 10003

The Nation 10/20/69 Migrant Labor

quence of maintaining the inequities of the court-martial. Two other developments, which have already begun in the federal courts, could seriously limit the independence and jurisdiction of the system. First, on June 2, 1969, in *O'Callahan v. Parker*, the Supreme Court ruled that a serviceman charged with a non-service-connected crime committed off post cannot be tried by a court-martial and thus denied the right to grand jury, trial by jury of his peers, and the other rights provided by civilian law. The Court made no bones about the inferior quality of the court-martial or its belief that a serviceman, under the circumstances of this case, should be given all the rights provided in a civilian court. Second, certain federal courts have in the last year displayed a greater willingness to accept jurisdiction of suits brought by servicemen who challenge the legality of various types of military determinations.

Both developments appear warranted by the present state of military justice. Unless reforms are made in the code, it is likely that still more cases will be removed from court-martial jurisdiction and that expanded review of military determinations by federal courts will bring the military under greater civilian control. The state of military justice is very much in flux, as the defects of an anachronistic system of criminal law have suddenly manifested themselves. The Congress has a clear duty to legislate sufficiently sweeping reform to overcome the disquieting fact that 3.5 million servicemen are bound by an inadequate system of criminal justice.



OPERATION SISYPHUS

Wetbacks, Growers and Poverty

SHELDON L. GREENE
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San Francisco

The *bracero* program died in 1968, after a long illness. Under its provisions, 4.5 million Mexican temporary workers were brought into the United States between 1942 and 1963 as supplementary farm labor. Officially terminated by Congress in 1963—long after the World War II labor shortage which it was intended to ease had ended—it finally trickled to a halt in August 1968 when Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz denied a request by California tomato growers for 2,200 Mexican farm workers. He characterized this refusal of legal entry as "a historic step towards healing the migrant worker sore in California and in the entire United States." But current 1968-69 immigration records show the apprehension of 150,000 Mexican nationals who had entered the United States illegally, and the incidence of these wetbacks in American employment is perhaps triple the number caught. This would suggest that Secretary Wirtz's cure is at the most cosmetic.

Illegal entry by Mexican nationals has afflicted domestic low-income workers since World War II. In 1942, after Mexico had agreed to supply temporary workers under the *bracero* program, Texas farmers refused to meet agreed wages and working conditions. In response, Mexico for a time cut off the supply of workers, but U.S. Immigration authorities permitted thousands of Mexicans to cross the border illegally. They were then apprehended and "paroled" to Texas farmers, thus avoiding the terms of the international labor agreement. Farmers and border industries got cheap labor; domestic farm workers and El Paso garment workers and meat packers suffered wartime inflation but were forced to accept low wages if they wanted to work at all.

In 1954 the President's Commission on Migratory Labor studied the border labor problem and concluded: "The United States, having engaged in a program giving preference in contracting to those who had broken the law, has encouraged a violation of the immigration laws. Our government has thus become a contributor to the growth of an illegal traffic which it has responsibility to prevent."

That same year, the Justice Department launched Operation Wetback, a roundup of more than a million illegal entrants in an area stretching as far as St. Louis and Chicago. San Antonio alone harbored 331,000. The roundup seemed so successful that the Immigration and Naturalization Service stated optimistically in its 1955 report that it had ended the wetback problem. The boast proved premature.

The Border Patrol and the Investigation Section of the INS are diligent, outnumbered and outmaneuvered. The comparatively few illegal entrants who attempt to cross the natural, and for the most part barren, frontier on foot are easily spotted by the continual overhead observation

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of Border Patrol spotter planes; they are then picked up by ground patrols which run along exfoliated drag strips. Some few aliens risk their lives in airless car trunks and campers, or precariously flattened on a ledge beneath passenger cars. Such trips cost from $100 to $300. One recently ended in death by asphyxiation.

But for 70 to 80 per cent of the illegal entrants access is neither hazardous nor romantic. More than a million Mexican aliens carry visitors' permits. These salmon-colored cards, issued by the Mexican Government at a cost of about $80, authorize visits of seventy-two hours in an area not more than 25 miles from the border.

But the aliens, most of them, are not looking forward to a visit. The typical wetback meets an agent in Mexico who provides him with a routing or a contact. Once across the border, he is transported to a city, often Los Angeles, and there referred to a job. In some instances, the agents provide transportation by selling a group of wetbacks an automobile, in which they can better elude detection. Those who lack the cash are offered a "go now, pay later" plan under which the price of the car is deducted from future wages.

Once inside, the alien easily merges into urban or rural Chicano barrios. Anyone can get a Social Security card by filing an application; proof of legitimate entry or birth certificate is not required. Employers record the Social Security number and couldn't care less about the worker's status. It is a felony to induce an alien to enter the United States, to transport him or to harbor him from detection; but conservative legislators from farm-districts have managed to exempt the employer of an illegal entrant from that chain of complicity, even when the employee is known to be a wetback.

Agriculture absorbs the bulk of the illegal entrants. During fiscal 1968, 38,950 of those apprehended were doing farm work. Wetbacks are preferred by most farmers because they are thought to work harder than Americans and to complain less about conditions. The minimum wage for farm work in California is $1.65 an hour; wetbacks in labor camps are lucky to earn $1.35, not enough to live on in California but four times the Mexican minimum wage. The rich regions of California are dotted with the grim labor camps which formerly housed *braceros*. Wetbacks now live in many of them, hidden well off public roads on land posted against trespassing.

While most wetbacks seek farm work during the busy seasons, substantial numbers are kept on the year around, or find off-season jobs during the very periods when domestic farm workers, residents of the area, are unemployed and dependent on public assistance. Winter unemployment in farm regions runs as high as 16 per cent of the domestic labor force; in California alone idle farm workers require $15 million in public assistance. Ten thousand wetbacks were caught in the five states that make up the Southwest in February 1969. From this figure one can assume that from 10,000 to 40,000 low-income families were displaced from jobs by wetbacks during the winter months, at a cost in taxes and loss of domestic wages amounting to tens of millions.

Surveys show that the prevalence of wetbacks also depresses wage levels, and encourages employers to ignore the laws governing wages and working conditions. Union leaders find it difficult to organize in areas saturated with wetbacks. A nationally reported example is the stubborn resistance Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has encountered in its efforts to sign contracts with the California table grape growers. Strikes are not a compelling argument with employers who can rely on Mexican nationals, and the union has been forced to organize a nation-wide consumer boycott of table grapes to achieve its purpose.

Displacement of local workers by wetbacks is no longer a predominantly rural problem, since illegal entrants increasingly gravitate to more permanent jobs in the cities. From 1,500 to 3,000 of them are caught each month in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Recently, the Border Patrol uncovered a smuggling operation which specialized in supplying wetbacks for industrial jobs in Chicago.

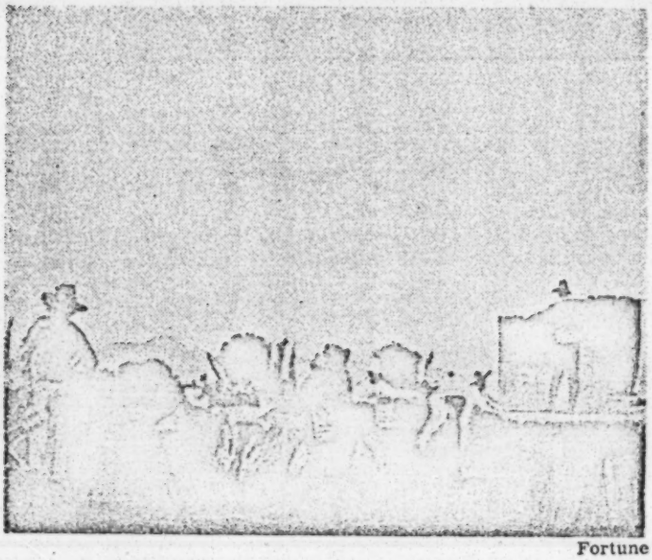
Despite the seemingly impressive figures on apprehensions, the wetback problem is not being brought under control. The program is hampered from the start by a shortage of manpower and equipment. As one patrolman in the Stockton, Calif., area put it: "We stake out Route 99 and the smugglers hear of it and take another road. There aren't enough of us to cover all the main highways all the time." On any given day, approximately 300 officers are on duty in the five Southwestern states.

A more basic problem than the size of the Border Patrol is the ease of entry afforded by the visitor's card and the absence of administrative controls on its use. The zone of travel permitted by these cards (with no record kept of entry and departure) was recently reduced from 150 to 25 miles from the border and that is making it easier to tag violators en route to the big cities. Since the reduction, systematic road checks on approaches to Los Angeles have turned up hundreds of aliens with no residency documents.

However, Border Patrol officials complain privately of the Justice Department's failure to require fingerprints as part of the permit procedure. Lacking that identification, it is almost impossible to spot previous violators when they reappear at the border, and wetbacks who have been returned to Mexico re-enter again and again, visitor's permit in hand. Also, since no record is kept as to when a seventy-two-hour visit begins, a Mexican who has eluded detection for weeks or months can depart unquestioned.

The very volume of violators has dictated an informal handling of those caught, and this also fails to discourage the increasing traffic. Illegal entry is a crime for which the violator may be prosecuted in the federal courts and formally deported by the INS. Re-entry after such a deportation is a felony. But resort to these remedies is infrequent. The present policy is to allow the illegal entrant to leave voluntarily within three days of apprehension. Often he is permitted to get to the border on his own. Or he may be taken to a detention center in El Paso, Tex., or El Centro, Calif., to await bus transportation to the interior of Mexico at U.S. Government expense. Not only does the wetback get a free trip home but back wages are collected for him by Border Patrolmen. Voluntary return is likened by an INS administrator to a "game

warden who discovers a hunter without a license and helps him carry the deer he's killed out of the park." Multiple returnees are seldom prosecuted and are formally deported only after the fourth, fifth or sixth entry, unless they are caught assisting other wetbacks to cross the border. A formal deportation procedure takes no more than fifteen minutes, and does not require the services of an attorney, but the INS claims that there are insuf-



Fortune

ficient hearing officers to handle all the possible cases and that in any case deportation wouldn't stop the alien from trying again. Authorities do not even officially notify a grower when illegal entrants are found on his land.

United States attorneys and judges regard illegal entry as an economic crime of low priority and most Americans sympathize with the wetback, who is after all a very poor man trying to get ahead. Few jurists or juries appreciate the relationship between illegal entry and the plight of the domestic poor. Federal prosecutors have little time even for wetback smugglers, accepting only aggravated cases for prosecution. Despite the high apprehension rate in Northern California—3,500 in August 1968—there has been almost no prosecution of smugglers or transporters. Officials suggest that strict enforcement, involving due process for each alien, would choke court dockets, overburden U.S. attorneys and tie up patrolmen as witnesses. The more pessimistic add that extensive prosecution would ultimately fill the prisons to capacity—a line of reasoning not applied to marijuana cases. INS investigators are hampered by the taciturnity of wetbacks, who refuse to say how they entered the country or who helped them to do so. Aware that failure to cooperate will not land him in jail, the alien has no inducement to reveal what he knows of the smuggling operation.

Recent lawsuits brought in California by domestic farm workers against growers using wetbacks allege that such employment is an unfair business practice calculated to lower their wages, diminish their employment opportunity and force them to seek public assistance at the taxpayers' expense. While employment of illegal entrants is exempt from the legal sanctions against harboring wetbacks, farm workers charge that growers are nevertheless criminally implicated, since offering wetbacks employment and shelter from detection is aiding and abetting in the crime of illegal entry. This resort to self-help law enforcement by the poor is a reflection on the failure of the Justice Department to perform its duties.

The ambivalence of the INS in the area of illegal entry is striking. The search for violators is persistent but ineffectual, and it seems clear that more could be done. The service operates on a budget of $86,450,000, more than half of which is committed to the four states bordering Mexico. Detention and transportation of apprehended illegal entrants alone costs $1.6 million, yet no funds can be found to hire more hearing officers and increase the number of formal deportations. Nor is there money to increase the Border Patrol and investigation staff, despite increased illegal entry and the much heavier work load demonstrated by the higher apprehension rates.

An obvious need is the fingerprint identification of seventy-two-hour permit holders. INS officials argue that it would be impractical to match the fingerprints of apprehended wetbacks against those of 1 million cardholders. Yet the need to check at most 500 fingerprints a day, the ostensible average number of wetbacks caught in the peak months, is small compared to the FBI's work load of 32,000 identifications a day from a file of 15 million sets of prints.

The replacement of cards at four-month intervals would make it easier to revoke the cards of violators. A requirement that holders of the unlimited entry permit post a bond to secure observance of the terms of entry, a device authorized in related immigration laws, could be an effective deterrent. Other steps could be taken to provide more effective enforcement. A recent act which authorizes a federal magistrate to handle petty crimes could undoubtedly speed the prosecution of numerous smuggling offenses as misdemeanors. Formal deportation following the second illegal entry within two years, the power to assess administrative fines in lieu of prosecution (thereby attaching a portion of the wages earned), and even the right to confiscate the vehicle used in the transportation of illegal aliens, as is done in narcotics smuggling, would also discourage the border hoppers.

Important remedial legislation is before House and Senate. A bill to prohibit the intentional employment of a person illegally in the United States was introduced on March 26, 1969 by Sen. Edward Kennedy and Rep. Michael Feighan. The measure is co-sponsored by nine Senators and twenty-three Representatives. But even if passed, it will not result in many prosecutions, since the present difficulties of proving smuggling will be compounded when the federal attorney must submit his case to a jury. However, the abrogation of the employment exemption, combined with occasional well-publicized prosecutions and stiff fines, should cure many employers of hiring wetbacks at bargain rates. Similarly, a bill introduced by Senator Mondale would amend the National Labor Relations Act to make it an unfair labor practice to employ aliens unlawfully present in the country, or to

hire nonresident commuter aliens during a labor dispute. Any of these measures, applied for several years, would provide increasingly effective deterrence to illegal entry.

Even so, the problem of the wetback will remain as long as the Mexican-American border is open, the border economies remain interdependent, and American earnings are five to ten times the Mexican wage. But in our increasingly technological society, with its chronic unemployment among low-income unskilled and semi-skilled workers, it is a problem which cannot be ignored. The continued use of nonresident Mexican labor in border areas, a concession to the artificiality of the border, should be coupled with affirmative enforcement of wage standards and labor laws to provide domestic workers with earnings commensurate with living costs, at least equal access to jobs, and the freedom to bargain collectively.

Moreover, urban and rural areas distant from the border have no interdependence with the Mexican population and economy. Lack of enforcement in such places, except for the futile apprehension-return cycle, is really a subsidy to certain industries and subverts the Administration's policy to "move people off the welfare roles and onto the payrolls."

Despite the good record of the Border Patrol, administrative deficiencies in coping with the inflow of illegal entrants cannot be explained entirely by a lack of imagination or a lack of funds. It is not pure fantasy to conclude that the policy of the Justice Department on illegal entry is to do just enough to avoid wholesale criticism, without arousing the serious anger of anti-union employers who favor an abundance of cheap labor.

Modern Biology: A Terrifying Power

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In the past twenty years, one has heard much talk of a biological revolution and of its consequences for mankind—not only in medical and economic achievement but in the nature of man itself. Man may soon be able to influence his own heredity directly, rather than only by the indirect process of eugenics. Scientists and science writers discuss such prospects with an uneasy mixture of optimistic predictions of benefits to come and dire warnings of possible catastrophes—as in Desmond Taylor's *The Biological Time Bomb*. Here I shall attempt to examine briefly the scientific basis of the expected developments, their probable nature, and the responsibility they present to both scientists and the public.

What has happened in biology in the last two decades is not a revolution but a scientific fulfillment. Modern biology started about 100 years ago with the foundation of Darwin's theory of evolution, which ties together all living organisms, past, present and future, into a single historical process of parenthood. The achievement of the last decades is the understanding of the nature, function and changes of the organic substrate of evolution, *the genetic material*, which is the stuff that carries from one generation to the next the set of instructions that dictate what an organism is, how it responds, and what kind of descendants it will in turn produce.

By 1952 the material of the genes was identified chemically as consisting of nucleic acid—generally (except in some viruses) desoxyribonucleic acid or DNA. In 1953 Watson and Crick proposed for the structure of DNA a model—the famous double helix—which not only proved to be correct but opened up entire new approaches to the study of the chemistry of heredity. Within the last sixteen years biologists have come up with the following satisfactory picture of what genes are and how they function.

A gene is a certain stretch in a long DNA fiber contained in the chromosomes of the cell nucleus. It carries in chemical imprint the detailed instructions for making both new copies of itself at each cell division and disposable "subcopies" or messages, which are used as instructions for synthesizing all the machinery of the cell. The messages are molecules of another kind of nucleic acid called RNA.

Gene structure and gene function are not immutable—if they were, evolution and development could not take place. On the one hand, the structure of genes can change by mutation, a relatively rare accidental change in chemical composition. Natural selection then brings about evolution by selecting for reproductive success those individuals endowed with particular genetic constitutions. On the other hand, the function of the genes in a cell is regulated by the environment, including the action of other genes in the same cell, the chemical messages from other cells, and also the external environment such as food and temperature. Thus while all cells of a complex organism have identical sets of genes (barring rare mutations), they function differently because some of their genes (which may number from a few thousand to several million, depending on the organism) receive different environmental signals.

The relevant point for this article is that all the essential features of the genetic process, insofar as they have been clarified, have turned out to be interpretable in strictly biochemical terms. No new principle or phenomenon has emerged to justify the assumption that some unique "vitalist" principle is at work in biological processes. This point is essential to a grasp of the present status and future course of biological technology. What molecular biologists have done is to make the genetic mechanism directly available to chemical experimentation. Arthur Kornberg and other biochemists have purified DNA from bacteria, viruses and from animal cells, including human cells. They have then caused it to produce more copies of itself in the test tube, under the influence of enzymes extracted either from the same organism or

Closing the Gates

Economic Woes Dampen Welcome Once Received By Migrant Workers in Western European Lands

By BOWEN NORTHRUP
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

In France, the government has passed the word to employers: When a job becomes vacant, an effort must be made to fill it with a Frenchman before a foreigner is hired.

In West Germany, many of the two-year work permits given foreign workers aren't being renewed.

In some old sections of Rotterdam, residents complain of Turks buying up houses and sleeping six to a room. The Dutch government, too, is considering curbs on foreign workers.

For two decades or more the growing and prosperous nations of Western Europe have actively recruited foreign workers, sometimes even offering such inducements as subsidized housing and radio or television broadcasts in their own language. In the Netherlands and Germany, in fact, the official designation for the aliens is "gastarbeiter," or "guest laborer," a hospitable term.

But guests, of course, usually go home, and lately the welcome for the aliens has been wilting perceptibly. The chief reason: A recession whose effects linger in the form of rising unemployment around Western Europe. There also have been some unpleasant frictions involving natives and foreigners in France, Germany and the Netherlands.

A Problem, but No Panic

The movement traditionally has been from south to north. Spaniards, Greeks, Italians and Portuguese—and, more recently, Turks, Yugoslavs and Moroccans—have come to the prosperous northern nations to wait on tables, work in the construction industry and take the "dirty" jobs in various other industries.

There seems to be no panic about the migrant worker problem in the six-nation European Communities. In Brussels, a spokesman at the EC Commission says, "Yes, there has been friction in many places—but not on a scale that you would be anxious about."

Still, there are often-bitter campaigns to curb foreign workers, campaigns that tend to give little credit for the jobs foreigners do. Switzerland, with a labor force that is about 30% foreign, is cutting back. But, says one labor expert, "If all the foreigners left today, 80% of Switzerland's construction work would halt tomorrow."

In job-hungry Britain, a spokesman for a hotel and restaurant group recently complained of thousands of positions unfilled; the natives, apparently, consider a waiter's job demeaning. In France, there is acknowledgement that foreigners are needed, even in hard times, to fill the "dirty" jobs that Frenchmen scorn. But even these unpleasant jobs must first be offered to locals before foreigners can be hired now.

"Phenomena of Intolerance"

"In a period of slackening production, it would be absurd and contrary to the interest of the immigrant workers to make them come to France and condemn them to become unemployed," said Labor Minister Joseph Fontanet.

"A too massive influx of foreign laborers," he added, "can touch off phenomena of intolerance, since their integration into the French community can't be carried out adequately." There has been friction with Algerians, and the government recently took steps to limit Algerian immigration to 25,000 persons a year.

The Dutch government is preparing legislation to limit the entry of foreigners. It probably will put on employers who request workers the onus to house and vouch for them during the tenure of their work permits. In any case, says a Dutch official, "Demands from employers for workers are going down sharply."

About 16,000 foreign workers entered Holland last year. The figure this year is expected to be about 10,000. The Dutch government is wrestling with a trickier problem anyway: The influx of immigrants, many of them destitute, from the former colonies of Curucao and Surinam. These persons hold Dutch passports, and they qualify immediately for social benefits.

nA "Italian Village" in Germany

Germany, with about 2.13 million foreign workers, has been the most receptive nation to migrant workers from within and without the EC. Volkswagenwerk A.G., the big auto maker, boasts that it has created an "Italian Village" at its Wolfsburg plant.

There are community facilities, Italian doctors staffing a clinic, a religious installation operated by Missione Cattolica with an Italian priest in charge and even a court for playing boccie ball.

The German government maintains tight control over work permits and recruitment (the Central Labor Office has representatives in Turkey, Spain, Greece and other nations). When hard times threaten, recruitment of foreign workers is cut, and some workers are expelled.

During the 1966-67 recession, the number of foreign workers was cut by about 400,000, or about 20%. No such drastic change is in the offing now, despite rising unemployment, although recruiting has been cut back. The number of foreign workers has dropped by about 5% since last September.

In Germany, too, there have been tensions. Bavarian border police complain that Turks are smuggling drugs into Germany. And some Germans expressed alarm when the Italian Communist party recently established a West German office.

Within the Common Market the six nations already have tight control of labor from "third nations" (non-EC members) through work-permit rules and other legislation on immigration. Where new legislation is needed, it is likely to prove popular politically.

But free movement of labor within the EC is mandated by community treaties. Many Belgians, for instance, commute into nearby France and Germany. Similarly, Luxembourg draws on neighboring nations for its iron and steel industries (about 30% of Luxembourg's labor force is foreign).

The biggest contributor of intra-EC labor has been Italy. But there a natural corrective is at work; the Italian economy has pulled closer to parity with other EC nations, and fewer Italians want to leave home.

"You can't so much see Italy as a reserve of manpower any more," says Jean Geldens, an EC labor specialist. Nevertheless, some 80,000 Italians are likely to seek jobs elsewhere this year. The 1971 figure was about 100,000.

There has been some anxiety within the EC about the prospective entry of Britain into the community. Holland asked the Commission to investigate the situation with regard to Britain's large Pakistani and West Indian population. "They were worried that there would be an invasion," says Mr. Geldens.

Examination disclosed that the so-called "colored" people form only a small minority of Britain's more than one million unemployed. Holland's fear of new drains on its social services proved largely unfounded also with regard to its foreign workers. Although 140,000 persons now are unemployed there, only about 3,000 of them are foreign workers.

"A foreigner comes here to make money," says Adrian Vesseur, an official in the department of social affairs at The Hague. "If there is a possibility for work, he works."

MLAP

CAPITOL DEVELOPMENTS

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Migrant Labor

Marilynne Jogeese, Editor

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THE AGENCIES

Office of Economic Opportunity

"In 1974 responsibility for certain programs now funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity will be assumed to other agencies, as follows: the migrant program will be delegated to the Department of Labor; Indian programs will be assumed by HEW: Community Economic Development program grantees will be funded by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise at Commerce; health projects will be transferred to HEW; research and development functions will be transferred to the agencies which have statutory responsibility in the fields of current OEO activity. In addition, legislation will be submitted to establish a Legal Services Corporation.

"No funds are requested for the Office of Economic Opportunity for 1974. Effective July 1, 1973, new funding for Community Action agencies will be at the discretion of local communities. After more than seven years of existence, Community Action has had an adequate opportunity to demonstrate its value. In addition to private funds, state and local governments may, of course, use general and special revenue sharing funds for these purposes. With Community Action concepts now incorporated into ongoing programs and local agencies, the continued existence of OEO as a separate Federal agency is no longer necessary." (Excerpted from the President's *Budget for Fiscal Year 1974,* p. 122.)

Housing Freezes: Congressional and Other Reactions

The Administration has labeled the nation's subsidized housing programs inequitable, wasteful and ineffective in meeting the housing needs of the country and as a result the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has had many programs placed under a severe moratorium and USDA's Farmers' Home Administration (FmHA) has had its funds almost totally frozen while an 18-month "evaluation study" is being conducted.

While outgoing HUD Secretary George Romney called his agency's cutoff a "temporary hold of indefinite duration," and said applications now in process would proceed, the FmHA freeze will mean that 83,000 low-income rural families will be deprived of $1.25 billion in credit in fiscal 1974.

(continued page 2)

LITIGATION

Mich. Sup. Ct. Overturns Workmen's Compensation Exclusion

The Supreme Court of the State of Michigan ruled early this month that the State's Workmen's Compensation Act excluding some farmworkers from coverage violates the farmworker's "rights to equal protection provided for in the constitutions of the United States and the State of Michigan." The landmark decision in *Gutierrez v. Glaser Crandell Company* (Michigan Supreme Court No. 53541, January, 1973) is a major victory for farmworkers who are excluded from labor-protective and benefit legislation in Michigan and sets solid legal precedent for attacks on exclusionary statutes in other states.

The accidents giving rise to the case occurred in 1967 when two migrant workers were injured while working for Glaser Crandell packing company. Claims were filed and a hearing was held before a workmen's compensation hearing referee in February, 1970. The referee's decision against plaintiffs was appealed to the Michigan Court of Appeals which held in 1971 that the exclusion of certain agricultural workers from the Workmen's Compensation Act was Constitutional, 34 Mich. App. 489 (1971). The Michigan Supreme Court has now reversed the Court of Appeals and remanded the case to the Workmen's Compensation Commission for a factual determination of plaintiffs' claims.

The Michigan Workmen's Compensation Act of 1969 (1969 PA 317) has two classifications of employers, "public" and "private"; and a single classification of employees, "every employee," MCLA 418.111; MSA 17.237 (111). In its most general terms then, the Act purports to cover all employers and their employees. Agricultural employers are dealt with in a separate section that attempts to exclude certain employers from coverage, MCLA 418.115 (d) and (e), MSA 17.237 (115) (d) and (e). The exclusions of section 115 (d) are based on the number of employees, their hours of work for the employer; and the manner in which the employees were paid (piece rate). Section 115 (e) sets up similar exclusions and provides for a limited medical and hospitalization plan coverage for certain agricultural workers.

The Michigan statute speaks in terms of covered or exempt employers; and the definition of agricultural employer is as broad as possible, covering all aspects of agriculture from planting to

(continued page 3)

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Migrant Labor

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(formerly Capitol Developments)

Marilynne Jogeese, Editor

LITIGATION

Farmworkers Face Another Season Unprotected by Pesticides

In May we reported an apparent victory for farmworkers. In response to a suit filed against the Department of Labor's Occupational Safety and Health Administration by MLAP and other groups on behalf of five farmworkers who had been poisoned by pesticides, OSHA had issued a temporary emergency standard for pesticides, prescribing reenty times and other safety procedures to be followed.

This temporary emergency standard was to take effect on June 25. However, within days of the issuance of the standard agribusiness interests began a heavy counter attack. Growers and grower associations filed law suits in every federal circuit court of appeals to enjoin enforcement on the standards.

In the Senate, Senator Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.), sponsored an amendment passed by voice vote, which would, if enacted, postpone implementation of all OSHA pesticide standards until formal hearings could be held by the Labor Department. Congress would then have 30 days to review the hearings before new regulations could become effective. Shortly thereafter, the House Committee on Agriculture accepted an amendment to the same bill to transfer Labor's authority over agricultural pesticides to the Department of Agriculture and void all OSHA standards to date. Both efforts have fortunately been defeated.

The Secretary of Labor responded even more rapidly than he had to the farmworkers' suit — by backing down; on June 15, he rescinded the emergency standard. He did promulgate as a substitute, a weaker standard to take effect on July 13. It would have covered only 12 of the original 21 organophosphate pesticides and the reentry intervals into the fields were reduced in some 33 instances, sometimes by more than half. The posting of written warnings, provided in the original standard, would no longer be required.

The shift in the Secretary's position is illustrated by the two standards treatment of parathion, a known killer. The original standard had required a lapse of from five to 14 days between the spraying and the workers' reentry into the field, but the substitute standards allowed immediate reentry into the fields.

Nevertheless, the agribusiness interests were not satisfied. They had obtained a definite postponement of the effective date of any standard from the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The Secretary is defending the weaker standard there but the 1973 agricultural working season is now more than half over. By the time a decision is obtained farmworkers will have done without federal protection for yet another year.

Del Monte Sued on Grounds of Peonage

Del Monte Corporation for many years has employed migrant farmworkers from Southern and Southwestern states during the summer harvest season in Illinois. To recruit these workers Del Monte each year uses the free interstate recruitment services of the U.S. Department of Labor and participating state agencies including the Illinois Department of Labor.

This year Del Monte submitted four clearance orders for the recruitment of migrants to the Illinois Employment Service and the Department of Labor and then sent to labor supply states for workers.

When the workers arrived at Del Monte's Rochelle plant, willing and able to work, they found the actual employment situation far different from that represented in the clearance orders and the offers of work made by the Corporation and its agents. Little or no work was available and the workers found themselves subject to a wage deduction system which put them in a virtual state of peonage: many workers received a negative weekly pay check and others received so little that they had nothing to send home to their families.

Just as the workers had begun to work themselves out from under their debts to the company they were threatened with an influx of hundreds of additional workers from Texas for the corn packing season which meant they would again be placed in peonage and joined in it by the new arrivals because work would not be available for everyone.

Therefore the workers, represented by the Illinois Migrant Council, took Del Monte, DOL and the Illinois Department of Labor to court charging that this system violated their Thirteenth Amendment rights and the wage deduction system violated their rights under both the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution as well as under the Fair Labor Stan-

~~Farm~~ Migrant Labor

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1973

MLAP Monthly Report

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(formerly Capitol Developments)

Marilynne Jogeese, Editor

LEGISLATION

Crew Leader Bill Expansion Sought

The Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act is one of the most important issues that has ever faced farmworkers, now or in the future.

Congressman William Ford, Chairman
Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor

In May we reported that Congressman William Ford (D-Mich.) had introduced a new crew leader bill. Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wisc.) has followed with a similar bill in the Senate. The two bills are almost identical except that the Nelson bill would require crew leaders to inform prospective workers of strikes in the areas in which they are to work.

Senator Nelson's bill, S. 2070, has been introduced in the Senate and awaits further action. The Ford bill, H.R. 7595, is now pending before the House Subcommittee on Agricultural labor. This measure amends the existing Act by extending its coverage and assuring its enforcement. According to Congressman Ford the original bill has "not achieved its original stated purpose of freeing the 'channels and instrumentalities of interstate commerce' from abuse by 'certain irresponsible contractors' who 'exploit producers of agricultural products, migrant agricultural laborers, and the public generally.' " The Congressman explained that his proposal was designed "to overcome the shortcomings which have been clearly demonstrated in the years that have passed since the present law became effective."

The Ford bill would extend coverage under the Act to farm labor contractors who recruit intrastate. The present Act includes only interstate recruitment. The bill would exempt day-haul operations from coverage, although day-haul operations on an interstate basis are covered under the existing statute.

Ford's bill would further raise existing insurance requirements for vehicle accidents to $10,000 for bodily injuries to or the death of one person; $50,000 for bodily injuries to or the dealth of all persons in any one accident; and $10,000 for the loss or damage to property of others.

The bill would create a federal civil cause of action for any person claiming to be aggrieved by a violation of any provision of the Act and prevents the award of damages for any prevailing party up to and including $500 for each violation plus attorney's fees and costs. In addition, the bill creates a subpoena power for the Secretary of Labor and authorizes the Secretary to maintain civil actions seeking injunctions against violations of the Act.

The bill creates the possibility of a jail term of up to six months for criminal violations of the Act in addition to the existing $500 fine provision. It provides that a registrant who fails or refuses to exhibit his registration as required under the Act shall be denied facilities and services of the U.S. Employment Service. The statute's present annual registration requirement would be changed to every three years.

As the Act now exists, the Department of Labor is authorized to initiate investigations and enforcement. Part of DOL enforcement to date has consisted of a voluntary compliance program that provides: "Except in cases of willfulness, prior to making any recommendations to revoke or suspend a Certificate of Registration or Farm Labor Contractor Identification Card in cases which compliance can be achieved, the Regional Administrator shall call to the attention of the holder of or applicant for a Certificate of Registration or Farm Labor Contractor Identification Card, the facts and conduct upon which he intends to base his recommendation. He shall afford such holder or applicant a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate or achieve voluntary compliance."

One day of hearings have been held on the amendments and additional hearings are expected later this fall. Persons interested in the bill should direct comments to Congressman Ford or other Subcommittee members from areas of migrant farm work including William Steiger (R-Wisc.) or Earl Landgrebe (R-Ind.). They can be reached in the U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Roybal Introduces Bill to Coordinate Migrant Services

Congressman Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.) has recently introduced a bill that would establish within HEW a National Office for Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers which would meet more effectively the needs of this client group. The Office would administer all of the laws and programs within the

Migrant Labor

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Joel Solkoff, Editor

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ATTEMPTS MADE TO PREVENT CREW LEADER ABUSES

Senator Gaylord Nelson, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Poverty, and Migratory Labor, plans to hold a day of hearings on amendments to the Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act of 1973. The hearings will be held on February 8th in Fresno, California. Fresno is in the migrant stream, and it is anticipated that the location will make it easier to obtain testimony on abuses and lack of coverage under the present Act.

The Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act of 1963 was intended to protect farmworkers from false or broken employment promises by contractors who recruit and transport workers interstate. The present Act requires contractors to provide earnings statements for their workers, to obtain vehicle liability insurance, to keep employment records, to register with the Department of Labor, and to carry proper identification. However, in addition to problems of enforcement, the present Act applies only to independent farm labor contractors who recruit ten or more workers at any one time on an interstate basis. Nelson's amendments would extend coverage to *intrastate* recruitment and would require crew leaders to inform workers of strikes in the areas of their prospective employment.

On November 9th, William Ford, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor, held hearings on the House version of the crew leader bill. Eugene Bonfiglio, DOL's Supervisory Farm Labor Enforcement Specialist of the Employment Standards Administration Wage and Hour Division, testified on the problem of placing ultimate responsibility for violations. To date, there has been some doubt as to whether the crew leader or the grower has ultimate responsibility.

Mr. Bonfiglio said that an amendment which places the responsibility on each grower to hire a registered farm labor contractor would not delay the registration process, and, therefore, the growers' harvest would not be delayed. By effect of recent court decisions, the crew leader *and* the grower are jointly responsible only when the grower has the power to direct, control, or supervise work, or determine pay rates or method of payment. This has no bearing on situations in which the grower does not have such power. The extreme mobility of farmworkers and crew leaders makes enforcement difficult if joint responsibility can not be established.

At the Ford hearings, Bernard De Lury, Assistant Secretary for the Employment Standards Administration, expressed concern that not enough is being done to enforce the Act and that what is being done is neither uniform nor regular. Mr. De Lury called for annual crew leader registration, rather than one every three years. Mr. De Lury also revealed that in a spot check of 900 contractors in 1973, there were 375 violations for failure to register, 321 violations for failure to post notice, 184 violations for failure to keep records, 289 violations for failure to give earnings statements to workers, and 183 violations for failure to insure vehicles. Seventy-three percent of the spot checks revealed multiple violations. Of the 5,000 crew leaders subject to the Act, Mr. De Lury estimated that only 1,855 had registered in 1973 and that only two contractors were prosecuted since the Act went into effect.

—Alfonso J. Gonzalez

continued to back page

Legal Services Bill Postponed

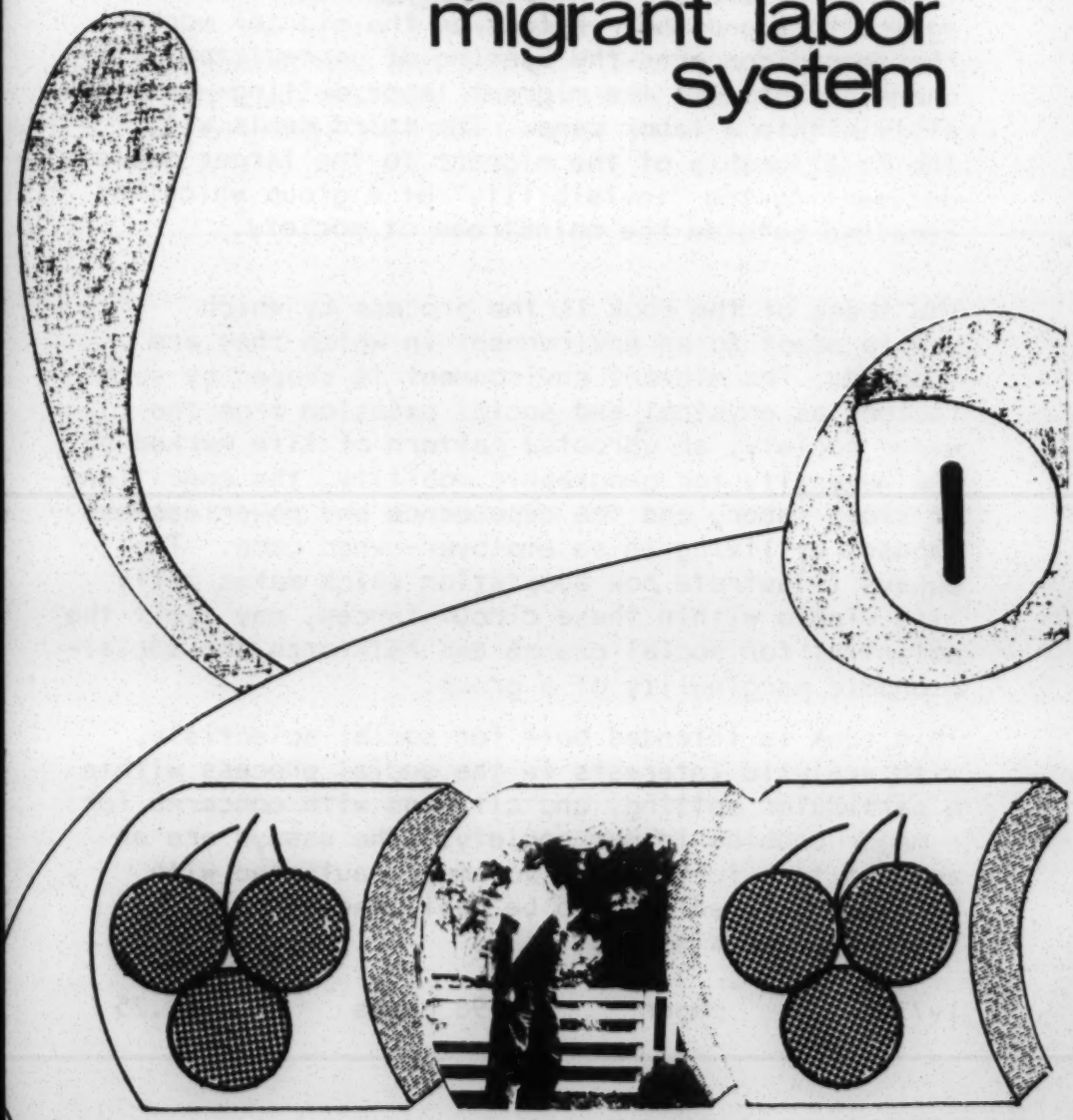
The Senate version of the legal services bill has been postponed for consideration until January 28th. The bill would amend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to provide for the transfer of the Legal Services program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to a Legal Services Corporation. Two attempts were made to break off what had been described as "amendment by filibuster." The "filibuster" by Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Southern and conservative senators has, thus far, been successful. A cloture motion on December 13th failed by four votes and on December 14th by one vote. Action for Legal Rights, a Washington-based lobby group uniting such supporters as *The New York Times* and the American Bar Association, expects that the necessary two thirds needed for cloture will be obtained late in January or early in February. The departure of Melvin Laird from the White House is seen as a danger to the possibilities for a strong final bill. Mr. Laird is the only principal member of the Nixon Administration to react positively and publicly to the concept of a Legal Services Corporation. Following passage by the Senate, the bill will then go to conference where there are a number of amendments which would dilute the strength of the Legal Services Corporation. One amendment, by Rep. Edith Green (D-Oreg.), would eliminate (among a number of related programs) the 16 national backup centers, of which MLAP is one.

M— Migrant Labor

Dorothy Nelkin

on the season:

aspects of the migrant labor system



ON THE SEASON: ASPECTS OF THE MIGRANT LABOR SYSTEM

Following a factual introduction on the migrant labor system as it operates in New York State, this book presents three essays on specialized dimensions of the system. The analysis is based on systematic, ethnographic observation in migrant labor camps. The first essay deals with employment relationships in agriculture and their effect on the migrant worker. The second concerns the bearing of unpredictability--characteristic of the migrant labor setting--on life-style within a labor camp. The third deals with the relationship of the migrant to the larger society, documenting the "invisibility" of a group which has remained outside the mainstream of society.

The theme of the book is the process by which people adapt to an environment in which they are trapped. The migrant environment is shaped by such factors as physical and social exlusion from the wider society, an uprooted pattern of life marked by the necessity for geographic mobility, the conditions of stoop labor, and the dependence and powerlessness imposed by living in an employer-owned camp. The essays illustrate how adaptation which makes daily life viable within these circumstances, may limit the potential for social change and reinforce the social-economic marginality of a group.

This book is intended both for social scientists, with analytic interests in the social process within a particular setting, and citizens with concerns for a major problem in our society. The essays are an adjunct to a forthcoming volume co-authored with William H. Friedland, to be published by Holt, Reinhart, and Winston.

1971 paper 98 pages $2.25

THE AUTHOR

Dorothy Nelkin was a research associate in the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations when she collaborated with William H. Friedland in developing the Cornell Migrant Labor Project. She has published articles on migrant labor as well as a number of articles on various aspects of social change in Africa. At present she is a senior research associate in the Cornell University Program on Science, Technology, and Society, and is writing a series of case studies illustrating the social and political implications of science and technology.

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CAPITOL DEVELOPMENTS

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Marilynne Jogeese, Editor

DECEMBER–JANUARY, 1972

LITIGATION

Dept. of Justice Indicts Two on Peonage Charges

Attorney General John N. Mitchell announced that two Florida men have been indicted on federal charges of holding at least nine farm workers in peonage and involuntary servitude in South Carolina.

Mr. Mitchell said a sealed indictment was returned August 27, 1971, in U.S. District Court in Columbia, South Carolina, and unsealed on January 4, 1972.

Alphonso Campbell, Jr., the leader of a crew of migrant farm laborers, of Wimauma, Florida, and his assistant, James Harris, also of Florida, were accused of holding laborers against their will during July and August, 1971, while the crew was picking peaches in the Spartanburg area.

Campbell was arrested on October 8, 1971, in Ruskin, Florida. Harris has not yet been arrested.

The eight-count indictment charges both men with three counts each of holding men in peonage and of holding them in involuntary servitude, and one count each of conspiracy to commit those offenses. Harris and Campbell are black, the workers are white.

According to the indictment, the defendants held at least nine men after transporting them from Atlanta, Georgia, to work on the crew near Spartanburg. It alleges that they charged their victims exhorbitant amounts for such items as wine, soap, razor blades and cigarettes and forcibly prevented them from leaving before their debts were paid.

The indictment said Campbell and Harris beat one migrant laborer who attempted to leave the camp on July 4, 1971, and forcibly removed his clothing as an example to the others that such attempts to leave would not be tolerated.

The maximum penalty for each count of both peonage and involuntary servitude is five years in prison and a $5,000 fine, and five years and $10,000 for the conspiracy charges.

Unprecedented $600 Million Suit Brought Against USDA

On December 23, in an unprecedented action, New York City and the State of Pennsylvania joined the National Welfare Rights Organization and nine poor families in a suit against the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The suit seeks to prevent massive cuts in the Food Stamp Program that have been ordered by the Department. At stake is approximately $600 million in annual food stamp benefits that plaintiffs claim will be wrongfully taken away from them.

The class action suit was filed in Federal District Court in Washington, D.C., on behalf of all poor people in the country who will be harmfully affected by the Department's new regulations. Currently, about 10 million persons participate in the Food Stamp Program.

The suit seeks to enjoin the Agriculture Department's implementation of a new Food Stamp allotment schedule. The nine families allege that the new allotments are too low to meet basic food needs. The suit contends that the Agriculture Department is violating the Federal Food Stamp Act and must increase the size of the new allotments. The 1971 amendments to the Food Stamp Act require the Department to establish allotments high enough to "permit low-income households to purchase a nutritionally adequate diet." The plaintiffs say, however, that the Department's planned allotments are set so low that the millions of food stamp recipients will be afflicted with hunger and malnutrition. The new allotments are scheduled to take effect during January and February in most states.

Quoting USDA figures, the papers filed in court assert that the cost of a minimally nutritional diet in the Northeastern United States is well above the value of the stamps that participating families will be entitled to receive under the new allotments. The figures quoted by the plaintiffs show the cost of purchasing foods listed in the Department's "Economy Diet Plan." The plan is an austerity diet that is the basis of the Food Stamp Program's allotment calculations. It is the cheapest of five diet plans that the Department devises for American families. The Department acknowledges the long-term nutritional inadequacy of the Economy Diet Plan. Department publications describe it as being intended for "emergency use" and "temporary use when funds are low." But plaintiffs say that even the foods in the Economy Diet Plan will be beyond their reach under the new food stamp allotments.

Ronald F. Pollack, who coordinated this project, is a staff attorney with the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law in New York City who recently won an injunction ordering USDA to concurrently operate the Commodities Program with the Food Stamp Program in Seattle, Washington. Mr. Pollack stated that:

> The Department's new regulations, if not stopped by this suit, may cause many states to entirely drop out of the Food Stamp Program. The meager benefits that the Agriculture Department now wants to provide are too little for any meaningful participation in the Food Stamp Program. If these regulations go into effect, millions of poor people who are hungry and undernourished will be left without sufficient food for themselves and their children.

Info from Snodgrass: Would like for SRC to send letters a telegrams to:

Mike Bozich
c/o Richard Bagdasarian Co.
6550 Lincoln St
Mecca, Calif

Tenneco Oil
POB 380
Bakersfield, Calif

-cc of this letter to

Lee Shaw
366 North Elston
Chicago, Ill.

R. L. Hamilton
POB 31
Reedley, Calif

Send letters/telegrams

"We boycotted grapes before and will do it again" - telegram

Migrant Labor

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CAPITOL DEVELOPMENTS

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Marilynne Jogeese, Editor

FEBRUARY–MARCH, 1972

THE AGENCIES

New Food Stamp Regs: Stream Application Last year Congress made several important changes in the Food Stamp Program. While it left some of the problems farmworkers have always had in obtaining food stamps unresolved it did include some new provisions which could benefit—or harm—them.

Although to be eligible for food stamp benefits workers must register with local agencies by May 1, 1972, the states are only now completing their food stamp plans and submitting them to USDA for approval. As the state plans are approved, farmworker programs must be able to deal with local and state agencies to make sure their clients receive the fullest benefits obtainable under the regulations. Therefore they must be thoroughly familiar with some of the problems inherent in the new program.

We hope that the following analysis of some of the most important provisions of the program will prove useful to those who are working with farmworkers. However, we have not attempted to cover all the changes in the new regulations or discuss unchanged provisions. If after reading our comments you have any questions on the application of the regulations—either new or old—please contact us, and we will try to help in any way possible.

Determination of Earnings: A major problem that must be overcome in almost all states is the old one of how to determine the exact amount earned by each farmworker household. As in the past, many food stamp agencies will attempt to rely upon what the growers tell them a worker is earning or what he paid for a day's work. The food stamp agencies should not be allowed to continue this policy and the applicant for food stamps must be helped in showing the agency what type of, and how many deductions were made by the grower from his gross pay. The agencies will accept source documents such as paychecks, employers' written statements, wage stubs, or income tax returns. Verbal verification is also acceptable.

While the agencies may be thinking in terms of local employment security offices for verification, there is no reason why they should not be able to check with the local OEO programs, as these programs are likely to have the most knowledge and experience in working with farmworkers. OEO programs should be in a position to challenge the agencies' estimates of anticipated incomes when they are unfavorable to the workers.

60-Day Extension Across County and State Lines: This provision should clearly benefit farmworkers if they are properly informed—simply and clearly in their native languages—of how this provision works. The provision allows farmworker families to be certified for food stamps for 60 days when they cross from one county or state to another—assuming all other requirements of the regulation are met, e.g., members of the "household" remain unchanged. It is the responsibility of the original certifying county to pre-

(Continued on page 2)

"The Last Yellow Bus"—Ditched? In June, 1971, the Department of Labor announced that it would institute a program of manpower retraining and related social services which would help migrant workers "attain economic independence and security and prepare them for year-round employment." The program—euphemistically called "The Last Yellow Bus"—would provide training for 5,800 migrant workers and is funded at over $20 million for fiscal 1972. It is scheduled to operate over the next several years providing training and other services tailored to fit the needs of the individual worker, his family, and the labor needs of his resident area.

That was in June. As of this writing only a small portion of the $20 million has been released. (For example on February 25, the Department announced a $3 million grant to Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University in Davis, California.) However, there is no indication of how much more, if any, funds are to be released in the near future. Based on information provided by persons who have negotiated regularly with the Department, we believe that the delays in funding are the results of pressure from the Department's regional offices and its state employment services, both of which want the Department to give them complete control of the funds. It has been suggested that the Department really wants to be able to delay funding and claim either a lack of qualified grantees or assert some other jurisdiction for the deadlock. Then at the end of the fiscal year, the Department would be able to release the remainder of the $20 million exclusively to the employment services—that being the only feasible way of disposing of the money short of returning it to the U.S. Treasury. Which is, of course, exactly what the employment services want.

When MLAP recently requested copies of all grant applications, program guidelines, and other data relating to the "Bus," under the Freedom of Information Act the Department failed to answer. When MLAP, through counsel, asked to consult informally with the Department on formulation of future policy, the Department ignored our letter.

The undesirability of giving the funds exclusively to the state employment services should be obvious. MLAP and 16 other migrant and farmworker-oriented organizations petitioned the Department in April of last year to abolish the employment services charging that they knowingly violated civil rights, safety, and minimum wage laws in their farmworker job referrals. The charges were backed with approximately 2,000 pages of verified

Emory Via

Pertinent to economic development? PW

THE COCA-COLA COMPANY FOODS DIVISION'S

AGRICULTURAL LABOR PROGRAM

A PROJECT IN PROGRESS

The following report outlines progress being made in The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division's Agricultural Labor Project in Florida. This report reflects accomplishments since the last report was issued on March, 27, 1972.

I. In the area of employment and working conditions, the following objectives and/or activities have been accomplished:

1) Following several months of negotiations, a contract was signed on February 29, 1972 between the United Farm Workers Union, A.F.L.-C.I.O. and The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division. The contract covers all farmworkers employed by the Company in its groves, both production employees as well as harvesting personnel, retroactive in its coverage to the first of the year. It is the feeling of the Company, however, that contract negotiations were made much easier because of the existence of the Agricultural Labor Project over the past two years.

2) Approximately one-half of all agricultural employees of the Company are "Regular" employees (permanent and full-time) and the other half are "Seasonal" employees (full-time work available approximately seven months of the year). Prior to the union contract, both groups were accorded substantial

"employment benefits" by the Company; however, additional and improved benefits were provided as a result of the contract.

3) The more significant benefits under the Agricultural Labor Project and the contract for "Regular" employees are:

- Group life insurance coverage
- Group medical insurance coverage
- Retirement Plan
- Thrift Plan (savings and bonus)
- Tuition Refund Plan (education and training)
- Travel Accident Plan
- Formal Grievance Procedure
- Assured weekly hours of work
- Stand-by Pay (in the event of bus breakdown)
- Paid Sick Leave
- Jury Duty Pay
- Funeral Leave Pay
- Paid Vacations
- Paid Holidays
- Workman's Compensation Make-up Pay
- Field Toilets, iced drinking water, tools and equipment, safety programs, etc.

4) The following benefits are provided under the Agricultural Labor Project and the contract to <u>all</u> "Seasonal" employees:

- Group life insurance coverage
- Group medical insurance coverage
- Travel Accident Plan
- Formal Grievance Procedure
- Stand-by Pay (in the event of bus breakdown)
- Jury Duty Pay
- Field Toilets, iced drinking water, tools and equipment, safety programs, etc.

(In the event a seasonal employee works 100 days or more in a calendar year - which just about anyone can do if he chooses, he is also provided):

- Paid Sick Leave
- Paid Vacations
- Paid Holidays
- Workman's Compensation Make-up Pay

5) Individual employee earnings have substantially increased so far in 1972.

- The average employee earnings for production (hourly-paid) employees (who worked 20 weeks and 1,000 hours or more) for the first six months of 1972 was $3,149. This covered 215 employees, and compared to $2,787 average income for employees in the same category for the first six months of 1971, up 13%.

- The average employee earnings for harvesting (piece-rate paid) employees (who worked 100 days or more) for the first six months of 1972 was $3,649. This covered 363 employees, and compared to $2,649 average income for employees in the same category for the first six months of 1971, up 38%.

II. In the area of housing, the following objectives and/or activities have been accomplished:

1) Forty of the 85 two-to-four bedroom, landscaped homes in Lakeview Park have been occupied. Thirteen of these families work for companies other than The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division.

2) Fifty of the 85 homes have been completed and it is anticipated that the remainder will be completed in the near future.

3) In addition to the families already living in Lakeview Park, at present seven other loans have been approved with thirteen more in process with FHA for a total of 60 homes signed and/or sold.

4) The tot lots, community walkways, beach pavilion, basketball court, children's playground equipment and parking lot for buses and trucks have all been completed and turned over to the Home Owners Association.

5) As Company-owned housing is being phased out in other areas, seven families have moved into new homes and thirty-six other families are in the process of buying new homes through FHA or FmHA qualified home builders in the communities where each family has chosen to live. Two other families are building their own houses. Company consultants are working with these people.

6) In July of 1970, the Company provided housing to 247 families. In keeping with the project objective of phasing out Company-owned housing, only 101 families remained in such housing. Of the 101, only 37 are scheduled to vacate Company-owned houses as the remainder will permanently live on premises for operational or security reasons. Of the 37, all but

one have plans at this time to buy or build their own homes.

III. In the area of health, education and social services, the following objectives and/or activities have been accomplished:

A. The Avon Park-Frostproof-Wauchula Community Development Corporation

1) Renovation of facilities to house the Living-Learning-Library Center, the Child Development Center and the Community Health Clinic, at the Frostproof complex has been completed.

2) The Living-Learning-Library Center is fully operational with a staff of six. Three of these are library aides hired from the community who will gain the necessary job skills through special on-the-job training programs. Funding for this program is provided to the Board by a grant under the Library Services and Construction Act with additional local funds provided through the Company. A summer youth recreational/educational program involving some 65 children from the surrounding communities is in operation during the summer school vacation period of June - August.

3) The Child Development Center serves 40 - 45 children between the ages of six months to six years, five days a week. The Center is open from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. due to the work schedules of their mothers.

4) The medical screening and referral program has held pre-screening interviews with 565 persons living in the area served by this board. Of this group, 407 persons completed their medical history forms with 362 voluntarily agreeing to a medical examination by a physician. Of those taking the medical examination:

38.9% had major illnesses
25.1% had minor illnesses
53.0% had multi-dental caries

Those persons with major and minor illnesses are involved in appropriate referral and follow-up medical care.

5) On July 1, 1972, this board received, as an interim grantee, a three-year grant to provide comprehensive medical and dental care for migrants and other needy families in this area. The grant of $169,878 per year is funded by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The program will be located at the Frostproof complex where existing structures will be appropriately renovated. The clinic will provide at least one doctor and dentist plus support staff such as nurses, dental aides, clinic aides and community health workers. It is expected that the National Health Service Corps will provide the dentist. The program will provide care for acute and chronic medical conditions, health and nutritional education and acute and preventive dental care. Clinic aides and community

health workers at the clinic will be hired and trained from among the agricultural worker population in the area.

6) The once-a-month training sessions for board members and other interested community persons is scheduled through the end of the year. Other educational programs involving adult education classes, vocational training at local schools and college continue as previously reported.

B. The Fort Pierce/Indiantown Community Development Corporation

1) Final rezoning approvals given by the County Commissioners should result very soon in the purchase of 1.6 acres of land on which a community complex will be built in Fort Pierce. The complex will house a child development center, the community offices and meeting room, the community health aides, library and recreational facilities. The building is anticipated to be completed early this Fall. The land and building will be provided by the Company to the board through a lease agreement for one dollar per year.

2) The medical screening and referral program has been initiated in the area with the hiring of two community health aides who will participate in a four-week intensive training program to gain the necessary skills before making their first family visits in late August. The program, under the direct supervision of an accredited Public

Health Nurse, will be made available to each Company employee and each member of his or her family who lives in the Fort Pierce/Indiantown area. Complete medical histories for each individual will be recorded by the community health aides followed by a physical exam by a physician. Appropriate referral and follow-up procedures will be given to individuals with problems identified in the screening program. The first families to be served will be in the Indiantown area.

3) The Child Development Center in Indiantown closed for two weeks in July for staff vacations and minor renovation. It re-opened July 31 with an all-day family orientation program for the community on July 29.

   The Child Development Center in Fort Pierce is anticipated to open early in the Fall at the new community complex. Thirty-six prospective employees from the agricultural community have been attending classes daily for six weeks at the Indian River Community College gaining new educational skills in preparation for these new jobs. They will receive further on-the job training at other local child development centers and further classroom work prior to the opening of their own center in October.

4) Educational classes in legal rights, basic adult education and vocational training have been well attended in recent months.

C. Central Region Community Development Corporation

1) The board has received its charter from the State of Florida on May 12, 1972, making it the third community development corporation to receive its charter as a result of the project.

2) The board is acting as a catalyst between members of its community who need off-season jobs and Walt Disney World. The board, through a lease arrangement with the Company for two buses, will make transportation available to those members of its community who apply for and receive jobs at Walt Disney World during the harvesting off-season (July - October). Close cooperation between the personnel offices at Walt Disney World and the board have made it possible to schedule interested employees on two work shifts so that they might ride in large groups on the buses. The buses will operate seven days a week to accommodate the needs of all employees due to different work week schedules and overtime requirements.

3) An adult basic education "tutoring" program has been in successful operation for over two months. The tutor (a college student with special orientation for this program) goes to the home of the persons who desire special tutoring help in basic adult education for one hour each night, one or two nights per week. Each person being tutored receives lessons especially prepared for him according to

his educational needs. This special tutoring program has been so well received that additional tutors have been hired so that all persons requesting a tutor could be accommodated.

4) The once-a-month training session for all board members continues. These training activities deal with the responsibilities of being a board member and how to appropriately deal with problems confronting the board as it manages the programs for all members of the community it serves.

5) A youth group has been organized and is currently exploring the activities and programs of special interest to the group.

6) The board held its first annual meeting in April, where new board members were elected by secret written ballot. The meeting was well attended by families from the community and a number of visitors, including members of the Fort Pierce/Indiantown and Avon Park-Frostproof-Wauchula Community Development Corporations.

IV. In the area of organizational development, seminars were held on May 22 and 23 for all harvesting foremen and supervisors. A similar seminar was held on June 27 for all production superintendents and foremen. These seminars, dealing with personnel policies and practices and with employee supervision, are part of a continuing program begun early in the project.

V. In the area of community relations, the project is continuing its ongoing documentation and public information activities described in previous reports.

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State and Federal Rights of Migrant Farm Workers: An Appraisal

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(The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily express the opinions of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights)

It is the purpose of this paper to clearly set forth the legal position of migrant farm workers in this country and in Wisconsin, to comment upon the degree to which the legal rights of these workers are recognized, and to suggest courses of action which would insure the migrants a more complete realization of these rights. The paper begins with a discussion of the federal laws and programs which apply to migrant farm workers, proceeds to an analysis of the legal position of migrants in Wisconsin, and concludes with comments on the future status of migrant workers in the United States.

I. FEDERAL LAWS AND PROGRAMS

1. The Social Security Act - Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance

The Social Security Act covers agricultural employees who are paid $150 or more in cash during a calendar year by an employer, or who have worked for an employer on 20 or more days during a calendar year for cash-pay on a time basis.[1] Farm crew workers are employees of the crew leader if the crew leader (a) arranges with the farm operator to furnish workers; (b) pays the workers either on his own behalf or on behalf of the farm operator; and (c) is not designated as the farm operator's employee in a written agreement between himself and the farm operator. The crew leader in this case is considered self-employed and is responsible for the payment of employment taxes and for reporting the workers for Social Security purposes. If an agreement has been entered into in writing that the crew leader is the farm operator's employee, all his crew members are also employees of the farm operator. If the crew leader does not pay the workers or has not entered into a written agreement as above, the common-law test is applied in

determining the identity of the employer of the workers and the status of the crew leader.[2]

A number of factors prevent migrant farm workers from receiving the protection of the Social Security Act: Many workers do not earn as much as $150 from an employer in a calendar year or work 20 or more days for an employer on a time basis; uncertainty of whether the farmer, the crew leader, or the migrant himself is an "employer" has produced widespread controversy, and consequently no consistency in regard to who, if anyone, deducts and matches Social Security contributions for farm workers; where crew leaders are indeed employers of farm workers, there is no enforcement of Social Security regulations; and where farm workers work in family units and earnings are recorded as family earnings, accounts of individual family members cannot be credited with their individual earnings, and usually no one receives proper credit for the work performed.

To bring farm workers under the Social Security Act, the standards of the law should be lowered to include those workers who earn $50 (not $150) or more from an employer in a calendar year. The Social Security Administration and the Internal Revenue Service (the collector of the Social Security Tax) should reformulate specific administrative rules governing work in agriculture. For example, amend Chapter 7, Title 42, sec. 410 of the Social Security Act[3] to read: Where doubt exists as to who is the employer of a given employee, the decision shall turn on who pays for the work done, whether by the hour or by any form of piece rate or share basis. In situations where the crew leader is considered the employer, evidence of deduction and matching of Social Security contributions should be made a prerequisite for registration under the

Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act of 1963.[4] Finally, where individuals work in agriculture in family groups and are paid by any form of piece rate or share basis for the services performed, the earnings of the family group should be regarded as the earnings of the designated family head for taxing and crediting purposes.

2. The Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act of 1963

The Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act of 1963 is designed to prevent the exploitation of migrant agricultural workers by farm labor contractors.[5] The act requires a farm labor contractor (crew leader) to obtain a certificate of registration from the U. S. Secretary of Labor, if the crew includes 10 or more migrant workers who will be used in interstate agricultural employment. The act prescribes certain duties for the contractor, lists certain undesirable practices which are prohibited, and provides machinery for refusing or revoking a certificate of registration.

Although this law does provide for supervision of crew leader behavior, greater safety in the transportation of farm labor, and access to labor market information from crew leaders, its primary impact in the Midwest is lost because Midwest migrants do not regularly suffer from the exploitation prevalent on the East and West coasts. In the Midwest, crew leaders are usually paid a salary, a bonus on the crop harvested by their crews, or both to compensate them for their organizational and transportation services. Only rarely does a Midwest crew leader receive total payment for his crew's work, take a percentage for himself, and then distribute the remainder to the crew, not telling them about his percentage. Workers are usually paid directly by farmers or

processing companies as are the crew leaders. Because the cost of crew leader services is such a small percentage of total labor costs for an employer, the crew leader does not even indirectly lower the potential earnings of his crew. It is to the advantage of the crew leader to seek greater efficiency from his crew, since he will usually derive a bonus from their productivity.

Regulation of exploitation by crew leaders in the Midwest is not needed. However, enforcement of this law should not be allowed to wane even when its main purpose is already served. As mentioned above, the law can certainly contribute to the safety of workers in transit (the law provides the basis for, among other protections, compulsory automobile liability insurance and safety standards for vehicles),[6] can discourage nefarious activities, and can contribute to a better understanding of the farm labor market. Data gathered in compliance with this statute must be made available to the public in its most complete form without delay. Only through increased knowledge can a comprehensive picture of the supply and demand for farm labor and a better utilization of resources be developed.

3. <u>The Fair Labor Standards Act - Minimum Wage for Agriculture</u>

The 89th Congress amended the Fair Labor Standards Act to bring certain agricultural employers under minimum wage regulation. Any employer employing 500 or more man-days of agricultural labor in any calendar quarter of the preceding year is subject to minimum wage regulations.[7] The federal minimum wage for agriculture now prevailing is $1.00 per hour.

There is no way to assess the extent of the impact of this legislation on the migrant worker, both because there is no way to determine

how many migrant workers would come under the law and because there is no way of estimating the degree of enforcement of the new amendment. Congress did intend that employees of only large farms be covered, and while the number of such large farms is increasing, it is safe to say that a large number of migrant workers are employed on farms where less than the equivalent of seven full-time workers are employed for a quarter of a year.[8] Needless to say, there will be enforcement difficulties too, which cannot be assessed here. But, remembering that agriculture has always demanded and obtained special exemptions from federal legislation, and that the agricultural industry is characterized by the fierce independent spirit of the small farmer, we can see that enforcement of the federal minimum wage for farm labor and especially for migrant farm workers will be difficult. It is now too early to tell what difficulties and/or benefits will come from this legislation, but not too early to seek wider coverage and stronger mechanisms for the enforcement of a federal minimum wage for agriculture.

4. The Fair Labor Standards Act - Child Labor

Farmers whose crops or products go either directly or indirectly into interstate or foreign commerce are subject to the child labor requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act. That is: Farmers may not employ children under 16 years of age in agriculture during school hours.[9] Farmers must also keep certain records required by regulations under the act regarding the minors they employ.[10] These requirements apply to the employment of migratory children as well as local resident children.

The law is a wonderful instrument. Coupled with the state laws governing compulsory education (as the Wisconsin law discussed below),

the Fair Labor Standards Act provides a strong base for the protection of minor children in their employment relations. However, no matter how good the law is, its effectiveness depends ultimately on its enforcement. The enforcement has been far from adequate. The Wage-Hour division of the Department of Labor has far too few staff members dealing with far too many migrant families to effectively enforce the law. The budgetary limitations which are now preventing this division from fulfilling its duties should be eliminated. With an adequate number of officials, and with the cooperation of state officials (which also must be nurtured), the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act will become more effective. Efforts should be directed toward improving the enforcement, not the substance of this federal act.

5. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

There are several sections of the Economic Opportunity Act which are directly applicable to migrant workers.[11] One is Title IIIb which deals with migrants directly,[12] another is Title IIb which deals with vocational and adult education,[13] and of course, Title IIa, the C.A.P. program.[14] Several comments must be made on the use to which this legislation is being put.

First, as with all retraining and adult education programs, OEO programs for migrants suffer because only the cream of the migrant population is exposed to such education, while the people who most need help get none. This problem cannot be easily remedied and in fact, no productive approach suggests itself.

Second, too many OEO migrant projects are hampered by bureaucracy and are oriented toward "Anglo" rather than migrant world view. In some

projects, there are not enough migrant participants or consultants on the administrative or field staffs to allow the programs to effectively serve the target groups which they purport to serve. In some projects, the migrant staff members are hampered by excessive regulation, supervision, and red tape so they cannot be effective contributors to the effort. In other projects, migrant staff members are hired merely as window-dressing; to appease the social thinkers. In such migrant projects, the basic purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act is flaunted.

Third is the more general matter of the availability of funds. The prospect of a diminution of the funds available for poverty programs and for migrants in particular is deplorable. Interested citizens should stand firm against any such politically expedient move by the present administration.

6. The Migrant Health Act of 1962

The purpose of this act, passed in 1962, is to expand services to improve health care and health conditions for domestic agricultural migratory workers and their families.[15] The act has two main provisions. The first authorizes the Public Health Service, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to make grants to public and other nonprofit agencies to pay part of the cost of establishing and operating family health service clinics, and other special projects to improve health services and conditions of domestic agricultural migratory workers and their families. The second provision authorizes the Public Health Service to encourage and cooperate in programs for the purpose of improving migrant health services and conditions. An expanded demand for these funds can only bring improvements for migrant workers and their families.

Such a demand must be cultivated by public and private social planners.

7. The Interstate Commerce Act

Federal law provides for the regulation of interstate transportation of migratory farm workers by certain motor vehicle carriers.[16] The Interstate Commerce Commission is authorized to establish reasonable requirements with respect to the comfort of passengers, qualifications of operators of the vehicles, and the safety of operation and equipment. Such requirements apply to carriers in the case of transportation of migratory workers for a total distance of more than seventy-five miles, and if such transportation is across the border of any state.[17]

Regulations under this law, issued by the Commission, list qualifications of drivers of vehicles transporting migratory workers, including physical fitness and minimum age of 21, and they place a limitation on the drivers' hours of work. They also require protection of passengers from cold; meal stops at least every six hours; and rest stops. In addition, the regulations include requirements as to the vehicles; they must have side walls and handles, seats with back rests, and smooth floors.[18]

There is generally inadequate enforcement of the provisions of the trucking regulations applicable to migratory workers. In fact, few migrants are aware of them. The problem is primarily one of inadequate staffing. There is some cooperation with state officers in states that have state trucking laws applicable to migratory workers. However, only a few states have such laws. The possibility exists that both federal and state trucking regulations can be more strictly enforced in the future if they can be administered in conjunction with the crew

leader registration law.[19] It may be possible to check drivers' equipment and trucks when crew leaders apply for their licenses. However, this will be far from a complete solution to the problem because the regulations are not limited to crew leaders, but also apply to family cars, station wagons, or trucks owned by families transporting migrant workers throughout the country. Speculatively, as the crew leaders are subject to more and more regulation, there may be a move toward the use of public transportation, expanded use of family cars, or the use of trucks to transport migrants to and from the fields only, relying on the migrants' family cars to get them to the harvest areas. If such a shift occurs, enforcement problems will surely multiply.

II. STATE LAWS AND PROGRAMS

1. The Wisconsin State Employment Service

The Wisconsin State Employment Service (WSES) should provide labor market information and related counseling and training services to migratory farm workers. In conjunction with employment services (or commissions or bureaus of employment security) in other states, the WSES processes clearing orders, directing the flow of migratory workers from areas of excess labor supply to areas of excess labor demand. This Annual Worker Plan is the largest single service the nation's public employment services perform. In Wisconsin, because of a lack of staff and because of the "local-interest" orientation of the existing staff, the service does not carry its clearing function to a logical end.

The WSES does not efficiently locate and relocate the migrant workers within the state as labor demand shifts. They provide little or no information about labor and crop conditions within the state or in

neighboring states. Local officials have little concept of the professional manpower policies of the WSES and the other state employment services cooperating in the United States Employment Service. They are concerned primarily with the labor problems of their local area and think secondly about the state as a whole and least about national labor problems; each successive step encompassing more the problems of migratory farm workers in relation to those of their employers.

The WSES does not communicate with migratory workers in Wisconsin. Wisconsin migrants are almost 100% Mexican-Americans but the WSES has no one on its field staff who speaks Spanish. WSES staff does not go to the workers, asking to be of assistance, or offering information. They await the visit of the worker to the office so he can ask questions in English (his second language) which might make him appear ignorant.

The function of clearing labor orders from states or areas of excessive supply to areas of excessive demand is one of the most important to the welfare of migrant farm workers. The WSES should continue its work with all diligence. However, the placement of workers once they have arrived in Wisconsin, and the movement of workers out of Wisconsin when another state's labor demand is more serious is equally important to the welfare of migratory workers. The WSES and its counterparts in other states should consider hiring field personnel who can most effectively communicate with the workers who pass through their states, hiring personnel who can conceive of labor problems on a state-wide and country-wide basis, and who will actively carry out the function of labor market intermediaries to efficiently distribute the country's labor resources to provide the greatest good for the greatest number of people.

2. Workmen's Compensation Insurance

Wisconsin passed one of the first Workmen's Compensation Insurance statutes in the United States in 1911.[20] In 1961 the statute was amended to cover agricultural employment on those farms where six or more workers are employed for 20 or more days in a calendar year.[21] For all intents and purposes, this revised statute covers the great majority of migratory farm workers who pass through Wisconsin each year.

A problem arises with the enforcement of this statute. The statute requires that covered employers post notices with certain information relating to industrial injuries.[22] Only recently have efforts been made to have these and other notices reproduced in Spanish where Mexican-Americans are likely to be employed.

Enforcement problems will not be eliminated with the continued introduction of Spanish language literature for migrant workers. Many workers can read neither Spanish nor English, and many more do not even understand the principles behind a Workmen's Compensation Insurance statute. The Industrial Commission should introduce a completely revised informational and educational program to better orient Mexican-American migrant workers toward the industrial-like environment in which they work. Other states, both industrial and agricultural should amend their Workmen's Compensation Insurance laws to include agriculture as in Wisconsin, and other states should make every effort to better educate and inform migrant farm workers about the ramifications of an industrial work environment.

3. The Migrant Housing Code of the State Board of Health

Chapter H 76 of the Wisconsin Administrative Code sets forth the minimum standards adopted by the State Board of Health applicable to all

migrant labor camps. The chapter is known as the Migrant Housing Code. A survey conducted by the Wisconsin Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor has revealed that this code is surpassed only by the Michigan code as the most rigorous and inclusive housing code of all the states which experience a substantial influx of migrant labor.[23]

The problem with this code is not in its substance, but in its enforcement. The State Board of Health does not have sufficient staff to conscientiously inspect and reinspect the over 330 camps in this state. The Board also has limited powers for enforcing their orders for closing and for repair of camps. Administrative channels between the Board and the Attorney General's office are clogged with tradition and strangled by a lack of funds. The Board has already applied for additional funds for inspectors and legal aid in enforcement. Some improvement may be forthcoming.

Other migrant-using states should enact and/or revise their housing codes to conform with the Wisconsin and Michigan standards, but even more important, all states should embark on a program of increased inspection and supervision of the housing facilities provided for migrant labor.

4. The Wisconsin Minimum Wage Law

Section 104.01(1) of the Wisconsin Statutes of 1965 reads: "The term 'employer' shall mean and include every person, firm or corporation, agent, manager, representative, contractor, subcontractor or principal, or other person having control or direction of any person employed at any labor or responsible directly or indirectly for the wages of another." There is no agricultural exemption in the Wisconsin Minimum Wage Law, but because its constitutionality was in doubt when the law was first passed,

it applies to women and minor employees only. The prevailing minimum wage in Wisconsin as of February 1, 1967 is $1.25 per hour for women and minors 18 years of age and over as set by the Industrial Commission.[24]

The Commission is also responsible, through its Labor Standards Division, for the enforcement of this law. In one respect, the Commission has managed to circumvent the difficulties imposed by the exclusion of men from the law. After examining the Wisconsin Fair Employment statute,[25] the Commission feels that to discriminate against men by paying them less per hour than women for comparable work is a violation of the law. A novel approach, but as yet untested by the courts.

The Commission, however, has failed in its primary task of satisfactorily applying the Wisconsin law to migrant women and children. There have been difficulties, to be sure, but the Commission's efforts have been small. Granted, it is difficult to convert piece-rate wages into hourly equivalents without extensive supervision and records of hours worked kept by employers. Granted, work in family units does not lend itself to computation of minima for each individual worker. But, these difficulties have to be surmounted since the law does not exclude agricultural employment. The Commission must use every resource at its disposal to make the law effective. Ideally, the legislature should pass a minimum wage law which covers men and women because only with such a law can Wisconsin claim complete protection for the socially disadvantaged workers of the state. For the present, the Commission must work with agricultural interests to devise a reporting and auditing procedure which will insure women and children in agriculture a "living wage."

As already noted, the federal minimum wage for agriculture probably will not cover many migrant workers. The Wisconsin wage is not being applied effectively to migrant workers. Other states do not have minimum wage laws or do not apply them to agriculture. Ideally, improvements should alter federal and state legislation and enforcement so that all farm workers may enjoy the social minima enjoyed by the industrial workers in this country.

5. The Wisconsin Child Labor Law

With the power granted by the Wisconsin Statutes,[26] the Industrial Commission issued a child labor rule in 1960 which reads in part: "No minor under 12 years of age may be employed or permitted to work ... in cherry orchards, market gardening, gardening conducted or controlled by canning companies and the culture of sugar beets and cranberries. (1) The presence of a child under 12 at the place where his parent or guardian is employed, if merely for the purpose of supervision, is not prohibited by this order, and (2) An employer is not deemed to have permitted a child to work at employment prohibited by this order if he has notified his employees of its provisions and has made reasonable effort to enforce such provisions and has not acquiesced in children under 12 performing such work."[27]

Wisconsin is one of the few states which regulates child labor in agriculture. It is a shame that this order is not enforced. There is difficulty in determining the ages of migrant children, and there is difficulty in keeping enough staff in the field to insure observation of the law. By instituting a system of child labor permits in agriculture as in industry, and by increasing the field staff of the Labor Standards

Division, this child labor order could effectively be implemented. In addition, the order should be reworded to eliminate the loopholes now present in subsections (1) and (2).[28]

6. The Compulsory School Attendance Law

The Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction is charged with enforcing the state's Compulsory School Attendance Law which provides (by 1970) that children between the ages of 7 and 18 (with special provisions for vocational education for children above 16) must attend school while it is in session.[29] The law does not discriminate between residents and non-residents of the state. That is, if a child of the proper age is in the state while school is in session, that child must attend, no matter where his permanent residence. The application of this law presents certain problems.

Many school districts cannot afford the temporary influx of migrant children in the spring and fall. Many cannot provide the bilingual teachers, the classroom space, the desks, books, and recreation facilities necessary for the proper education of an increased number of students. Naturally, many local districts are hesitant to bring migrant children into the system because it would only mean a lowering of the educational standards for the local children while the migrants were in the area. In other cases, there is a lack of employer cooperation in implementing the law where school districts do want to follow the dictates of the law. There are also problems of parental education, a lack of communication between home and school, a lack of study time, space and incentive in migrant camps, and the gross financial problems of migrant families. The Department of Public Instruction tries to give special assistance to those

districts which are centers of migrant concentration, but a lack of funds and staff has made their job difficult. This Department should exert all pressure on local districts to comply with the state school law and urge that it seek, anew, funds to aid migrant education.

7. The Department of Public Welfare

The Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare is equipped to serve migrants in two general ways. First, the Department administers a state-at-large fund to reimburse local welfare districts for general relief and emergency medical payment made to non-residents.[30] The law provides up to 30 days of general relief for persons who do not have a legal settlement within this state and who have resided in the state less than one year, and provides for independent payment of emergency medical expenses for these people. A fear by local administrators that they will be unable to prove that migrants are non-residents, a lack of knowledge of the program by the migrants, and a confusing mixture of county and local welfare administrations present the biggest hurdles to an effective use of this public welfare program. To remedy the situation, welfare information should be more readily made available to migrants in Wisconsin, tests for eligibility should be revised and simplified, and an appeals procedure to state officials should be instituted to remove any final decision about allocation of welfare funds from the myriad different local administrators.

Wisconsin also provides medical assistance to minors under Title XIX of the Social Security Act, and to certain adults, given revised and liberalized eligibility requirements.[31] The program is too new to be evaluated properly, but one obvious comment is that it will not be

effective for migrants unless the ramifications of the program can adequately be explained to the migrant population.

Secondly, the Department of Public Welfare, Division for Children and Youth (DCY) provides Day Care centers for migrant children aged 3 to 7 during summer months. These centers are designed to encourage a social and intellectual growth of preschool children. The centers have been in existence since the summer of 1962 and serve a valuable function as the first exposure to a school environment for young migrant children. It is hoped that DCY will continue to supply funds and personnel to run these centers and that they will increase their advertising and promotion activities to bring more eligible migrant children into the program.

8. The Proposed Labor Recruiter Registration Law

Several states, including Minnesota, Michigan, and Texas now have laws requiring labor recruiters to register with the local employment services.[32] The laws are supposed to prevent labor pirating and the misinforming of the migrant labor force. Such a bill was introduced in the 1965 session of the Wisconsin legislature. The bill never reached the floor.[33]

Comment upon this legislature is called for. The state of Wisconsin should never adopt such a law. Setting aside the possibility that Constitutional rights of free speech may be violated by such a registration law, the functioning of the labor market and the purpose of the State Employment Service should serve to preclude the need for such a law. The Employment Service provides labor market information about jobs and wage rates to agricultural workers as one of its most important jobs. This purpose is not aided by preventing information from reaching workers

independently through word of mouth, or through labor recruiters from other areas. If wages are higher, or conditions better in another state, then that information should be given to the workers either by the Employment Service, word of mouth, labor recruiters, or some combination thereof. No attempt should be made to regulate the introduction of this information. If this state fears the loss of labor before its own crops are harvested, then the agricultural industry should be prepared to match wages and conditions offered by other areas in active competition for labor. There is no a priori reason for believing that once labor comes into a state, that labor should be insulated from all other labor market information until the crops of that state are harvested. This type of thinking leads to a misallocation of resources and lower total earnings for agricultural workers.

To the proposition that the regulation of labor recruiters would prevent misleading and often false information from reaching the migrant workers, the reader should recognize that the market system can and must deal with these problems itself. Workers who are misled, will not often be misled again. To combat the risk of labor loss because of misinformation, employers should be made to bear the cost of wages higher than minimum to keep a stable labor force. If the state government is to do anything to change the labor market mechanism, it must provide reliable information to all who seek it, instead of trying to screen out information which can be used by workers to maximize their total earnings and to bring about a more optimal allocation of resources in the state and in the country.

9. Unemployment Compensation Insurance

Migrants in Wisconsin are not eligible for Unemployment Compensation

Insurance in agricultural employment.[34] The Unemployment Compensation concept places the responsibility for employment fluctuations upon the employer, rewarding him for keeping his own employment stable. Obviously, agricultural employers cannot readily control the fluctuations in their demand for labor and should not be required to bear the cost of such fluctuations. Thus, the Unemployment Compensation Insurance System of the State of Wisconsin as it is formulated should not be adapted to better serve the migrant farm worker unless the philosophies behind the law are first changed.

III. THE FUTURE OF THE MIGRANT WORKER

1. Collective Bargaining

When passed in 1935, the Wagner Act insured industrial employees the right to organize and bargain collectively with employers as to matters of wages, hours, and working conditions.[35] The law provided an administrative agency, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to oversee the application of the law; to determine appropriate bargaining units, to hold elections, to certify exclusive bargaining representatives, and to investigate unfair labor practices on the part of the employers and later the employees.[36] The basis for the law and the power granted to the NLRB as decided in the famous Shechter case and as stated in the act itself is the prevention of the disruption of interstate commerce by the actions of employers and employees in labor disputes.[37]

The agricultural industry today is at the stage of development which the manufacturing industries held in the 1930's. Labor unrest is interfering with interstate commerce. The industry has developed a structure which allows the development of unions of farm workers to bargain with a

relatively small number of employers about wages, hours, and conditions of employment. The industry is no longer composed of myriad independent small farmers and a larger number of uninformed and uneducated farm workers. Today, "agri-business" has large farmers and a more informed, more educated, and more structured force of farm workers.

The traditional reasons for excluding agriculture from coverage by the National Labor Relations Act -- the large number of uneducated workers, the large number of diversified employers, the vital nature of the industry, its inability to be efficiently controlled, and unfamiliarity with government regulations -- are gone. The threat of damage to our economy due to interference with interstate commerce in the agricultural industry has grown. The industry is gaining structure and organization much like any other manufacturing industry. Is it not time to reconsider the implications of taking agriculture under the NLRA? Why should governmental employees be given collective bargaining rights when they once were vehemently denied on grounds much more firm than those used to deny rights to agricultural employees? Why should agricultural workers not enjoy the same collective rights as industrial workers did in a similar stage of development?

The State of Wisconsin, as it has done in other fields, lead the country in adopting a state labor relations law in 1939 which did not exclude agriculture.[38] In 1964 and again in 1966, the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board considered cases arising out of collective bargaining in agriculture with the same efficiency and results as are experienced with more traditional industry problems.[39] In the 1966 case, the WERB considered a case which was denied jurisdiction by the NLRB because of agricultural status, and subsequently issued a cease and desist order in favor of

the agricultural union. The jurisdiction of the state Board was not contended by the employer. Considering this state history, there can be little doubt that the National Labor Relations Act is not being adapted to the changing employer-employee relationships which exist in the country today, and is losing its effectiveness as a viable instrument for preventing labor unrest and the resulting damage to the economic system. Congress must reconsider the place of "agri-business" in the structure of the economy and act accordingly to rectify the injustices visited upon this industry's employees because of their exclusion from coverage by the National Labor Relations Act.

2. The Importation of Mexican Nationals

In 1964, Congress refused to renew Public Law 78, the Bracero program.[40] The reason given for this action was that the importation of Mexican Nationals tended to undercut the wages and employment conditions of American citizens and served to perpetuate the pockets of unemployment throughout the country. Congress felt that the work done by Mexican workers could and should be done by Americans to alleviate the unemployment problems of some agricultural and urban areas, and to add to the national product of the country as well as to the well-being of the employed workers themselves.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (Public Law 414) provides another means for foreign workers to obtain six-month or longer permits to work in the United States.[41] On December 19, 1964 Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz issued a statement in which he described the program to be followed by the Department of Labor in matters concerning Public Law 414 and the importation of Mexican Nationals. Wirtz said: "First, there will be no administrative extension of the situation existing under Public Law No. 78. Second, the responsibilities of the Secretary of Labor

under Public Law No. 414 will be strictly administered in accordance with the Regulations which are being issued today.... Third, an active domestic labor recruitment program has been instituted and must be continued." (Emphasis in original.)[42]

The Secretary must carry out his promises. There has been an administrative extension of Public Law No. 78--witness the use of "greencard" Mexican Nationals to break the strike of farm workers in the Rio Grande valley of Texas. Does the Secretary of Labor believe that a labor shortage has been demonstrated by employers there because workers are out on strike? Is the Secretary strictly enforcing his Regulations under Public Law No. 414 or are local authorities warping the national interests to conform with the interests of local farm owners in predominately farm states such as Texas? Where is the active domestic labor recruitment program and what has it done? The Secretary has reported that the end of the Bracero program had little or no effect on prices of agricultural produce.[43] No wonder, with the supply of workers coming into the United States through the holes in Public Law No. 414, why should there be any impact? Every effort should be made to end Public Law No. 78 de facto just as Congress ended it de jure in 1964.

In conclusion, the federal and state programs serving migrant workers seem adequate in substance, but are lacking the enforcement needed to reach desirable social goals. This is not true in every case, but on the whole, the statement stands. In the future, the substance of all programs will have to change to meet the changing needs of the migrants, and new programs such as one to insure collective bargaining rights will have to be implemented so that migrants can be successfully integrated into an industrial and somewhat alien society.

FOOTNOTES

1. 42 U.S.C.A. sec 409(h)(2)(1964 ed.)
2. 20 C.F.R. sec 404.1004(c) (1958 supp.)
3. 42 U.S.C.A. sec 410 (1964 ed.)
4. 7 U.S.C.A. sec. 2041 (1966 supp.)
5. Cited at note 4
6. 29 C.F.R. sec. 40.4(b)(2) (1958 supp.)
7. 29 U.S.C.A. sec. 213(a)(6) (1966 supp.)
8. Five Hundred man-days per quarter is equivalent to seven full-time workers employed for a calendar quarter.
9. 29 U.S.C.A. sec. 213(c) (1964 ed.)
10. 29 U.S.C.A. sec. 211(c) (1964 ed.)
11. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 2713 (1966 supp.)
12. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 2861 (1966 supp.)
13. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 2802 (1966 supp.)
14. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 2782 (1966 supp.)
15. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 242(h) (1964 ed.)
16. 49 U.S.C.A. sec. 303(a)(3a) (1964 ed.)
17. 49 C.F.R. sec. 198 (1958 supp.)
18. Cited at note #17
19. Cited at note #4
20. Wis. Stats. sec. 102 (1965)
21. Wis. Stats. sec. 102.04(1)(c) (1965)
22. Wis. Stats. sec. 102.42(3) (1965)
23. Unpublished survey conducted by Mark Erenburg, Research Coordinator.
24. Wis. Admin. Code Chap. IND 72.03(1)
25. Wis. Stats. sec. 111.31(3) (1965)
26. Wis. Stats. sec. 103.66(2) (1965)

FOOTNOTES (con'd)

27. Wis. Admin. Code Chap. IND 70.16

28. Presence of child for supervision and relief of employer after "reasonable" effort to notify parents are both unenforceable provisions destroying the impact of the order.

29. Wis. Stats. sec. 40.77(1) (1965)

30. Wis. Stats. sec. 49.01(7) (1965)

31. Wis. Stats. sec. 49.45 (1965 supp.)

32. Minnesota Employment Agency Law, 184 Minn. Stats. (1961); Michigan Emigrant Agent Licensing Act, 73rd Legis., regular session, 1966; Texas Labor Agency Law, 51 Legis., regular session, 1949.

33. 1965 Legis. Senate Bill 688 introduced upon request of the Industrial Commission, May 12, 1966.

34. Wis. Stats. sec. 108.02(5)(g) (1965)

35. 29 U.S.C.A. sec. 141 (1964 ed.)

36. Modified by Taft-Hartley Act and cited at note #35.

37. Schechter Poultry Corporation v. U.S., 295 US 495, 55 S. Ct. 837, 79 L. Ed. 1570, 97 ALR 947; and 29 U.S.C.A. sec. 141(b) (1964 ed.)

38. Wis. Stats. sec. 111.01 (1965)

39. James R. Joseph & Frank Thompson v. Earl Drewelow and Dale Rethanel, d/b/a Mt. Nebo Fur Farm, WERB Case I, No. 9739, Decision No. 6898.

    Obreros Unidos v. James Burns & Sons Farms, Inc., WERB Case I, No. 11,141, Decision No. 7842.

40. Pub. L. No. 78, 82nd Cong. 1st sess. (July 12, 1951)

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42. "Statement by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz on the Termination of Public Law No. 78," U.S.D.L. Release No. 6442, December 19, 1964.

43. "Year of Transition, Seasonal Farm Labor, 1965," A Report from The Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz.

Ag. Workers

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 7, No. 28 July 10, 1967

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

GREAT IMPACT OF HEARINGS—Sen. Ralph Yarborough of Texas (right) holds up his Texas Bar Association card during farm labor hearings to explain his own membership in a strong union. Live televised coverage (above) of hearings from Edinburgh, center of Texas citrus industry.

All photos by Marc St. Gil for Black Star, except p. 6 lower left

Texas farm workers' struggle heard by Senate committee

RIO GRANDE CITY, TEXAS—

Thunderclap from a Senate hearing a week ago brought water to the parched earth of south Texas where miserably paid farm workers have been on strike against million dollar fruit and vegetable farm corporations.

The power and glamour of the United States Senate came to this grimly impoverished Texas land like a spectacular thunderstorm—complete with flashes of lightning, welcome rain, and a beautiful rainbow afterwards.

It was difficult to measure the political rainfall because the gullies were gushing with water that washed away the lizards and cactus, and

(Continued on page 2)

File: Migrant Workers

Distributed in Atlanta - 1/16/73

"FARM WORKERS' STRIKES & BOYCOTTS"
CONTINUING STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

The agricultural industry is putting together another major effort to stop the farm workers' union. As of this writing the leadership of the Teamsters Union has decided to join the employers in this effort.

The "growers" (meaning the decision-makers of the industry) have developed a four-fold strategy:

1) Attack the motives and efforts of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers.
2) Resist all grass roots UFW organizing (by firing union members, refusing to negotiate, resisting renewal of contracts, denying access to union organizers).
3) Invite the Teamsters in when it is necessary to thwart United Farm Workers.
4) Divert attention from the moral issue of justice and dignity for farm workers by talking about the "jurisdictional dispute", "elections" and "reasonable legislation".

Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers intend to continue and strengthen their non-violent campaign. They will organize farm workers and ask for support from concerned people all over the world. Every person who reads this paper can help in the following simple ways :

a) Avoid all head (iceberg) lettuce and table grapes unless they bear the United Farm Workers' Aztec eagle label. Also avoid all Gallo and Franzia wines (all wines from Modesto, California are Gallo wines; all wines from Rippon, California are Franzia wines).
b) Offer to help your local boycott committee (325 Second Ave. S.E. Atlanta, Ga. 30317; 373-0201)

How did the lettuce strike get started? For years lettuce workers quietly organized local UFW committees and waited for the successful completion of the Delano grape strike. In July of 1970 as the grape struggle was ending, the United Farm Workers (UFW) petitioned lettuce growers for secret ballot union representation elections. The growers sought out the Teamsters Union and signed back door contracts. The workers were not consulted. Denied elections, they went on strike August 24, 1970 to demonstrate that they wanted to be represented by Cesar Chavez' UFW. 7,000 workers walked off the job in what the L.A. TIMES called: "The Largest Farm Labor Strike in the U.S. History." As a result of the strike several growers rescinded their contracts with the Teamsters, held elections, and negotiated contracts with the UFW. About 10% of the lettuce bears the UFW label.

What about the grapes and wines? On April 16, 1973 the majority of the Coachella Valley growers refused to renew contracts with the UFW, signing with the Teamsters Union instead. The Farm Workers immediately went on strike, and called for a renewal of the grape boycott. Later in the summer of 1973, grape growers in the San Joaquin Valley followed suit and signed with the Teamsters. The strikes spread, with increasing incidences of violence and intimidation by Teamster "goons". Unjust mass arrests of striking farm workers in all major grape growing areas brought many religious leaders to the picket lines; these supporters, in turn were arrested along with the farm workers. In August, one UFW striker was shot to death by a sniper; another died as the

result of injuries received at the hands of a deputy sheriff in Arvin, California. In August 1973 Cesar Chavez called off the Strikes, rather than risk further violence.

Why a boycott? For 100 years growers have broken strikes by intimidating local workers and importing strikebreakers and by enlisting the cooperation of local law enforcement officials who issue restrictive injunctions, enforce them aggressively and provide a police escort service for strikebreakers.

Workers in agriculture have had many strikes but their employers have been willing to accept limited losses rather than negotiate with their workers. In Salinas on September 17, 1970, a local judge outlawed all strike activity on the ground that the strike was a violation of California's Jurisdictional Strike Act. The workers chose to appeal that court decision and to continue their struggle through the lettuce boycott.

What was the outcome of the court appeal? On December 29, 1972, the California Supreme Court, in a 6-1 decision, overturned the 1970 injunction and ruled that the lettuce growers had unfairly interfered in union affairs by recognizing the Teamsters Union as the exclusive bargaining agent for the growers' lettuce workers when in fact neither the growers nor the Teamsters had consulted any farm workers.

Why is it important which union represents farm workers? The farm workers' struggle is for justice and self-determination. Farm workers are interested in more than higher wages. They want to participate in building a union of their own. They want leaders they trust. For these reasons they want Cesar Chavez and the UFW. They have demonstrated their clear preference for UFW in the great lettuce strike of 1970 and in the elections supervised by the Catholic Bishops Committee at Interharvest and at other lettuce ranches that have negotiated contracts with UFW. (There have been no representation elections of any kind at Teamsters ranches.)

A Lutheran clergyman whose father found dignity through the struggles of the UAW has written to the President of the Teamsters: "You are a busy man so let me come to the matter of central importance. Contract terms (benefits) have never been the primary reason to organize workers. Organizing has first to do with you consciousness of being a self-determined person, acting, rather than being acted upon, free, rather than oppressed. Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers aim at this primary goal. I don't get the impression that you do."

The issue is simple at its core; should farm workers have a union of their choice or should growers be able to pick a union and impose it on their workers?

The growers keep saying that they are for election and Chavez is not. Recent events should end that discussion! UFW and the lettuce workers wanted elections in 1970 and were refused. The growers signed contracts with the Teamsters without an consultation with workers (no strike, no secret ballot, no card check, no ratification). If growers are in favor of elections, why did they sign Teamsters contracts behind their workers backs?

The growers say that the farm workers' boycott is vicious and immoral! The British must have had similar feelings about the potent boycotts used by Sam Adams and other American patriots in the 1770's. The farm workers' boycott is an effective non-violent way for millions of concerned Americans to be with poor people in their struggle for justice. The boycott is a beautiful thing for the poor. It is hated because it is ecenomically effective. If the growers and the chain stores would stop fighting the farm workers union and use their influence to bring about more justice for farm workers then there would be no strikes and boycotts. It is the intransigence of the powerful that makes the boycott necessary. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. used to say: "We are not boycotting to put anyone out of business; we are boycotting to put justice in business."

The Farm Bureau says that migrants are disappearing and that they represent only 10% of the farm labor force: There are 3 million farm workers in the USA according to a 1972 USDA paper entitled "The Hired Farm Working Force of 1971." The Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor in its 1969 report placed the migrant population in the country at one million. The USDA study found that the average migrant earns $1407 per year. 800,000 farm workers are children under 16 years of age; 300,000 of these children are migrant farm workers ("Child labor in Agriculture" American Friends Service Committee, 1971).

There are still hundreds of thousands of poverty stricken migrant farm workers. According to the U.S. Public Health Service the average life expectancy of migrants is 49 years. The nationwide average expenditure for migrant health in 1967 was $7.20 per person. For the U.S. population as a whole the figure was $256.00 (Research & Statistics, Note #7, 6/18/70, Social Security Admin. of the U.S. Dept. of H.E.W.)

In regard to lettuce, the growers talk about good wage if workers move with the harvest but forget they are proving that migrancy is necessary in the lettuce industry. The lettuce harvest moves geographically from Arizona to So. Calif. to Northern Calif. to Central California to Arizona. To even get close to 8-10 months of work a worker must migrate 4-6 times a year.

How important are wages to farm workers? Are other issues also important? Wages are very important because farm workers whowork under union contracts can now buy and rent their own homes and feed their own children instead of being dependent on charity. But wages are not as important as other issues that confront USA farmworkers:

1) Speed-ups, arbitrary firings, and personal abuse by foremen, supervisors and labor contractors. It is not uncommon for women to be degraded and their husbands humiliated by the personal attention of the "bosses." To resist is to be fired.
2) Lack of toilets and cool, clean drinking water in the fields.
3) Exploitation by labor contractors and crew leaders who overcharge for transportation, food, water, housing, loans, etc: who fail to pay Social Security to the government even after they have withheld it from the workers; who control the lives of their workers. The Teamsters' leadership and the lettuce growers are committed to continuing the labor contractor system. The UFW is just as determined to replace labor contractors with a union hiring hall.
4) A sense of futility and helplessness; without an enforced union contract farm workers have no grievance procedure, no way to protest mistreatment without risking their jobs -- so farmworkers silently swallow humiliatons in order to feed their children.

What are some of the benefits of the United Farm Workers' efforts?

1) Growing conviction that the poor can make changes through determined non-violent struggle.
2) Demonstration that Filipinos, Blacks, Whites, Chicanos, Arabs, Puerto Ricans and others can work together in one union.
3) Witness to the power of sacrifice and service on behalf of the oppressed: a challenge to all of us.
4) New hope among farm workers everywhere.
5) A new spirit of self-respect and independence that takes the place of fear and helplessness as farm workers organize, picket, build the boycott, form ranch committees, negotiate contracts and work in their own committees to enforce those contracts.
6) The Robert F. Kennedy pre-paid Medical Plan that has paid out two million dollars in benefits to farm workers and their families for: doctor visits, X-rays, lab work, medicine, maternity, surgery, hospital bills, death benefits, emergency dental care and ambulance service.
7) Farm Worker clinics (not government clinics or charity clinics) in Delano, Calexico, Fresno, and Salinas.
8) A Farm Workers' Credit Union controlled and administered by farm workers.
9) Agbayani Retirement Village for Filipino workers; now under construction in Delano.
10) Through the hiring hall an end to the labor contractor and crew leader system; an end to 4:00 A.M. "Shape-ups" where farm workers sell their bodies and their work to the highest bidder and climb into cattle cars to be taken to work; and an end to arbitrary firings, black-listing and discrimination in employment.
11) Job security for those farm workers who, after the age of 40, must still feed their children but who can no longer run through the fields with the youngest workers.
12) For farm workers, protection from poisonous pesticides in the fields; for the consumers, less poison on our food.
13) Other contract benefits, e.g., grievance procedure; seniority system; vacations and holidays with pay; toilets, washing facilities and clean, cool drinking water in the fields.

The time has come for justice for farm workers! United Farm Workers are doing the work and making the sacrificies that will bring that result. They need your support!!

"Why are our opponents so afraid of a union for migrant farm workers? Is it so much to ask that the poorest people of the land have a measure of justice?... Somehow these powerful men and women must be helped to realize that there is nothing to fear from treating their workers as fellow human beings. We do not seek to destroy the growers. We only wish an opportunity to organize our union and to work non-violently to bring a new day of hope and justice to the farm workers of our country." ---- CESAR CHAVEZ

UNITED FARM WORKERS AFL-CIO
325 Second Ave. S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30317
373-0201

Migrant Workers

January 16, 1974

Brothers and Sisters:

I'm sorry I can't be with you today as planned but I feel that yesterday's tragic accident in Blythe California requires my personal attention.

A bus carrying 45 lettuce workers missed a turn and plunged into a canal of water 8 feet deep. Nineteen of our brothers were killed. Seven are in critical condition, one paralyzed.

Too often we've seen unsafe buses for the workers go without needed repairs. Too often we've seen farm workers driving 125 miles and more before and after work because the growers and labor contractors won't spend the money to hire bus drivers.

It is physically impossible for a worker to drive a bus that far every morning, work all day in the fields, and then drive the other workers home at night, day in and day out, without rapidly impairing the physical ability needed to safely operate a bus. Since its inception our Union has fought against the greed of growers and labor contractors who care more about a few extra dollars than they care about human lives. Perhaps now you can see why we do so.

The seven seriously injured farm workers are now in the hospital at Blythe, a hospital totally inadequate for the emergency even if Mexican green-carders could otherwise expect good care. Therefore, the Union is making arrangements to have our injured brothers moved, if at all possible, to San Diego where they will receive better treatment.

Even though all of the killed and injured are not members of the United Farm Workers, there is no other organization willing or capable of handling the emergency. I have directed our field offices, our Union headquarters and the Farm Worker Service Center to immediately take whatever action is necessary to assist the injured and the families of the deceased. The Mexican government is demanding $1000.00 for the return of each body and so far has prevented our attorneys from speaking with the survivors.

All union offices will shortly be directed to begin raising the money needed to cover medical and funeral expenses of the Blythe victims. Only when there is a strong union truly representative of farm workers will such tragedies as this be avoided.

Much as I regret being unable to speak with you today, I feel it is necessary for me to personally take charge of the situation.

I beg your forgiveness for my absence and hope that you understand.

Viva la Cause!!!

Cesar E. Chavez

United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO, 325 2nd Ave., SE. Atlanta, Ga. 30317. 373-0201

Migrant Workers

THE COCA-COLA COMPANY FOODS DIVISION'S

AGRICULTURAL LABOR PROGRAM

A PROJECT IN PROGRESS

The following report outlines progress being made in The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division's Agricultural Labor Project in Florida. This report reflects accomplishments since the last report was issued on December 31, 1971.

I. In the area of housing, the following objectives and/or activities have been accomplished:

1) Twenty-five of the 85 two-to-four bedroom, landscaped homes in the Lakeview Park site have been occupied.

2) Of the total, 33 homes have been completed and 14 more are under construction. Seventy-one plans for new homes have been submitted to and approved by FHA.

3) Fifty-eight applications have been submitted to FHA; to date, 34 have qualified and been approved and none has been rejected.

4) Improvements to the common land in the Lakeview Park site have been designed and accepted by the Homeowners Association. These include walkways, tot lots, a pavilion on the Lake Clinch beach for recreation and community activities, a play area, a basketball court and a parking lot to accommodate field equipment, buses and trucks.

5) Six applications for mortgages for new homes in Indiantown have been facilitated by the Fort Pierce/Indiantown Community Development Corporation serving that area. The

Community Development Corporations (CDC), run by the workers, govern and implement activities in the area of health, education and social services.

6) Company-provided houses are being phased out in the Avon Park/Frostproof/Wauchula area. Assistance in finding new homes for groves employees in this area has been offered by a Company housing specialist. Of the 22 families needing to be relocated, six have chosen to take care of their own needs independently. Of the remaining 16, twelve have been put into contact with a realtor or builder who has been screened for reliability and who can arrange for FHA low-income housing. Two families have moved into new homes and two more have made FHA applications. Referrals have been identified for the other four, but contact has not yet been established.

II. <u>In the area of health, education and social services, the following objectives and/or activities have been accomplished</u>:

A. 1) The Ft. Pierce/Indiantown Community Development Corporation (CDC) opened its Child Development Center in Indiantown on January 10, 1972, five days ahead of schedule. Seventeen children of mothers working for the Company are already enrolled, with additional enrollments anticipated. The children range from four months to 5 1/2 years. A staff consisting of a coordinator and six aides operates the center from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., five days a week.

2) A second Child Development Center in Ft. Pierce is planned.

3) The Child Development Center staff continues to receive training one night a week and one full Saturday a month. In addition, the Vocational Home Economics Department of the State Department of Education has provided a full-time educator to teach the staff all facets of operating a child development program, leading the staff to para-professional status.

4) Application under Title IV-A, funds for voluntary agencies for day care for low-income families, has been submitted by the CDC. If approved, these funds will provide 75 percent of Child Development Center costs.

5) The first annual meeting of the CDC, held on February 19, was attended by over 200 persons. New Board members were elected by secret ballot and reports were presented at a session marked by a luncheon and by entertainment.

B. 1) The Avon Park/Frostproof/Wauchula Community Development Corporation has negotiated a lease with the Company at one dollar a year for the use of the former Labor Dormitory Campus at Frostproof as a multi-purpose community center. The Campus, consisting of eight buildings surrounding a grassy recreation area, will be utilized for a Child Development Center, a Living-Learning-Library Center, a recreation center and offices of the Community Health Aide and of the Community Coordinator, as well as for classes and meetings. The dormitory campus, constructed in 1970

to house single harvesting workers, is no longer needed for that purpose, due to stabilization of the work force and increased productivity of the harvesting employees.

2) Bids have been received for the remodeling necessary to create the new Child Development Center, which is scheduled for use in May. Application for Title IV-A funds, similar to the Ft. Pierce/Indiantown application, has been submitted.

3) The Living-Learning-Library Center will be funded through a $75,000 grant under the Library Services and Construction Act, and a $25,000 contribution by the CDC out of its 1972 allocation from the Company. It will utilize one of the buildings in the Campus complex. The program will be determined and operated by the CDC under contract with the State Division of Library Services, which will offer supervision, administrative guidance and advice. In conjunction with intensive use of printed and audio-visual media, stress will be placed upon such programs as a reading and study center, tutoring , participation in clubs and other activities of interest to the local population, self-help programs, use of drama, recording of oral portraits, life styles and cultures, and various art forms.

4) In the face of a severe shortage of dental services, the CDC has provided, for the second time, a volunteer dentist for two full days, utilizing the Department of Health's Frostproof facility, for adult emergency and child preventive treatment.

5) A Youth Committee has been established, composed of boys and girls who are in the Frostproof High School Band. The Committee will seek: to form a local band, to develop and publish a newsletter and to serve as a nucleus for encouraging youth to enroll in college.

6) Regular monthly sessions with the CDC's attorney on basic legal rights, contractural agreements and consumer problems have been started.

C. 1) The Central Region Community Development Corporation has continued the activities referred to in previous reports.

2) The Board continues to stress the need for educational activities for its own members and accordingly has made available programs in basic reading and writing and in consumer education. It is also sponsoring group meetings with local health personnel for educational and program purposes.

3) Two factors that tend to slow down progress in program implementation -- the geographic spread of communities involved and the severe need among the people for better communication skills -- have been recognized and attempts are being made to overcome them.

4) The CDC's Building Committee has chosen a site for its Community Center and requested approval by the Company. It has developed a proposed design for the building.

5) The CDC has engaged an attorney to conduct its legal affairs and to provide classes in legal rights and obligations.

D. Monthly, two-day training sessions have been held for the CDC Board members, as previously reported. They will continue through May, when they will be evaluated for the purpose of further training plans. As part of the training program, handbooks on job descriptions for 15 different positions in the Agricultural Labor Project affecting the CDC were developed and used as training tools. Guidelines for Board members on effective operation of the Community Development Corporations were developed and adopted. Handbooks on management for the Board's supervisory personnel were developed and adopted. These include standards of performance, management procedures and personnel policies and practices.

E. 1) The medical screening and referral program for all non-regular employees and for family members of all employees, a total of approximately 4,000 persons, got underway on January 10 in the Wauchula area. The program consists of three parts; (1) a pre-screening interview to gain the involvement of the family, (2) an interview to obtain the basic medical history and the taking of necessary specimens and (3) a medical examination by a physician together with interpretation of results and referral to private or public medical resources where indicated.

2) The following are some of the findings based on the first 24 families (82 individuals) taking the medical examinations:

9.8% had major illnesses

21.9% had minor illnesses

99% had poor dental health

E. Reading Is Fundamental, a supervised, free distribution of new books selected by the people, has been underway during the past three months. The program is carried out by the Community Aide in charge of the Mobile Community Center. The aide underwent a period of training in the principles of the national Reading Is Fundamental program. These included helping the people select books and methods of ordering, acquiring and distributing books and other media. The three Community Development Corporations allocated funds for books in their 1971 and 1972 budgets and set up RIF committees to assist in subject and title selections and to make arrangements for local distribution facilities. Distribution has occurred at planned intervals with the involvement of CDC's RIF Committee members, either at fixed locations close to the people to be served or through use of the Mobile Unit where necessary. The CDC's and their RIF Committees are currently assessing the program and seeking to improve its usefulness to the people.

III. <u>In the area of organizational development</u>:

1) Application of the techniques of normative systems analysis and implementation has begun. As of February 1, 24 out of 35 harvesting crew foremen have been keeping daily records with weekly averages of harvesting effectiveness. Recorded are the number of boxes picked and the number of days worked for each harvester. The foreman is thus able to see at a glance where irregular attendance or poor production occurs and can point out to his associates how these factors affect

their earnings. Achievement awards for crew effectiveness are additional incentives.

2) The normative systems implementation in Groves Operations has proceeded with the development of tools for increasing productivity and equipment maintenance and repair standards. Application of these tools is through regular, planned meetings between supervisors and employees, and supervisors and district managers.

IV. In the area of community relations:

The Company is continuing its documentation and public information activities described in previous reports.

Inquiries regarding this report should be directed to:

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(404) 897-2676

3/27/72

Coca-Cola Unit, Chavez' Union Reach Agreement

Citrus Contract in Florida Is First in Southeast; Other Growers Opposed

Pay, Fringes Are Increased

3/1/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

MIAMI, Fla.—Things go better with Coke, according to the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee. They wouldn't, retort other citrus industry interests, if Coke hadn't knuckled under to union threats of a national boycott.

These, in essence, were the reactions of the Florida citrus industry spokesmen to announcement of a three-year agreement between the farmworkers and the Coca-Cola Co. foods division. The accord provides for pay and fringe-benefit increases for the company's 1,200 agricultural workers in the state.

Under its terms, the 300 full-time, hourly paid workers will get increases of 25 cents an hour the first year and the 900 piece-rate harvesting workers will get an increase of five cents a box for most fruit picked.

A union spokesman said the contract provides for additional increases in each of the next two years, but said he didn't know the exact amounts.

The company's hourly paid workers were getting $1.85 to $2 an hour and the base rate for seasonal harvest workers on oranges had been 35 cents a box.

Union Hails Accord

The union hailed the settlement as the first collective-bargaining agreement for Florida citrus, as well as the first in the southeast for the California-born labor organization.

Cesar Chavez, head of the union, told a press conference here that "I hope this will break the dam for our movement in Florida." That isn't likely, some industry officials indicated.

Fred Adkinson, president of the Citrus Industrial Council, Lakeland, denounced the agreement as "an absentee-type contract between a union, with no roots in the area in which it is operating, and a huge conglomerate company with a lot of other interests besides citrus."

INFORMATION

ABOUT THE COCA-COLA COMPANY FOODS DIVISION'S AGRICULTURAL LABOR PROJECT

M — Ag. Workers — Coke Project

A PROJECT IN PROGRESS

The following is the first in a series of reports to outline progress being made in The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division's Agricultural Labor Project in Florida. This project is designed to raise the standard of living and the quality of life for groves and harvesting employees -- including migratory labor -- in the Division's citrus operations.

In reporting the accomplishments to date in this program a review of the guiding principles and objectives of the total activity could perhaps best place those accomplishments into proper perspective.

Seasonal agricultural workers have long been enmeshed in a tragic cycle of poverty, hoplessness and despair. Simply stated, the end result of the Foods Division's program is to break this cycle as it pertains to workers in its own Florida citrus groves.

We expect that this effort will be a long and difficult one. There will be, no doubt, setbacks and even specific temporary failures. Nonetheless, we are pledged to seeing it through successfully, making certain that this program's achievements are lasting ones.

PRINCIPLES OF THE PROGRAM

The Agricultural Labor Project is based on several underlying principles that are guiding all its activities. Briefly, they are:

--- That the program will be effective only to the extent that it fully involves the workers themselves in the solutions of their own problems and in the creation of their own destiny. We will guard against the assumption that one person can determine for another what is in his own best interest.

--- That the emphasis of the program must be upon accomplishments rather than promise. After years of promises and plans that have never come to fruition, seasonal agricultural workers have developed a "show me" attitude; thus, while the program is being implemented along a long-range time table, every effort is being made to continually take visible, immediate action in improving the life of the worker whenever and wherever possible.

--- That this program will be truly successful only when it is capable of sustaining and extending itself on a viable economic basis. A realistic repeatable model of social change, which can serve as a practical example to others, must in the long-run be capable of returning as much or more than it expends for it is only when that occurs that continuing progress and commitment can be assured.

--- That the program emphasize a self-help potentiality that exists within all of us. Paternalistically applied welfare programs, no matter how well intended, tend to demean the recepient as well as the donor; thus, interferring with the development of that human dignity and self-respect which is so essential to meaningful human progress.

--- That the complexity of the problems confronted in the project call for a systematic, sustained and fully integrated approach to bring about social change. Piecemeal, spasmodic and short-term efforts are not

likely to prove successful in alleviating deeply rooted traditional socio-economic patterns that have evolved and become institutionalized over periods of hundreds of years.

COMPONENTS OF THE PROGRAM

In summarizing the overall program, five main areas of activity emerge: (1) employment; (2) housing; (3) education, health and social services; (4) organizational development; and (5) community relations.

Sustained success in one of these areas is dependent upon success in the other four as they are so closely interrelated. For example, it is unlikely that a person with poor health will be able to make maximum use of employment or that a person with a lack of income potential will be able to purchase and maintain a home in which his family can live comfortably and with dignity.

In the area of employment, we are concerned with insuring productivity and in seeing that each employee has an opportunity to earn sufficient income to maintain himself and his family in a manner compatible with his basic needs. Questions of productivity, employee benefits, working conditions, training and orientation and opportunity for advancement all fall within this area.

It is our goal to see that groves and harvesting employees of the Company and their families have a chance to live in a decent, well-maintained house of their own selection and ownership. Programs to assist people in planning, purchasing and/or renting and maintaining their own homes fall within this area.

We are concerned with identifying worker needs in regard to health, education and social services and from them determining what existing services have to be made accessible and what new services have to be created to meet these needs. We will employ para-professionals drawn from the worker community itself to insure that the people's needs and the available resources and services are, in fact, connected.

Extensive training of management supervisory personnel and foremen will be undertaken to solicit their committment to the success of this program.

In the area of Community Relations, we are concerned with all relevant individuals and organizations such as growers, social action groups, federal and local social service agencies, state, county and municipal communities, etc. Those groups and organizations will be kept informed about the program so as to provide as much positive support and involvement as will be helpful to the interest of the seasonal harvesting employees.

To date, the following objectives of the Agricultural Labor Project have been achieved:

1. Three hundred groves employees, i.e., those who cultivate the land as opposed to harvesting personnel who pick the fruit, have been upgraded to "regular" employee status. As a result, those employees received a 23 percent increase in wages -- approximately $17 weekly -- and are now entitled to all benefits received by other regular employees of The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division, including health insurance, retirement and thrift (stock) benefits, vacations and holidays.

2. A Committee on Housing, composed of four harvesting employees, is surveying their fellow harvesting employees to determine their needs and desires on housing.

3. The Winter Park, Fla., architectural, engineering and planning firm of Schweizer Associates has been retained by the Foods Division to assist in planning new housing facilities to be purchased by the harvesting employees.

4. The Company has designated a 40-acre site of land for the expressed purpose of making homesites available to the harvesting employees.

5. A program of temporary improvement of current housing for harvesting employees has been completed. This temporary clean-up and repair project (carried out where possible by the workers themselves at $1.75 to $2.50 per hour) included:

-- general clean-up of grounds surrounding housing sites

-- removal of old cars and other large debris

-- painting of interiors of all houses

-- repair (or new) screens, doors, windows, etc. on current housing

-- playground equipment put into all living areas

-- sinks installed in houses

-- showers and hot water installed in all bathroom facilities

-- pest and rodent control program begun on regular basis

-- garbage pick-up begun on a regular basis

6. A committee composed of harvesting employees has been formed to advise on needs in the area of health, education and social services.

Four social service centers will be built and equipped to serve harvesting personnel.

7. Ten new buses, complete with toilet and first-aid facilities, have been delivered for use in transporting harvesting employees to and from the groves. Fifteen additional new buses have been ordered for delivery prior to the opening of orange harvesting season.

8. Fifteen existing buses have been reconditioned to include toilet and first-aid facilities as part of the total program to upgrade transportation for harvesting employees.

9. William Kelly, vice president and personnel director of The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division, has been named vice president of Groves Operations, with the major responsibility of implementing the Agricultural Labor Project. He has relocated from Houston to the Florida offices.

10. Gerald Abell, executive staff representative in the Corporate Personnel Department of The Coca-Cola Company, has been named manager of the Agricultural Labor Project, reporting to Mr. Kelly. Mr. Abell has relocated to Florida.

11. Scientific Resources, Inc., a behavioral science organization, has been retained to assist in the coordination and implementation of the project.

12. The first action of an employee development program has been the promotion on September 1 of a Black foreman to the position of area-supervisor.

13. A dormitory facility for harvesting employees, considered to be substandard, has been closed down permanently.

14. The Agricultural Labor Project has been discussed with representatives of both government and private social service agencies, including Opportunities Industrialization Committee, the U. S. Public Health Service, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity to solicit their advice, counsel and/or assistance in various phases of the total program.

Inquiries regarding this report should be directed to:

Garth Hamby
The Coca-Cola Company
Post Office Drawer 1734
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

(404) 875-3411

September 15, 1970
(Future reports will reflect accomplishments and activities from the above date.)

INFORMATION

Migrant Labor — Coke Project

ABOUT THE COCA-COLA COMPANY FOODS DIVISION'S AGRICULTURAL LABOR PROJECT

Emory Via
Fyi -
RC

A PROJECT IN PROGRESS

Report #2

The following is the second in a series of reports to outline progress being made in The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division's Agricultural Labor Project in Florida. This project is designed to raise the standard of living and the quality of life for groves and harvesting employees -- including migratory labor -- in the Division's citrus operations.

This report reflects accomplishments achieved since the issuance of the first progress report on September 15, 1970.

In that period the following objectives of the Agricultural Labor Project have been achieved:

1) The Company has designated an additional 15 acres of land for the expressed purpose of making home sites available to the harvesting employees. (A 40-acre site had earlier been set aside for housing.)
2) A dormitory to house single harvesting employees (as opposed to the family employees) that was considered to be substandard, has been demolished. It will be replaced with a new dormitory complex, to include a dining hall and a recreation facility, all situated in a campus-like atmosphere.
3) Mrs. Georgia Rushing, selected from the worker population, has been hired on a full-time regular employee basis as the first para-professional in the program. She will be trained to coordinate the various activities of the health, education, and social services aspect of the program.

4) The first social service center has been opened in temporary quarters, pending completion of permanent facilities. The center is staffed and in operation.

5) Four crews of harvesting personnel, totaling 100 persons, have been selected to participate in a pilot program on compensation. At the present, it is a general industry practice to pay harvesting employees on the basis of the number of boxes of fruit picked. These 100 employees, however, will test a compensation program involving a combination of the piece-work rate plus an hourly wage.

6) The Employee Committee on Housing has completed a survey of all occupants residing in Company housing. Results of the survey, which was conducted to determine the needs and desires of the families, have been turned over to the architectural firm retained by the Company as consultants in the housing area.

7) On October 17, families living in Company-owned housing, which represents about 175 persons, attended a "new community" get-together. This meeting included the following activities:

   (a) An exhibit of community plans, mortgage assistance programs available to prospective homeowners, development and construction schedules, which the community members could study, suggest changes and ask questions.

   (b) A discussion by groves management on the total Agricultural Labor Program with particular emphasis on housing. This was followed by a question-and-answer period.

   (c) A tour of the two sites set aside by the Company for employee housing.

8) Three different three-day training seminars were conducted in October for all levels of groves and harvesting management personnel. Participation

ranged from the president of The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division to harvesting supervisors and grove unit superintendents and harvesting foremen. This sensitivity-type training program was conducted by Scientific Resources, Inc., the New Jersey-based behavioral science group retained by the Company as consultants in the Agricultural Labor Program.

9) Applications for mortgages on new homes have been completed by all of the families currently living in Company-owned housing. These applications are now being reviewed by the mortgaging institution and relevant federal agencies.

Inquiries regarding this report should be directed to:

Garth Hamby
The Coca-Cola Company
P. O. Drawer 1734
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

(404) 875-3411

November 1, 1970

Readers Digest
May, 1970

Our 37-year-old apparatus for helping rural Americans has enriched a favored few, but never accomplished its original purpose. Wiser, more effective means are at hand—if taxpayers will speak sharply to their Congressmen

Time to Say No to Big-Farm Subsidies

By Eugene H. Methvin

Just try to fathom it. Two years from now, the federal government may be paying out more money in subsidies to farmers than it now lays out for crime and narcotics control, urban renewal, mass transit, water- and air-pollution cleanup, rural development and job training—*all combined*. Impossible? Not at all. For at this moment legislation is moving through Congress that by 1972 will present a fantastic $5 billion yearly to farmers *not* to grow cotton, wheat and feed grains.

The chances of this occurring are starkly real. And it worries thoughtful agricultural authorities. "At a time when important rural development, educational, health, housing and nutritional programs are being starved for funds," says former Under Secretary of Agriculture John A. Schnittker, "it does not make sense to continue exorbitant subsidies to thousands of farmers who already have high incomes and substantial wealth."

Indeed it does not. But it is happening. Yet the case is conclusive against continuing the old farm remedies devised nearly four decades ago. Ponder these facts:

- Farm subsidies have been costing us taxpayers $3.5 billion yearly. And this is only a part of the total cost, for they also boost the prices that we consumers must pay in the market. Cornell University Prof. K. L. Robinson estimates that the total effect is equivalent to a five-percent food tax—or about $100

File : Farm Problem

per family of four yearly. These payments are "doubly regressive," adds Michigan State agricultural economist James T. Bonnen, because "a major share of the cost is borne by consumers with below-average incomes, and a major share of the benefits goes to farm producers with above-average incomes."

• In the last four years alone, the Treasury has poured out $13.6 billion in farm subsidies. Yet, ironically, the payments have only intensified the very problem they were originally intended to cure—rural poverty. In 1968, the USDA mailed checks to 2,371,634 farmers. But two thirds of these got less than $1000 each, a skimpy 18.7 percent of the total $3.5 billion pie, while the lion's-share remainder was divided among only 785,242 big farmers. These payments helped the big farmer finance land acquisition and faster mechanization. "They sharply reduced farm employment, inducing heavy unemployment and consequent geographic movement of people," says the USDA's economic development director, John H. Southern. "They pushed the smaller farmer and middle operator farther behind in the struggle for technological adjustment."

A shocking result: Among those left out of the program, 400,000 farm families—one seventh of the total—average only about $600 a year income. (They will be eligible, under President Nixon's proposed family-aid plan, for direct grants to bring them up to the minimum income of $1600 per family.)

• Twenty-six million Americans, one fifth of our total population, lived on farms in 1947. Only ten million, one twentieth of the population, remain there today. Of these, two thirds are in increasingly difficult straits. Economists predict that we will ultimately have only 2.5 million farm people.

Must we now force more millions into cities, with the attendant problems of pollution, frustration and violence? Six out of ten adults in the nation's metropolitan centers, a Gallup poll shows, would prefer living in small towns or on farms. As President Nixon said in his last State of the Union message, "We must create a new rural environment which will not only stem the migration to urban centers but reverse it."

Nevertheless, Congress may now renew, with only minor cosmetic changes, the same discredited farm program that has intensified rather than eased the technological hurricane that helped depopulate and devastate America's rural culture.

Old King Cotton. How can Congress even contemplate such a course? The answer lies essentially in its archaic structure and rigid seniority rule, which delivers crucial legislative decisions to aging chairmen and narrowly composed committees incapable of weighing broader national needs.

The farm-subsidy scheme began in 1933 with the theory that the best

way to help depression-impoverished rural people was to guarantee higher prices for crops. In exchange, the farmers were required to limit the acreages they planted. Farm Congressmen soon convinced their constituents—and themselves—that their future depended on maintaining these subsidies, not on adjusting to changing technology and market demand.

Periodic Democratic or Republican sweeps in the wheat and corn belts left Democrats from the one-party "Solid South" in command, by seniority and survival, in the 34-member House Agriculture Committee. Result: Over the years, by rigging the payment programs and acreage allotments, "cotton men" have so fattened up the subsidy that cotton producers now draw half their gross income from the U.S. Treasury (compared to a third for wheat farmers, a fourth for feed-grain growers). Today, 13 of the 19 Democrats who dominate the House committee represent cotton, tobacco and peanut districts, embracing 12,143 producers who in 1968 collected an average federal payment of $14,379 each. Capitol veterans consider it a complete explanation of such a legislator's politics to say, "Oh, he's a cotton man."

Hunger as Hostage. The king of the House Agriculture Committee is its chairman, a wily 70-year-old Texas politician, W. R. "Bob" Poage, who came to Congress 33 years ago. Twice in the last two years, fed-up legislators overwhelmingly voted a $20,000 limit on payments to any one farmer, but Poage outfoxed them by accepting the Senate's unrestricted version. This year, with a showdown certain, he is trying an even more brazen strategy.

Urban and liberal Congressmen are eager to pass President Nixon's drastic reform proposed last May, to extend food aid to every needy American. (Only seven million of the nation's estimated 10 to 15 million hungry are being aided at present.) "Something very like the honor of American democracy is at stake," the President said. He proposed increasing the food-stamp program to $1.5 billion a year—six times the level authorized by Poage's committee.

The Senate promptly approved. But Poage bottled the reform up in his committee, awaiting this year's fight over the farm-subsidy extension. "It's the old vote-swap routine," explains Rep. Paul Findley (R., Ill.). "He's holding the hunger program hostage, in order to corral votes for his $2 billion for cotton."

Poage's committee oversees federal hunger programs simply because they began as efforts to dispose of the USDA's mounting surpluses. But the committee's chief concern has never been the programs' effectiveness in reaching the hungry. After repeated investigations found serious hunger and malnutrition in the nation, particularly in farm areas depopulated by the tractor revolution, the Senate in 1967 urgently authorized $25 million in emergency food and medical help. Poage and

his committee killed the proposal by a 22-7 vote. Last October, to an Urban Coalition witness urging prompt action on President Nixon's hunger legislation, Poage growled: "I have not understood why you and others are so concerned in maintaining a bunch of drones. You know what happens in the beehive: they kill those drones. This is what happens in most primitive societies. Maybe we have just gotten too far away from the situation of primitive man." (His words were eradicated from the published transcript.)

Rural Rags and Riches. The wretched record of the farm program in Poage's own Texas district is all too typical. Poage's 11 counties lie mainly south of Dallas. Incredibly, 109,476 of the 421,100 people fall below the official poverty level, with 17,508 living on welfare checks averaging $624 a year. Many are struggling along the tattered edge of subsistence agriculture. But a favored few 527 farmers flourish in the federal hothouse, harvesting $5000 to $103,581 each from the USDA—or a $12,536 average.

The contrast is most stunning in the easternmost four counties along the rich Brazos River valley. Cotton is the traditional big crop here. The four counties since 1950 have lost 19,865 population—more than one in five persons—and the small towns are drying up. Poverty, the bulk of it among rural whites, runs two and three times the national level.

Public Health Service physicians conducting a nutrition survey examined 289 people from 79 Limestone County families, two thirds of them poor. Most were elderly small farmers or children of displaced farm laborers. The doctors found shocking hunger and malnutrition: a third of the children under six, and 15 percent of all examinees, suffered from anemia due to diet deficiency. All needed immediate medical attention.

Incredibly, Poage has voted "nay" on each of three crucial votes over the past nine years on the Economic Development Administration, one federal program that offers depressed rural regions real hope. EDA's efforts in Poage's own district show how help can be channeled to depopulated farm areas. With two business loans in Falls and Robertson counties, totaling $1,277,000 (less than half the $3,419,000 showered on 194 farmers there in a single year), EDA has sparked a rug manufacturer and door fabricator to open plants that will provide 255 jobs.

"Jobs, adequate payrolls—that's the only answer we know," Marlin Chamber of Commerce director Ray Cole declares. "The farm subsidy checks end up in the hands of a few." His county, Falls, ranks among the poorest in the entire nation, with a family income average of $2287, and 61 percent of the families under $3000. In 1969 its unemployment level stood at 8.3 percent.

Not Again! Whether Poage's callous strategy of holding hunger legislation hostage for renewal of farm subsidies will succeed depends

squarely on the American public. Since the Administration thus far has declined to recommend any real agriculture-subsidy reform, Congress may simply go along with Poage—*unless the nation's voters tell their legislators sharply, "This time say no!"*

The American Farm Bureau Federation, whose membership embraces 1,800,000 families, is offering Congress and the nation a promising proposal (H.R. 9009) for drastically slashing farm subsidies, through a carefully phased program. Sponsored by 20 Senators and 43 Representatives of both parties, the proposal would:

- Reduce the $3.5-billion yearly subsidies for cotton, wheat and feed grains by one fifth each year, ending them entirely after 1975.
- Empower the USDA to negotiate contracts with farmers to retire at least 50 million acres of cropland, preferably whole farms, over the next 15 years. This would soften the impact of ending government surplus purchases and crop controls, while leaving farmers who choose to continue planting free to select their crops in response to market demand.
- Provide grants and loans to the thousands of struggling farmers who can never make a decent living on their few acres and hence must train for new off-farm jobs.

How would American farmers fare under such a program? Many have demonstrated that they neither need nor want perpetual subsidies. Out of some 250 U.S. farm commodities only cotton, peanuts, sugar, rice, tobacco, feed grains and wheat—40 percent of total farm sales—are subsidized and controlled. The other 60 percent of American agriculture is marketed without Washington's benevolent management. Producers of commodities from soybeans to livestock regularly shift production to meet consumer demands, and earn fair returns. Cattlemen, totally uncontrolled, are getting their highest prices in 18 years.

On the basis of studies by Iowa State University economists and others, Farm Bureau president Charles Shuman estimates that by 1975 his organization's plan could reduce the taxpayers' outlay for agricultural subsidies to one third or one half the present level. The savings could be plowed into President Nixon's new rural-development programs and benefit far greater numbers of rural Americans, many of whom are now left out in the cold. Shuman declares, "We believe it is time to get off the old dead-end road of government subsidies and embark in a new direction that will help *all* rural people. The issue's as simple as that."

For information on reprints of this article, see page 18

Three in One. Overheard in a dress shop: "My measurements are small, medium and large—in that order."

—Troy Gordon in Tulsa *World*

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF: 2/3/71

Emory F. Via

TO: ~~B.A.~~, ~~P.G.~~, ~~P.W.~~, ~~L.B.~~, ~~B.M.~~
~~D.R.~~, ~~B.J.~~, ~~J.M.~~, ~~J.H.~~
~~J.S.~~, ~~R.W.~~, ~~J.H.~~
~~B.E.~~, ~~P.A.~~

I thought you might want to know of these information sheets regarding the lettuce boycott now underway in Atlanta.

LETTUCE STRIKE FACT SHEET

The events are complex but the issue in the Salinas Strike is simple: WILL FARM WORKERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A UNION OF THEIR OWN OR WILL THEIR EMPLOYERS CHOOSE A UNION FOR THEM? The workers in the Salinas Valley, including Chicano, Filipino, Black and White brothers and sisters, organized quietly and waited patiently for a victory in Delano. As that victory took shape the workers asked for union representation elections in Salinas so they could choose their own union. The Salinas growers ignored their request for elections, sought out a local Teamsters Union and signed "back door" contracts, so called because Teamster leaders and growers met in a plush motel and made agreements without consulting the workers and without the knowledge of the workers. When these contracts were announced the workers were frustrated and angry.

The workers marched in Salinas, held rallies, organized ranch committees and went on strike at selected ranches to express their desire for their own Farm Workers Union. The Teamsters signed a juristictional agreement honoring UFWOC's right to organize farm workers. Most growers refused to release the Teamsters from the contracts.

Therefore, the massive strike began involving 7000 workers. Interharvest Co. signed a contract with UFWOC after an election supervised by the Catholic Bishops Committee proved that the workers wanted UFWOC. Also Freshpict and D'Arrigo Bros. have since signed UFWOC contracts. Judge Marion Smith in Santa Maria refused to grant an injunction against the UFWOC strike, which the growers sought, ruling that the strike was not juristictional since the Teamsters were unable to present evidence that they represented the workers. However, Judge Anthony Brazil issued a permanent injunction against UFWOC strike activity, which led the union once again to our only non-violent alternative -- the BOYCOTT.

In the 5 year struggle in Delano, Cesar Chavez and the farm workers with him demonstrated that non--violence can work. Through sacrifice, determination, and plain hard work they brought about a revolution in the grape fields. Millions of concerned people like you helped make that possible. The Salinas strikers need your help now. BOYCOTT FOR JUSTICE!

PLEASE ASK YOUR STORE MANAGER FOR FARMWORKERS UNION LABEL LETTUCE.

DEMAND TO SEE THE UFWOC EAGLE ON THE LETTUCE CARTON IN COLD STORAGE!

DON'T BE SATISFIED IN SEEING AN EMPTY BOX WITH THE UNION LABEL .... YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW WHAT YOU ARE BUYING.

FARMWORKERS AFL-CIO UNION LABEL

BOYCOTT STORES THAT HANDLE NON-UNION LETTUCE!

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO
Atlanta Boycott
232 12th Street NE Atlanta, Ga. 30309 Phone: 872-0580

Labor donated

Dear Friends,

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, has signed contracts covering the largest lettuce producers in California and Arizona. Every packing carton produced under these contracts will have the "Farmworkers AFL-CIO" union label with the UFWOC eagle stamped on the packing box. All other California and Arizona lettuce will be considered scab.

These contracts cover approximately 25% of the California and Arizona harvests and are adequate to supply the major chains and any wholesaler who specifically orders union lettuce. Please ask your wholesaler to carry these brands and supply you with Farm Workers Union lettuce.

BEWARE OF SCAB LETTUCE! Some growers have stamped their boxes with Teamsters labels and "picked and packed by union labor" rubber stamps or notices. This is a LIE! These growers have legitimate contracts with the Teamsters for packing and shipping their lettuce, but they do not have legitimate contracts covering their field workers. This lettuce is SCAB LETTUCE! picked by illegally imported strikebreakers. Please insist on seeing the "Farmworkers, AFL-CIO" union label and UFWOC eagle on every packing carton.

****

UNION LABEL LETTUCE: The following companies with their brand names, are Farm Workers Union Label lettuce growers:

1. INTERHARVEST, INC.

Blue Chip	King City	Favor	Amigo
Eagle Eye	Eagle	Gold Star	King Pin
Hawk Eye	Nunes Brothers	Queens T	Pasco
Chiquita (wrapped)			

2. FRESHPICT FOODS, INC.

Ram	Sun Blush	Three Crowns
Prime	Freshpict (wrapped)	

3. D'ARRIGO BROTHERS, INC.

Andy Boy	Carousel	Green Head

****

FARM WORKERS AFL-CIO UNION LABEL

For more information contact the

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO
Atlanta Boycott
232 12th Street NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30309 Phone: 872-0580

Labor donated

HOW YOU CAN HELP WIN THE LETTUCE BOYCOTT

1. Visit a chain store(s) twice a week to check the lettuce and talk with the manager. Let us know what you find.

2. Visit colleges, schools, hospitals, restaurants, church institutions, explaining the boycott and asking them to help farmworkers by purchasing Farm Workers Union lettuce.

3. Arrange for speaking engagements at churches, union meetings, house meetings, clubs, groups, etc. Someone will be available to attend.

4. Arrange for publicity in organization newsletters and newspapers. Write letters to the editor in your local newspaper.

5. Design and distribute leaflets and posters for publicity.

6. Get important organizations to pass resolutions supporting the boycott. The press should get this information.

7. We always need paper and office supplies if anyone is willing to donate.

8. Help us raise money by selling posters, bumper stickers, buttons. Arrange fund raisers such as concerts, car washes, wine-tasters, dinners, etc.

9. When the time comes, help us leaflet and picket a selected chain store.

10. We are open to your suggestions also.

If you form a local committee or if you are working on some of these actions individually, please let us know what you are doing.

For more details, materials or help contact us at

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO
232 12th Street NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Phone: 872-0580

Kathy and Joe Mariano

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

Labor donated

[7/21/71]

EAGLE EYE

File

...A LOOK AT THE FARMWORKERS' STRUGGLE...

UFWOC-ATLANTA
820 Moreland Ave.SE. Atlanta, Ga. 30316,Phone: 622-6296

JACK AND THE BOYCOTT

" YOU CAN MARCH OUT HERE FOREVER BUT HE AIN'T GONNA GIVE IN."

" JACK'S IS A BAD PLACE TO PICKET."

" You're under arrest!" What a way to end a Monday, and that evening, June 14, sitting in a hot, stinking city jail cell, I was beginning to believe that the picketing of Jack's Liquor Store was a big mistake. I now had the time, while watching the roaches scurry about in complete freedom, to think about those statements made by our friends and foes.

We started with 6 pickets - and immediately had 3 jailed for criminal tresspass, (and bail set at $1000 each) and it looked like the above advice and words were coming true. Jack's Liquors was the initial target of picketing because they. refused to talk about their moral responsibility in continuing to sell Heublein products (like Italian Swiss Colony Wines and Smirnoff Vodka) while the Heublein Corporation has some 10,000 migrant grape pickers living and working under slave conditions. (See "Big Ol' Winemaker" story).

We sent out a call to some of our supporters for help on the picketline, and continued to picket in spite of rain storms, constant police harrassment ("you can't walk across the driveways") and seemingly very little support on the line. Jack's hired 2 special policemen to protect his store, and we dug in for a long seige. We were now determined to make our stand here and not be moved.

For the most part, Black folk, union members and people from the Little 5 Points neighborhood respected our line, and on Friday night we discovered that the store seemed rather empty and quiet.

Saturday, we returned with spirits renewed and 4 additional people, which proved to be the breaking point. After 2 hours of picketing, the manager came out and said: "Mr. Mariano, J.C.Garner would like to talk with you on the phone."

Mr. J.C.Garner is the owner of Jack's as well as Bailey's Supreme Coffee and is rumored to be a millionaire.

"Mr. Mariano, what do I do to get the pickets off?"

(continued on page 2)

FIREPOWER VS. SOUL POWER

"I TOLD YOU NOT TO FOLLOW MY TRUCKS! YOU'RE GONNA GET BIG TROUBLE! YOU BETTER BELIEVE IT!"

"We believed you Sunday."

"MY CUSTOMERS SAID 'FORGET IT', THEY DON'T WANT ANYBODY TELLIN' THEM WHAT KIND OF GRAPES TO GET! YOU STAY AWAY FROM MY TRUCKS!!"

BANG! BANG! BANG! BANG! BANG!

HISS-SS-SS-SS. BANG!

"YOU GET THE MESSAGE!?!"

It's for real. This message was delivered by Jerry Harmon, produce deliverer working out of the Atlanta State Farmers' Market. He owns 3 trucks and was delivering non-union Arizona grapes to some of his customers. We followed a few of his trucks to find out who his customers were. They were sympathetic to buying union grapes and said they would tell Harmon.

Sunday A.M. June 28, Harmon came up to our van parked at the Market and said his customers wanted union grapes. We told him who he could get them from. It was a small victory.

Monday A.M. Mark and I saw non-union grapes on one of his trucks and began to follow the driver. After conferring with Harmon a few times the driver began leaving. We followed, while Harmon in a pickup and a man in a station wagon cut us off and forced us to stop.

He then delivered his message.

Our message to Harmon was an arrest warrant, which was served that evening for aggravated assault.

WE ARE NOT AFRAID

12 midnight I received a call saying the preliminary hearing was 9 A.M. the next morning. We began our journey to Clayton Co. court, complete with shot off crome strip, bullet slugs, shot-up tire and rim.

(continued on page 2)

JACK (continued)

"Just remove the Heublein products from your shelves", as we originally said.

Mr. Garner immediately ordered his manager to do just that, and UFWOC-Atlanta called off picketing at Jack's Liquors.

After the dust settled at Jack's, our staff discovered that nearby liquor stores had placed plain brown paper covering over the Heublein shelf display without even being approached on the boycott!

We also discovered, through a reliable source in the liquor industry that when Jack's was being picketed, the package store retailers had an emergency meeting about the situation. Although unconfirmed, it seems a conspiracy was in the making, as the Smirnoff distributor offered to bankroll the retail stores for any "extra" expenses (such as special police, loss of business, etc.), if they would fight the boycott. In keeping with a precedent of prevarications(like telling frantic store owners that it all would be settled, "in a few days"), the distributor never came through with the money, so the owners decided not to fight Heublein's battles.

It is difficult for these folks to realize that there are other ethics besides the dollar, as one dealer said: "I hope this is settled by negotiations because if you picket me, it'll cost you money."

"How?" we asked.

"Well, you have to pay your pickets, don't you?"

Asi es la vida. (Such is life).

SOLIDARITY FOREVER !

On July 8, UFWOC-Atlanta joined with other farmworker supporters around the U.S. in solidarity with massive demonstrations at Heublein's stockholders meeting in Hartford, Connecticut. Our 12 hour vigil at the office of United Vintners became a ten hour one because of rain and lonliness. Throughout the day we wore signs and passed out leaflets explaining our purpose. Out little old winemaker (a little bigger) told United Vintners (Italian Swiss Colony, owned by Heublein) that he was quitting until they had their grapes picked under decent conditions with a contract.

Despite the scarcity of supporters, CBS Channel 5 did a film interview with Joe. We thank them for that coverage and thank those supporters who visited with us:

Don, Judy, Anneke Bender
Phil Barnhart
Charlie Helms
Austin Ford
Vern King
Ron Lucas
Ted Brodeck

FIREPOWER (continued)

Harmon arrived with his lawyer, Ed Wallace and a court reporter. Wallace greeted Joe with: "You Commie S.O.B., You're gonna see what a Georgia chain gang is like!"

As things got heavier, Wallace questioned me on everything but the shooting incident: the union, Cesar, our staff, our budget, my background. Amid name-calling, threats, intimidation and shouting, Wallace accused Mark of shooting a gun first.

Miraculously, Harmon was bound over for trial by Justice of the Peace, MacMullen.

It was difficult to tell who was on trial especially when they tried to keep Joe from leaving by serving a subpoena. When he wasn't bluffed by that, a Harmon witness tried to physically stop Joe's car. The lawyer began screaming about a warrant for Joe's arrest on aggravated assault.

Even though we were fearful, we could say: "We are not afraid."

Kathy Mariano

!BULLETIN !

HEUBLEIN, INC., HAS REFUSED TO TALK ABOUT THE SLAVE CONDITIONS THAT EXIST IN THEIR ALLIED GROWERS VINEYARDS, UNTIL "UFWOC CALLS THE BOYCOTT OFF".

WE HAVE JUST BEGUN TO BOYCOTT!!

BOYCOTT ITALIAN SWISS COLONY WINES
BOYCOTT SMIRNOFF VODKA

BIG ! OLE WINEMAKER

Heublein conglomerate had a profit of 17+ million dollars in 1970. They own such diverse companies as H.Salt Fish n'Chips, Smirnoff Volka, Kentucky Fried Chicken, A-1 Sauce. Why is UFWOC "picking on" Heublein?

... see page 5

Editorial

WE SHALL OVERCOME

We've had some pretty powerful lessons this past month.

Sitting in a dark, stifling, stench filled jail cell, unfit for animals, yet overcrowded with 3 other humans with no place to lie except the roach infested, urine stained floor ... While I was in that cell, the picketing at Jack's seemed like an impossible task. (See story: "Jack and the Boycott"). One week later, when the Heublein products were removed it felt good to come out of the depths of despair to the fresh air of our first "victory". I hesitate to use the word victory, because I really don't consider it a victory "over" anyone, but rather a small step towards justice and reconciliation. I often hear that the boycott is a dangerous weapon, and can be used against innocent folk. Perhaps it can be used, but I am convinced that the only type of boycott that can succeed is one that is rooted in recondiliation and seeking justice.

The powerful weapon of the picket line was clearly outlined at Jack's and made me realize that picketing is never a futile pastime. The value of additional pickets to join in to reinforce the confrontation and achieve a significant non-violent change was also displayed here. When a gray haired, respectable looking woman showed up on Saturday, it really made a difference in our credibility , and the management of Jack's had a difficult time in dealing with her presence there.

So in a sense, I feel there is a lesson for ALL here. If you believe in non-violent social change - you can make a difference on the picket line. Do you really believe that? I do.

Sitting in a small foreign car, while an angered produce purveyor fires his .38 caliber pistol at the car, bullets ricocheting all about, and realizing that no one is around to see the incident . . . and sitting in a Justice of the Peace's office in Jonesboro, Ga., realizing that you're not gonna get any justice ..... (See story: "Soul Power vs. Fire Power")

The ugly incident at the Farmers Market and the Jonesboro court, reminded me that the boycott and la causa is no game. It's all very real with the suffering and struggling here in Atlanta, only a small fraction of the everyday misery of farmworkers or for that matter, Black folk here in Atlanta. So once again, for a very brief moment, I had the feeling of overwhelming odds, of hopelessness and oppression. For a flickering moment in time, I was a Black in the colony or ghetto, I was a Jew in Warsaw in the 1930's, I was a Chicano farmworker in 1970.

I am not one who dies blindly for a cause. My committment to the farmworkers is because their philosophy is one that parallels my philosophy of life - that of love, concern for life, for non-violent revolutionary change in ourselves and society. The farmworkers will only succeed in ending slavery, degradation and human misery by appealing to people's sense of justice. They are too few in number to do otherwise.

The song goes: "We Shall Overcome". (Nosotros Venceremos), neither I shall overcome, nor you shall overcome. So farmworkers appeal to you Mrs., to you, Pastor, to you Mr., to you, brother and to you, sister.

It is our last and only hope. Do you really believe "We Shall Overcome?" I do.

Joe Mariano

MUCHAS GRACIAS !

The boycott is people.... full-time and more important, the people who support it in their free time. For the boycott to continue, it has to depend on all its supporters.

We w ould especially like to thank the following brothers and sisters who have helped us either financially or with food and supplies.

O.P.E.I.U. #21
Steelworkers #3323
Asbestos Workers Local #48
Rev. J.A.Wilborn of Union Baptist Church
Lawson Saul of Arlan's Food Stores
John Sweet
Ann McNay
Allison Williams of Trinity Pres. Church
Mr. and Mrs. Elliot Haas
Frank Fierman and the Jewish Community Center
Atlanta Labor Council, John Wright
Region #6, AFL-CIO
Linda and Mike Hardin
Bea and Tom Walters
Charles and Meg Ward
Jane Brown
Ernie Green and S.C.L.C.
Joe Flanagan
Fr. John Foley
Clarence Crayton, Pres., Atlanta Federal and Civil Employees Union
Mrs. Walton
Mrs. Heffernan
Service Employees International Union

LEGAL REPRESSION HITS FARMWORKERS

STATE LEGISLATORS TRYING TO CRIPPLE U.F.W.O.C.

On the national front, two of the most threatening and repressive pieces of legislation to face the farmworkers were finally defeated in a massive lobbying effo effort on the part of UFWOC and its many supporters throughout the nation.

Bills in both the California and Oregon legislatures were at different stages of be becoming law, when the emergency effort began.

The Oregon bill passed both houses and was awaiting the Governor's signature. This bill called for a 60 day cooling off period during any strike, after which the grower could submit the dispute to binding arbitration. This would enable the grower to harvest the crop, make his miney and then have nothing to talk about because the workers would have no longer been needed. This bill was defeated by putting pressure on Gov. Tom McCall to veto it. He was shocked when his office received over 400 phone calls in one day, which was immediately followed by 600 calls the next day. The calls were running 50 to 1 against the bill. McCall, who has his eye on Mark Harfield's Senate seat, was quite concerned about his liberal image, but had said he would sign the bill. So suprisingly he vetoed it on July 2. The governor said he had never seen such pressure against a measure in 22 years as a state official and political commentator.

Cesar was in Oregon during this time, promising a nationwide boycott of Oregon wood and agricultural products if the bill was signed into law.

In vetoing the bill, McCall said that provisions were judged to be unconstitutional and would in effect "guarantee no organizing of farmworkers in Oregon would occur."

LEGALIZE JUAN CORONAS

The California Bill represented, in effect, a sell-out by the Democratic Party, since it would never had proceeded as far a as it did, without strong Democratic support.
support.

On July 7, at a rally of some 5,000 farmworkers on the capitol steps in Sacramento, Cesar chastised the Democrats "for joining the Republicans in trying to shove this legislation down our throats."

The bill in California was even worse than the Oregon bill as it: prevented bargaining between the union and grower, outlawed the boycott, instituted the labor contractor system (Juan Corona, the alleged murderer of 23 farmworkers was a labor contractor) as law, set up a 5 man, grower dominated Agricultural Labor Relations Board appointed by Governor Reagan, and finally make it impossible for the union to win an election.

National Democratic leaders such as Senators McGovern, Bayh, Kennedy, Cranston, were contacted by phone and letter to let the California Democratic Party know that they were alienating minority groups by supporting this outrageous bill.

Such pressure was mounted that on Tuesday night, before the rally, Assemblyman Cory, the bill's sponsor "killed" his bill.

The next day, Cesar was asked at the rally whether he was celebrating a victory and his response was:

"It's a victory, but its a waste of time, ... we shouldn't have been here in the first place."

"We're holding the Democrats responsible for this. We're upset with them. We've looked to them for over 20 years, and we tried to support them in every way we can."

"And this is the way we're getting paid, and we're sick and tired and not going to take that any more."

"They (the Democrats) should know it right away because our people know it."

Our deepest thanks go out to our friends in Atlanta and in the Southeast who helped lobby against this attempt to crush the farmworkers non-violent movement.

:NOTE:

The Farm Labor Bill, vetoed by Governor McCall may be resubmitted in a special session of the Oregon legislature.

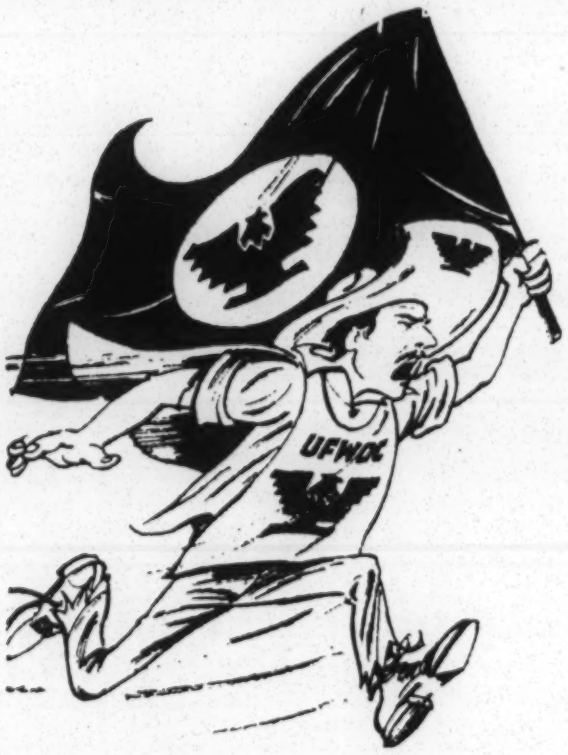
SUPPORT THE FARM WORKERS AFL-CIO

A special thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Elliot Haas for "bailing us out" of an emergency situation.

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK

Arizona is a "Right-to-work" anti-union state, where "rugged individualists" like Barry Goldwater reign supreme. We knew that these growers would be the hardest to get. Not only do they hate unions (and welfare and "government interference" and taxes and everything else.), but they are also bankrolled to the tune of millions of dollars a year by the government supposedly for NOT GROWING COTTON. Boswell gets $4,091,818 a year; Church gets $229, 638; Martori gets $127,526; and poor little Bodine gets $8,137 (we guess he doesn't grow less than the others don't grow). The new $50,000 limit on subsidies is so full of loopholes it is almost meaningless.

We've been talking with store owners who buy at the Farmers' Market and most have begun requesting UFWOC grapes.



La Tierra Es De Todos Como El Aire, El Agua, La Luz Y El Calor Del Sol. Y Tienen Derecho A Ella Los Que La Trabajan Con Sus Propias Manos. -- Emiliano Zapata

The land is everyone's like the air, water, the light and heat of the sun. And they have a right to it who work it with their hands.

HEUBLEIN GIVES THE FACTS??

HEUBLEIN: UFWOC is using this unfair boycott in an attempt to force unionization of farmworkers employed by 1,700 independent growers from whom Heublein buys wine grapes. It is growers like these with farms averaging 40 acres in size who supply more than 90 per cent of all California wine grapes to all California wineries, including our United Vintners subsidiary, Gallo, Almaden, Christian Brothers and Paul Masson.

UFWOC: Heublein's "1700 independent family farmers" are organized into a coop called Allied Grape Growers. Heublein and Allied Grape Growers formed a holding company, Heublein Allied Vintners, 82% of which is owned by Heublein and 18% by Allied. Heublein Allied Vintners in turn wholly owns United Vintners (Italian Swiss Colony Wines)

Gallo, Almaden, Christian Brothers and Paul Masson have had union contracts with their grape workers since 1967. Heublein workers have been requesting representation by UFWOC since 1967 and have been ignored.

HEUBLEIN: Heublein has no right to force unionization on the independent family farmers or their workers.

UFWOC: We feel responsible for conditions in our society and hold Heublein and every corporation responsible with us. Heublein lives life and makes profits in this society. As individuals and as a corporation they are responsible for the quality of life in America.

They can provide leadership that will bring peaceful change to an industry that has for too long had power over the lives of its workers. They can refuse to buy wine grapes that are not picked under decent union contract conditions.

HEUBLEIN: UFWOC refuses to consent to elections.

UFWOC: We have won all secret ballot elections held in the grape industry. But elections don't improve lives or conditions. Serious negotiations and strong contracts must follow. Heublein has offered elections at 3 ranches out of 1700. (At that rate, it would take 10 years to get contracts. Meanwhile people suffer.)

STAFF

Mike Perna from Duke University joined us for about 2 weeks, but was called to Montreal because of his talent for French. We we re very sorry to see him leave.

We welcome Bill Carmichael of Raleigh, N.C. to our staff. He'll play his guitar if you come and visit.

Bill mike
Kathy Joe
Dave
Mark

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EAGLE EYE

Farmworker

...A LOOK AT THE FARMWORKERS' STRUGGLE...

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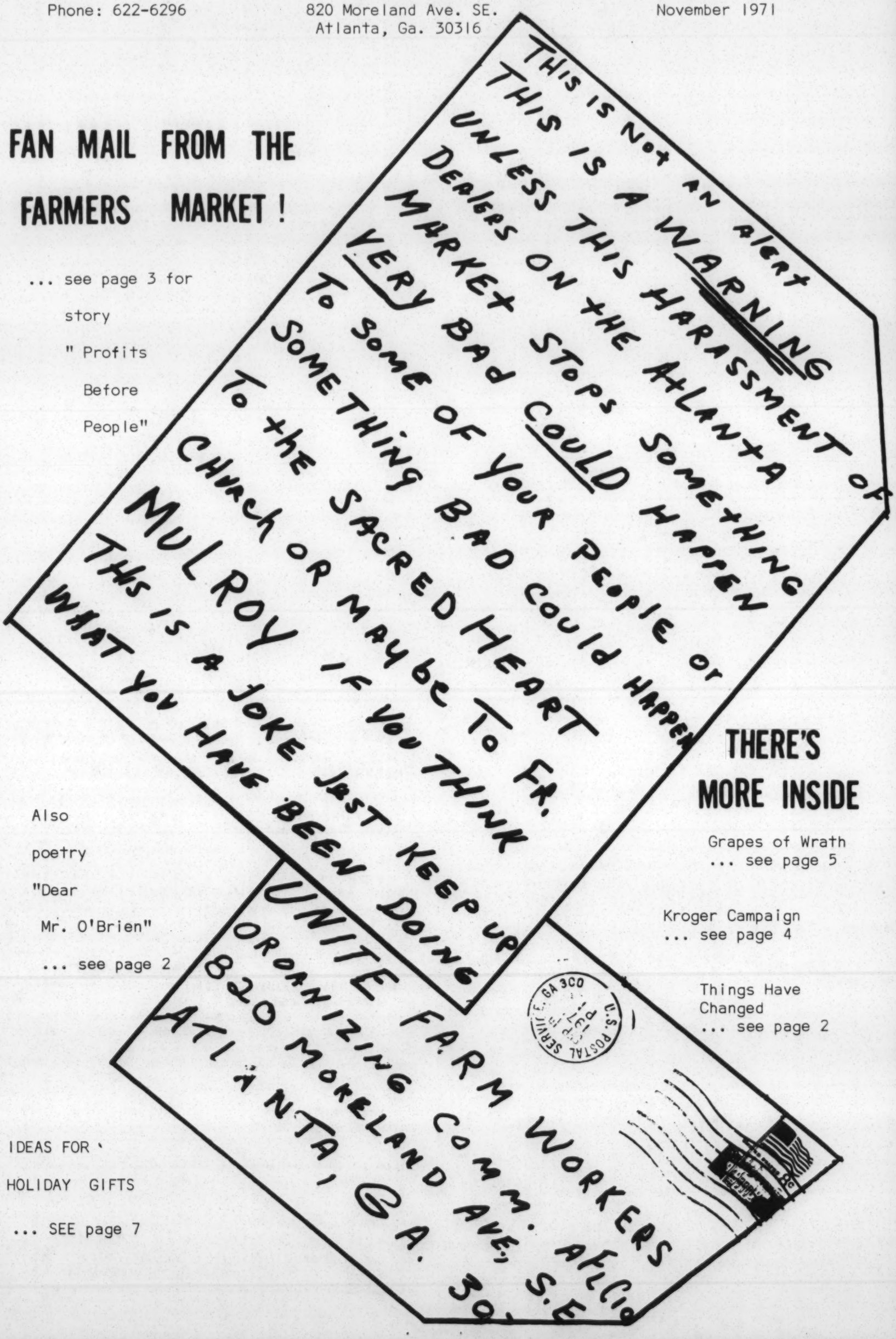
November 1971

FAN MAIL FROM THE FARMERS MARKET !

... see page 3 for story " Profits Before People"



THERE'S MORE INSIDE

Also poetry "Dear Mr. O'Brien" ... see page 2

Grapes of Wrath ... see page 5

Kroger Campaign ... see page 4

Things Have Changed ... see page 2

IDEAS FOR HOLIDAY GIFTS ... SEE page 7

THINGS HAVE CHANGED

It all started when Big Apple began prepackaging their produce at the warehouse and people couldn't tell what kind of grapes they were selling. So Mr. McDonald agreed to show us the grapes in boxes at the warehouse, including a tour of their operation and some free samples.

Then one day we got a frantic call from Mr. McDonald. He couldn't find our label on a new shipment of grapes just arrived. So we said we'd check on the grower and call him back. He returned our call first, relieved, because on the second check he found the Union Label, very small, on the side of the boxes. We sure appreciated that degree of committment and concern.

Speaking of phone calls, Colonial Stores phoned a grower in California to send back 300 lugs of grapes that were missing the Union Label on the box. This union grower called UFWOC, California asking them to O.K. the grapes because it was a mistake. Colonial Stores received a telegram from UFWOC, Calif. as well as a call from UFWOC, Atlanta saying it would be all right to accept the 300 lugs of Union Grapes without the label on the box.

Around this time we discovered that some of the chain stores would buy "fill in" grapes from the Farmers Market. So we initiated the "Grape Boycott Alert." Three times a week we survey the Farmers Market and make a list of scab grape labels to be avoided. This list of scab dealers and brands is delivered to the chain store offices.

Upon request, A & P agreed to let us check their coolers. We'd been checking the coolers at A/G Associated Grocers Co-op on and off for a while. So we made cooler checks a regular thing along with the "scab alert".

After our successful "Get Kroger in Line" campaign, we are now checking their coolers.

We appreciate the cooperation of Big Apple, A & P, Kroger, A/G, Colonial and Arlans on carrying Union Grapes for the season.

What is been even more rewarding is the relationships we've developed with individuals within the chain store operations. We salute those people. Communication is the name of the game.

SPARE HOUSE ?

The lease on the good ole! boycott house expires on December 1st. If you know of any houses for rent, please give us a ring. We would need at least a 4 bedroom home, but if you know of ANYTHING let us know.

On the twentieth of October in Seventy One,
Larry O'Brien was not having much fun,
As the Party needed more support
in order to win
And That was the week the UFWOC letters
came in!

Piled high to the sky, on the floors and
the desks,
Every note that he opened mentioned some
guy named Chavez.
Letters from Philly and Boston and Baltimore
Clergy, women, the rich and the poor,
Writing to help farm workers most urgently,
And asking what happened to the Democratic
Party.

If a letter to Larry you did write,
Thanks a million cause IT won the fight.
So UFWOC with few dollars and lots of
friends,
Stood up against the rich grower's might,
And when the vote was taken in committee,
The Harner Bill lost by five to three!

DAVE SINK LEAVES ATLANTA "GOODBYE TO A FRIEND"

By JANE BROWN
Office Secretary
Atlanta Georgia Labor Council
AFL-CIO

Dave Sink of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee is leaving Atlanta. The National Headquarters in California asked him to go and work with the UFWOC in the Miami area.

Dave is a dedicated Unionist. His father was a Union Organizer in the late 20's and early 30's. So he has had a good background for his beliefs. He was a member for 5 years in the Seafarer's International Union of North America and his salary exceeded $12,000.00 a year. He gave up this and his seniority in the 'Seafarer's' to follow the cause of the Farm Worker and to do his part for them. For this he receives $5.00 a week for himself.

I have met the staff members of the UFWOC in Atlanta and never have I met young people who have come from all walks of life, from all sections of this country, give up so much, unselfishly, for the plight of the migrant farm worker.

Dave has given a total committment to this cause. I ask how many of you could do the same? He has shown me how little I am doing, how much I could do but most of all what I can do right now. I love him as a dear friend and I will miss him. I know wherever he goes he will follow his beliefs as totally as he has done in Atlanta. I wish him success in this new undertaking.

Don't forget about our victory celebration at the Atlanta American Motor Hotel on November 11th. Call us now for your ticket requests. A portion of the proceeds will help pay the many legal fees that we have to meet.

VIOLENCE AT THE FARMERS MARKET

"Stop it" screamed Kathy Mariano as Jerry Ragsdale, a produce salesman viciously struck Joe Mariano with his fists. Ragsdale, who works for Cerniglia Produce Company greeted the UFWOC folk with clenched teeth along with hate and anger in his eyes, when Joe and Kathy were routinely surveying the Atlanta State Farmers Market. With his hands around his head to shield himself from the blows, joe was then pushed and thrown by an enraged Ragsdale, almost completely off the loading platform. When Joe's hurtling body hit against the side of a truck, this prevented his falling off the platform and possibly sustaining more serious damage.

Stunned by the shock and collision with the truck, Joe fell in a heap upon the wet, garbage strewn, concrete platform. The assailant,angered by the lack of response, began to kick repeatedly with his heavy work boots delivering shots to Joe's head, back and kidneys.

The attack only stopped when the rest of the boycott staff sped to the scene drawn by Kathy's screams!

That morning the Vice-President of the Atlanta Labor Council, Bill Cook, accompanied the UFWOC staff on the survey and he along with the others were totally shocked by the ugly picture that was before them.

There was Joe's crumpled form lying on the cold concrete in front of Cerniglia Produce Company, while the other salesmen stood beside Ragsdale, who was pounding a sawed-off baseball bat into his open hand.

"If you come back here-- you can expect more of the same!" snarled another beefy salesman.

"We haven't been able to do business for two days because of all the people calling us!" shouted Ragsdale.

Joe, now recovered enough to answer, pointed at each of the salesmen and said:

"You're making a mistake because we have nothing against you. Our fight is <u>not</u> with you. It's with the growers and those non-union grapes."

At that point, Joe Cerniglia, the dapper owner strolled from the safety of his office where he had viewed the entire assault and exlaimed:

"You all had better get out of here!"

Joe responded:

"You are well aware, Mr. Cerniglia, the human misery those scab grapes represent, and that our fight is not with you!"

"I'm just trying to run a business and make a profit." Cerniglia said.

Then Kathy asked:

"Do you condone this violence Mr. Cerniglia?"

"I can't control what my men do!" snapped Cerniglia as he glared at the diminutive Kathy.

After this vicious attack, the farm worker staff concerned about the potential escalation of violence at the Farmers Market got a delegation of local labor leaders to see State Commissioner of Agriculture, Thomas Irvin, as his office is responsible for leasing the stall space at the Market.

Although the atmosphere at the present time seems to be less tense, the powerful presence of non-violent soul force has created a necessary tension which Dr. King best described:

"Injustice must be exposed, with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured."

HOW TO GET TO HEAVEN

It seems that Cerniglia had indeed been hiding his true feelings about injustice and his handling non-union grapes, as was shown in a phone conversation with the boycott coordinator back in June.

"I'm just a businessman, caught in the middle. I really don't want to take sides or hurt anybody. Don't tell me about my Church's (Catholic) involvement with the farm workers -- I think that's misguided -- they can tell me how to get to heaven -- but <u>not</u> how to run my business!"

When Joe Cerniglia began receiving many, many phone calls from UFWOC supporters who were demanding to know why he was supporting grape growers who were fighting the farm workers, by selling their grapes -- his response "That non-union stuff was sent to me by accident"

When the numerous phone calls began to interfere with his profit making, Cerniglia finally exploded, vividly stating his position in words and deeds.

Phone calls were made to the boycott office warning the staff about their personal safety at the market and also mentioning threats to Father John Mulroy of Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church. (Fr. Mulroy, who was active two years ago in the grape boycott was probably thought to be still involved with UFWOC. Cerniglia had changed his parish over the last boycott, Ironically, Fr. Mulroy was in Spain during this time)

continued on page 4

PROFITS BEFORE PEOPLE, continued

In a phone conversation with a UFWOC supporter, after the beating Cerniglia shouted:

"They're hoods!"
"This has been going on for five years!"
"Cesar Chavez is a farce and the farm workers don't support him!"
"I don't care what kind of grapes I sell or what kind of conditions they're picked under!"

Reflecting on the problems of the boycotters at the Market, Joe Mariano said:

"The violence at the farmers market is a microcosm of our society. The dealers have felt their whole value system threatened. So their response has been bullets, beatings and bad mouthing. As Cesar has said 'Men who practice injustice and who live in fear believe that they can accomplish all things by making other men afraid.'

Men like Joe Cerniglia and Jerry Ragsdale are not to blame for their actions for they are victims of a system that they themselves help to perpetuate - a system that degrades all human life.

Only by responding to this system with active non-violence can justice be attained.

MUCHAS GRACIAS

We would like to thank all of the folks who have responded to the needs of the Farm Workers and UFWOC, Atlanta since our last newsletter.

Beverly and John Wright
Sarah Butler - OPEIU 21
Margaret and Emory Via
Harriet and Perry Treadwell
Herb Mabry, Sec.Treas. Ga. State AFL-CIO
Paul Masson, Int. Rep. BRAC
Val Cox, Int. Rep. SEIU
Thea and Ray Jarvis
Bee and Tommy Walters
BRAC Local Lodge 1020
Linda and Mike Hardin
Laborers Local #438
Robert Fredrick
Noyes Collinson
John Moore, United Buying Service
Joe Flanagan
Jim Sala, Director, AFL-CIO Region 6
James and Jane Walker
Carol Cornelius
Vern and Shirley King
Bill Jagger
Laurel Beaty
Esther and Harry Lefever
Tony Zivilich, ALA
Bill Cook
Jane Brown
Phil Barnhart
Steve Leech, ACWU, So. Joint Board

KROGER CAMPAIGN

Fred Herzog of Kroger's Produce Department told our office here that:
"Kroger intends to handle Non-Union Tokay Grapes"

BOYCOTT KROGER CAMPAIGN RALLY & PICKET

CONSUMER PHONE CALLS CONCERNED STORE MANAGERS

PICKET LINES BOYCOTT

****A GOOD SHOW OF STRENGTH MAY CHANGE KROGERS MIND****

IT DID

Before Fred Herzog had time to order more scab grapes, his office and warehouse were being picketed, his store managers calling in and his switch board was deluged with phone calls of irate consumers calling complaining of Kroger's Scab Policy.

Seventy-two hours after the initial Policy announcement and after a vacationing Vice-President had been contacted about the policy change, Mr. Herzog called us to say "Kroger would carry ONLY Union Label Grapes and had instructed his buyers to that effect."
It still remains a mystery as to what EXACTLY prompted Kroger to recognize their corporate responsibilities to poor people, but none the less this confrontation is a good example of the strength of the Boycott and Consumer Power in bringing about Farm Worker Justice.

Muchas Gracias

THROUGH THE GRAPEVINE

Remember.....all Tokays are non-union. They are hard to tell from regular red grapes. To be sure, look for the Union Label before you buy any grapes. We would like to thank those people who were able to help us by doing store checks.

Tom Free
Mauree Aylion
Joanne Moy
Carol Cornelius
Mary Davis
Carol Cummings
Mary Fink
Mrs. Kinnett

WHAT ABOUT LETTUCE?

Negotiations have been going on since May but may soon grind to a halt. As long as these negotiations continue, we will not picket "scab" lettuce. However, we would remind you of the deadly poisons (aldrin; parathion; 2,4-D; DDT) that non-UFWOC lettuce contains.

With this fact in mind and also that of the destitute farm workers, REMEMBER, DEMAND TO SEE THE UNION LABEL BEFORE BUYING LETTUCE.

THE GRAPES OF WRATH & THE SWORD OF TRUTH

NOTE:

On June 28, 1971, Jerry Harmon, a produce trucker at the Atlanta State Farmers Market, pulled out a 38 caliber pistol and angrily fired six bullets into the car driven by Kathy Mariano, who is with the United Farm Workers. Farm Worker representatives who are conducting a boycott of non-union grapes in the Atlanta area were assaulted as they were following trucks to find out which customers were receiving the non-union produce. That same day, Harmon was arrested by Clayton County Police on a warrant which charged him with aggravated assault. On October 26th the trial of Jerry Harmon began and immediately was turned into a vicious attack upon the farm workers movement and the victims of the shooting incident. The bizarre and vicious events following the shooting are proving to be an emerging pattern of lies, intimidation and violence, which are very difficult to believe but nonetheless recounted below as they actually happened.

Ed Wallace is physically a big man with an intimidating presence. His black, slicked back, curly hair and small beady eyes are the first things one notices about him. The first thing one instinctively feels about the man is the hate that he radiates in his glares and sneers. Its the same kind of 'hate-stare' reserved for Black folk who are too uppity or don't know their place in the white racist society.

That sneer was on Ed Wallace's face when he stood up in the Jonesboro courtroom glanced at the Farm Worker staff, turned to the Clayton County Superior Court Judge and said:

"Your Honor, I would like to know what happened to the cases that were read off yesterday, specifically the aggravated assault case against Jerry Harmon? I would like to get the trial going to clear Jerry Harmon's name!"

Judge Harold Banke, somewhat taken aback at this interruption so early in the morning while other cases were being disposed of, snapped back:

"Mr. Wallace, you will refrain from making comments in open court because as you well know the perspective jurors may be in this courtroom and if you make such a statement again - I'll hold you in contempt of court!"

Eating humble-pie, defense attorney Wallace chirped:

"Your Honor, I'm sorry but you have to understand that I've become so personally involved in this case that I get emotional."

"But Mr. Wallace, an attorney should remain objective and not become personally involved with his client and the case." interuppted Judge Banke.

"As you will see your Honor, because of the nature of this case, it is impossible for me not to become emotionally involved. Would you say Mr. Harmon, that you are satisfied with the job that I have been doing in representing you?"

At that, Wallace turned to sneer at Kathy, and co-plaintiff, Mark Walton and then sat down.

The boycott staff saw this exchange as a sign of optimism in the Judge's attitude while a dark shadow was also revealed in Wallace's words 'nature of this case'. The selection of the jury was also a harbinger of gloom as the main question asked by Mr. Wallace of the candidates was: "Have you ever served in the armed forces of this country".

The actual trial was a physical and emotional strain on the boycott staff as the absurdities began to unfold during the testimony.

STOKELY, RAP AND MAO-----?

Wallace tried to introduce the paper-back Little Cesar into evidence. (Little Cesar is a vicious, right-wing hatchet job upon Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers, which is full of malicious gossip and unchecked rumors. Anthem Books, the publishers are a front for the anti-union National Right to Work Committee and the author Ralph deToleando is a propagandist for that group.) Assistant District Attorney Jim Bradley thwarted that effort to admit the book into evidence by producing a stinging review of Little Cesar by Monsigneur George Higgins of the U.S. Catholic Bishops Committee on Farm Labor.

Wallace persisted in reading from the book and formulating questions to the witnesses, such as these when Joe Mariano was on the stand.

Wallace:

"Do the following groups or people support your group? The Black Panther Party, SDS, Weathermen, Progressive Labor Party, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and Ethel Kennedy?"

Mariano:

"No, with the exception of Ethel Kennedy, because I know she went to Salinas to visit Cesar when he was imprisioned."

However, the most insidious incident in the trial was the admission into evidence of the book: Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse Tung.

Defense attorney Wallace claimed that Joe Mariano, The UFWOC coordinator had dropped the book at the preliminary hearing and was picked up by Wallace in exactly the same area where the UFWOC car was parked.

Wallace then produced two witnesses that swore they saw Wallace find Quotations from Chairman Mao exactly where he said he did. The best was yet to come.

Recounting this experience, astounded Joe Mariano exclaimed:

"When Wallace asked me on the witness stand if I had ever seen this book before, I just couldn't believe this fabrication, as I had never seen this book before in my life! Since immediately I knew I had never seen this book before or had even ever owned a copy of Mao, I pursued it rather quickly and said I didn't recognize this book. But Wallace persisted that I examine it more closely and when I did -- Wow! I was really shocked! Inside the fly-leaf was an inscription which said: 'TO JOE AND KATHY' then some quote from the book, which I don't remember, and WITH BEST REGARDS, and signed with the initials C.C.! I was outraged by this blatant lie and the manufactured evidence."

"To top it off", Mariano continued, "I later told the D.A. that the handwriting did not resemble Cesar's and he (the D.A.) said; 'why didn't you say something before this?' I still am fuming at that, after all, am I the legal expert?"

DISGUSTING!!!

Walace's summation speech to the jury was a masterpiece in fascist rhetoric and symbolized the hatred, unjust and deceitful nature of this trial.

Wallace:

"Ladies and gentlemen, at first I thought this was going to be just another simple case of aggravated assault, but as I began to dig deeper, I became frightened at what I had found. There is a battle going on all across the United States, a battle to drive the samll businessman down and out of business. The battle extends from the grape arbors of California to Clayton County, Georgia and if they (pointing to Kathy, Mark and Joe) are allowed to attach the small businessman, (walks over to flag, touches it) they'll drag this down next! (At this point, Wallace excuses himself so he can regain his composure because he claims he gets emotional each time he talks about it) The small businessman is the back-bone of America, takes the brunt of taxes, works hard and pays his own way. These people are trying to whip the little guy into line so the big ones will just follow.

You are part of the silent majority, but its time to stand up and be heard. Mr. Jerry Harmon gets up at 3:30 in the morning to put bread on his family's table. His fine wife and two fine boys depend on him and his hard work. I've always maintained that idle hands are the Devil's workshop and sitting right there are three pair of idle hands. (Points us out in the audience) Jerry Harmon was bothering no one, just trying to survive in the business world, and these people hounded him day and night. (Hands jury pictures of a picket line outside of a store which is supplied by Harmon) When I was a little boy I went hunting rabbits with my uncle and we had let the pack of hounds out after the rabbit. I asked my uncle: 'Uncle Boots, aren't the dogs faster than the rabbit?' 'No,' he said, 'because the rabbit is running for his life and the dogs are running for sport!' So I say to you Jerry Harmon is the rabbit, running for his life, pushed into a corner. He said he would get union grapes, but they still wouldn't let him alone because that day they were unavailable, they still followed him. There they sit, the hounds! Running for the sport of it!

Another thing is that when your country calls you to service, any one who refuses to serve (Mark is a CO) is the lowest form of life to crawl across this terra firma. (He hands Jerry Harmon's discharge papers to the jury) Every man will stelp forward to answer that call to duty. Now what would you do if you were Jerry Harmon? He did the only thing he could to defend his business; he shot, not at Kathy or through the windshield, but he assaulted the tire! These people are spreading the seeds of discord and hatred throughout the country. Now about this non-violence. That sounds nice, but it never turns out that way! I suppose the students who rioted and demonstrated at Kent State were non-violent! I suppose H. Rap Brown, Eldridge Cleaver, and Stokely Carmichael were all non-violent too! (Shows jury picture of one of Jerry's trucks with a flat tire) Thats non-violence but we can't prove that those people did that! (Wallace takes Quotations from Chairman Mao, opens to an underlined passage and reads) 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun! (He slams book shut and bellows:) Disgusting! (He looks at the Farm Workers, hands book to jury and bellows again;) DISGUSTING! (Wallace turns to jury with his voice cracking and sobbing out) If you don't do something now, we're gonna get taken!

I hope that today October 27th will be the day that citizens in Clayton County stood up and were heard to the grape arbors of California. Let the message be clear! (Wallace turns to Joe Mariano and points a finger at him) And I hope that Cesar Chavez get that message Mr. Mariano; that Ed Wallace took a stand in the arena and armed with the sword of truth, fought for justice; and that sword will destroy you! (Pointing at Joe Mariano)

One hour and fifty minutes later, the twelve jurors returned to the courtroom and announced that Jerry Harmon was NOT guilty of aggravated assault. As the crowd of Harmon supporters filed out of the courtroom, one of them turned to Joe Mariano and said:

"You better go pick your grapes up North, boy. Don't you know you can't get a conviction down here in Georgia?"

In our last newsletter we told you that the judge was delaying the ruling on the legality of the Heublein boycott. He has yet to rule on this point.

HELP

Here is a way that some of you may be able to help.

The following is a list of our average monthly expenses:

Rent.....$150.00
Food..... 125.00
Phone..... 75.00
Utilities..... 50.00
(gas,water,electricity)
Postage..... 100.00
Allowances..... 125.00
($5.00 per week per full time volunteer)
Transportation..... 125.00
(gas, oil, repairs for 3 cars)

Total.....$745.00

If you or your group can take care of all or part of one of these expenses, please call us at 622-6296

HOUSE HOLD NEEDS

An Alarm Clock
A Wall Clock
Food (dry, canned, frozen)
Chairs (kitchen type)
2 Large Mirrors
Pots (2 quart size)

CLOTHES

Socks
Gloves
Shirts
Pants
Work Shoes

TIRES

5.80 x 15
6.00 x 12

THINGS TO READ

There are several informative and enjoyable books that have been written about the farm workers struggle. From the early days of the Delano grape strike to the exploitation of child labor. We only have the ones marked, but think that you will find good reading in all of them.

Sal Si Puedes, Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution, by Peter Mathieson (Paper Back)

So Shall Ye Reap. The story of the Farm Workers Movement and Cesar Chavez, by Joan London,

Forty Acres, by Fr. Mark Day

Huelga! The First Hundred Days OF THE GREAT DELANO GRAPE STRIKE, by Eugene Nelson (Copy available here)

Child Labor in Agriculture, Summer 1970 A special report by American Friends Service Committee (Copy available here)

Migrant and Seasonal Farm Worker Powerlessness. Hearings before Sub-committee on Migratory Labor 91st Congress- June 9, 1961 to July 24, 1970 (16 books available here)

Fourteenth Report Un-American Activities in California, 1970. State Senate of California sub-committee on un-American activities. (copy available here)

MORE BOOKS

If anyone knows the mechanics of running a large book sale, Please let us know. We have an unlimited number of hard-backs and paper-backs at our disposal. Over 20,000 books. Most we'd sell in $.10 to $1.00 price range. Contact Mike.

Have you seen Migrant??? Call us about showing this film.

ATTENTION:

BUTTON & POSTER FREAKS

Please see us for your Christmas needs. We have them all from 'Viva la Revolucion' to 'Boycott the Hell Out of Them' Most complete selection in the South. The prices are fair with all the money going to la Causa.
Also, we have a few eagle tie tacs left. And with all those ties that you'll be getting, I'm sure that you will be able to use it. Or compliment the tie you are sending with this attractive pin. Great to give! Great to get! Check them out, please.

Joe
Henry
Kathy
Mike
Bill
Mark
☺

UNITED FARM WORKERS
ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, AFLCIO
820 Moreland Avenue, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30316

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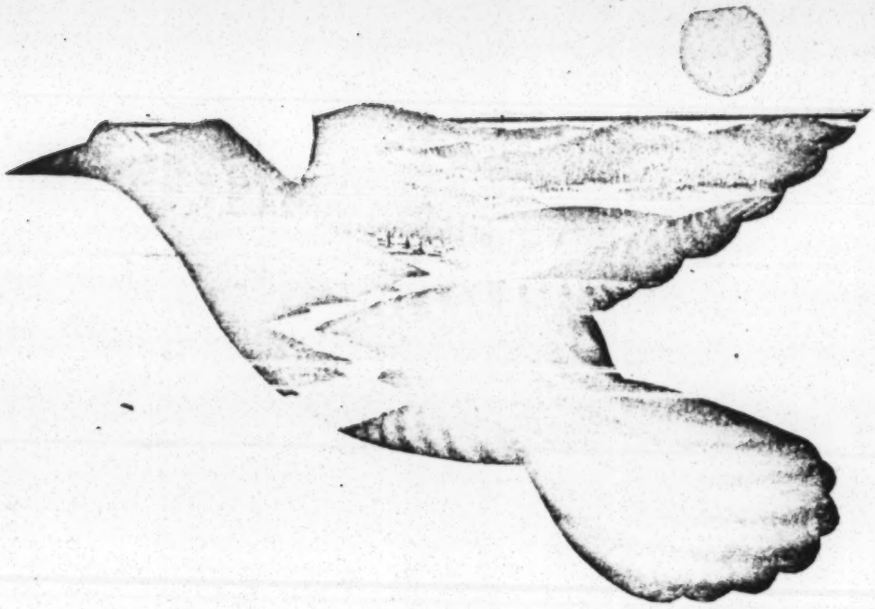

This Land is Their Land

"Welfare *is* a problem for taxpayers—welfare for the rich. In a recent year 500 large growers in California's Imperial Valley received $12 million in farm subsidies—or $24,000 each. Meanwhile 10,000 poor, landless residents of the Valley received less than $8 million in welfare payments—or $800 each. George Thayer, a California almond grower, told the committee: 'I believe we have created the worst welfare system of all times—the welfare system for the corporate farm.'"

The wheat field is ten miles long. There's a machine – one colossal machine – harvesting the wheat, rumbling toward the setting sun on tracks which keep it from compacting the soil. A helicopter sprays pesticide on the adjacent soybean field. Another helicopter circles, scanning crop conditions, transmitting data to a computer. Two men sit in a bubble-topped control tower, watching the instrument panels which surround them. The lengthening shadows of three giant skyscrapers—skyscrapers filled with cattle—fall on the men. In these nearly fully-automated structures they (the cattle) are fed various chemicals, fattened, killed, processed, and packed into cylinders for shipment by monorail to the Cities, which are, presumably, where all the people are.

THIS IS A PICTURE OF THE AMERICAN farm in the year 2015, as sketched by U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) specialists. To them it is irresistably appealing: ten whole miles filled with great amber waves of grain. Yet the implications of their vision are chilling: environmental ruin, nutritional famine, wrenching social dislocation. Who will own this futuristic farm? What will be its economic and environmental costs, and who will pay them? The government's crystal-gazing agronomists cannot be relied upon for answers. But already, at every link in America's economic food chain, vast transformations are at work which provide some exceedingly disturbing clues. We can begin with an implausible assertion and a surprising fact.

by Larry Casalino

"In California less than one tenth of one percent of the farms own 40 percent of the cropland. Tenneco also has vast landholdings in Arizona—altogether it controls a land area more than twice the size of Rhode Island."

(1) When we think of land reform, Asia and Latin America immediately come to mind. Things like the break-up of enormous "latifundistas" in steaming banana republics. Most of us think that such land reform is generally a good idea. But what most people would find pretty hard to believe is that the indispensable condition of sound agricultural development in America is land reform – right here in the fields of California, Mississippi, Maine. But consider this: (2) if you are the "average American," you eat a *less* nutritious diet today than you did ten years ago. (The Department of Agriculture admits this.) Only one-half of American families have "good" diets by USDA standards. How many more years of this kind of progress can we afford? The fact is our thinking about large-scale concentration in the economy of food has been dominated by the wrong agricultural cliche: it is not reaping the benefits of efficiency; it is sowing the seeds of disaster.

The general trend towards control of our food and land by a number of large "agri-business" corporations has received a certain amount of attention. But considering that the "food and fiber" industry is America's biggest business—accounting for almost a third of all private employment and nearly a fifth of the entire GNP—agri-business has managed to arouse very little interest and debate, much less serious opposition. Indeed the process of concentration has been so swift that there is remarkably little awareness of just how far it has already gone.

By 1958, the U.S. Food Marketing Commission classified 80 percent of the food industry as being under "oligopoly" control. Some samples: 95 percent of all prepared soups are sold by Campbell Soup, four corporations make 85 percent of American breakfast cereals.

On the farming end, in 1969 just 2 percent of U.S. farms made 30 percent of all farm sales, and 5 percent made more than half. One percent of U.S. feedlots now handle 52 percent of our beef, and 90 percent of all broiler chickens are bought up by five companies.

Food corporations continue to swallow up direct competitors, extending their "horizontal" expansion (as when one retail store is taken over by another, or a canner by a canner). But, even more significant, they are striving for "vertical integration," "total food systems" which encompass every step from farming through processing, distribution and retailing. And in recent years, huge conglomerates (like Greyhound, ITT and Tenneco) have been heavily diversifying into the food industry—particularly into farming.

Tenneco, roughly the 30th biggest U.S. industrial corporation, although a fairly new entry into agri-business, could be considered the vertically integrated food corporation *par excellence*, with its stated aim of controlling food production "from seedling to supermarket." In 1967 Tenneco acquired Kern County Land Company, California's third largest landowner. Three years later it took control of Heggblade-Marguleas, the nation's largest marketer of fresh fruits and vegetables. Tenneco also owns J. I. Case Co., which manufactures, among other things, farm machinery, and the Packaging Corporation of America, which manufactures food containers.

So Tenneco plows its own land, fertilized and sprayed with chemicals from its own chemical division, using its own tractors fueled with gas and oil from its own oil wells and refineries. The food is processed, packaged, and distributed by Tenneco subsidiaries. Tenneco is presently attempting to develop its own national brandname (Sun Giant) for produce, which it intends to sell at "premium prices." Tenneco doesn't have its own supermarket chain yet. Unlike traditional farmers, when Tenneco needs capital it can look to its other operations for help: Tenneco is also busy searching out oil off the coast of Southeast Asia and is the world's largest transporter of natural gas, building two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.

Most Americans are not farmers, and probably never get much closer to the source of the food they eat than the deep freeze department at the supermarket. So for them, if agriculture has been replaced by agri-business, what real harm is done?

To begin with, there is the habit agri-business has of slipping poison into one's dinner. As we now know, much of the food these corporations supply has had much of the taste and nutritional value processed out, and has become a witches' brew of potentially harmful chemicals which have been processed in. So that many people find shopping in the supermarket a queasy balancing act, selecting the least deleterious diet they can from alternatives that range from U.S. meat, already banned as unsafe in twenty-one more scrupulous countries, to "fresh" fruits and vegetables which are picked before ripe, then waxed, gassed and injected with implausibly vivid dyes.

Highly processed foods are the hard-sell specialties of the agri-corporations. The use of chemical food additives, part and parcel of the rise of agri-business, has risen from a minor phenomenon thirty years ago to become a $500 million a year business in its own right. It is hardly a secret that, as one marketing spokesman enthused, "The profit margin on food additives is fantastically good—much better than the profit margin on basic traditional foods." Every reader of Sylvia Porter or *Consumer Reports* knows that the more intensively processed, synthesized and "convenienced" a food, the more exorbitant its price. But processed foods are not only a source of profit to their parent companies; today's giant food corporations simply *could not exist* without them.

Wonder Bread may not be the best for you—although you can store it forever, mail it to a friend, squeeze it 'til you can hold a loaf in your fist – but it sure is convenient for IT&T, which owns Continental Baking. It is the heavy doses of chemical additives that opened the

way for a handful of powerful corporations to centralize control of food markets in the United States. Chemicals make it possible to stabilize color, texture and other illusions of freshness during the extended storage and transport involved in wide regional and national distribution. Previously food markets had been localized and fragmented by the very nature of the simpler farm-to-table foods. Besides being perishable, they were undistinctive, unpatentable, effectively unbrandable. They provided no basis for the packaging, distribution and promotion involved in national market exploitation.

Along with additives, agri-business has brought an upsurge in pesticide use, which has more than doubled since Rachel Carson's *The Silent Spring* was published in 1962. Large agricultural corporations (which often have their own holdings in the farm chemical business) are totally geared to large-scale farming methods that depend on disproportionately larger amounts of pesticides and inorganic fertilizers. They are firmly locked into the familiar vicious circle: extensive use of monoculture (using a field to grow a single crop without rotation), pesticides, and inorganic fertilizers, which together have increased the variety and resistance of pests and impaired the quality of the soil, so that ever greater amounts of even more toxic and costly chemicals are soaked into the land. Agri-business corporations decidedly are uninterested in alternatives like organic fertilizer and biological control of pests. And they are in a position to make their lack of interest count. As a National Agricultural Chemicals Association spokesman candidly points out: "There really is not much biological control in industry research; they would research themselves right out of the market."

Among the many social costs of agri-business concentration is its effect on the prices people pay for food. In areas such as breakfast cereals where concentration is far advanced, its inflationary effect is already very clear. And continued growth of agri-business concentrations sets the stage for inflated prices throughout the industry in the future, when the market will be dominated by sufficiently few "competitors" to make possible what is euphemistically called "administered pricing"—in other words the kind of price fixing, both tacit and conspiratorial, that has long prevailed in other highly concentrated industries.

But the question of food prices is problematic in other ways. For instance, when people switch to high-priced processed foods which are often made from cheap imitation ingredients (soy protein for meat or milk), are they paying more for their food or getting more for their money? A large part of what we pay for food goes for such things as advertising, which is neither edible nor convenient. In fact, the food industry spends more on advertising and less on research than any other industry in America. Betsy Wood, of the Consumers Cooperative of Berkeley, estimates that consumers pay 15-25 percent more for national brand names—an average family would save $200 a year buying local labels. Are the taxes we pay that go to finance agri-business (in the form of subsidies, credits and special allowances) part of the price we pay for food? And when you consider the poisoning of our bodies and our environment, or the brutal exploitation of farm workers, it's even more difficult to count the cost.

"Large agricultural corporations are locked into a vicious circle . . . which has increased the variety and resistance of pests and . . . has caused greater amounts of toxic chemicals to be soaked into the land."

The most direct cost of agri-business power is that it prospers at the ruinous expense of the great mass of American farmers. For them the situation is desperate. Half the farms in America had gone out of business by World War II, and shutdowns continue at a rate of 2000 farms a week. The Department of Agriculture admits that the number of American farms remaining by 1980 may be reduced to less than a tenth of what it is today.

IT MIGHT SEEM REASONABLE TO conclude that the ability of agri-business to overwhelm the smaller traditional farmer demonstrates the superior efficiency of its large-scale, integrated mode of operation, and that we are seeing an outmoded economic unit, no longer able to compete, replaced by a more advanced form of organization. Thus, we might sympathize with those who are displaced and perhaps attempt to soften the blow, but to try to turn back the clock would be merely sentimental and quixotic.

At any rate this is what agri-business would like us to believe. In reality the big corporations have not prevailed by their farming competence which is dubious at best. What has happened is that agri-business, being more efficient at farming the American people than at farming the soil, has been able to draw upon a fascinating array of lucrative subsidies, which the smaller traditional farmer did not enjoy, and against which he has been unable to compete.

At least five major subsidies have combined over the years to give its economic edge:

THE CROP SUBSIDY

In January this year Senator Adlai Stevenson III's Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor conducted three days of hearings in San Francisco and Fresno. Over and over the Senator heard the same basic complaint: "My government taxes me to the extent of confiscation to subsidize and create favorable conditions for vertically integrated corporations," said Gus Stamenson, for 26 years a grower of almonds and walnuts on 40 California acres. "Give me a $4 million dollar subsidy and I'll be the most efficient farmer west of the Mississippi."

Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, and other politicians throughout the country have been very successful in persuading people that welfare is a major problem. They never mention the fact that federal crop subsidy programs cost the taxpayers more than all federal, state, and local

welfare programs combined. In 1970 Tenneco received crop subsidies of over a million dollars. California's J. G. Boswell, one of the world's largest cotton growers, received $5 million.

Welfare *is* a problem for taxpayers—welfare for the rich. In a recent year 500 large growers in California's Imperial Valley received $12 million in farm subsidies—or $24,000 each. Meanwhile 10,000 poor, landless residents of the Valley received less than $8 million in welfare payments—or $800 each. George Thayer, a California almond grower, told Stevenson's committee: "I believe we have created the worst welfare system of all times—the welfare system for the corporate farm."

THE WATER SUBSIDY

Last summer the Ralph Nader-originated Center for the Study of Responsive Law published a massive, thousand page study titled *Power and Land in California.* The study blasted the California State Water Project as "possibly the largest special interest boondoggle in history." It claims that, when finished, the project will have cost roughly ten *billion* dollars—$500 for every man, woman, and child in California. Yet economists estimate that the project will return only 50 cents of benefit for every dollar it costs!

Why build such an economically irrational project? Well, some folks do benefit from it a great deal—large landowners, large water-using industries, and developers. A 1959 study by the California Labor Federation reported that eleven landowners including Southern Pacific, Tenneco, and Standard Oil owned 33 percent of the land to be irrigated by the project. Southern Pacific and Tejon Ranch were the biggest donors to the successful 1960 campaign to persuade California voters to approve a bond issue to finance the project. And Bank of America is the biggest holder of the bonds.

The water is a speculator's dream. It raises land values by at least $300 an acre. So, if you own 20,000 acres, your land is suddenly worth $6 million more than it was before California citizens built a water project for you. And the taxpayers pay about half the cost of the water, so you can irrigate your crops much more cheaply.

Agri-business could have tried getting irrigation water even cheaper by pressing for a comparable federal water plan. They were deterred from that route because there's a catch—the federal 160-acre limitation.

This law would go far toward breaking up the large corporate landholdings. But the law has, from the beginning, been flagrantly violated. Jack Henning of the California AFL-CIO estimates, on the basis of his organization's research, that 900,000 California acres held by owners who own over 160 acres are receiving water from the federal Bureau of Reclamation. Among these owners are the old familiar names—Tenneco, Southern Pacific, Standard Oil.

THE RESEARCH SUBSIDY

The University of California's Agricultural Extension Service was originally founded to provide easily available local technical assistance to small farmers. Late in 1971 David Talamante of the Tri-County Economic Development Association approached his local Extension "Service" for assistance for a Chicano cooperative which grows strawberries in greenhouses. Talamante was laughed at and told: "If you want to do that kind of farming, why don't you go to Guam?"

This attitude is typical. Nearly all of the more than $20 million a year of state and federal tax dollars spent by the University of California on agricultural research are aimed at aiding the biggest farms. Some of the University's most brilliant inventions have been machines, like the tomato harvester, which allow corporate farms to dispense with troublesome farm workers. In the bitter grape strike of the late sixties, the University came to the growers' assistance during pruning season and allowed them to use a pneumatic pruning machine it had under development.

The situation is simple: we pay the University of California for technological development deliberately skewed in favor of large corporate farms. Then we are told that it is technology that makes corporate takeover of agriculture inevitable.

THE LABOR SUBSIDY

American Indians were the first to toil as farmworkers in the fields of California. They were followed by Chinese (who were 90 percent of farmworkers in the 1870s), Japanese, Filipinos, and, today, Chicanos. Jack Hanna, one of the developers of the tomato harvester, observed: "I'd seen nationality after nationality in the fields, and I felt that someday we might run out of nationalities to do our hard work."

Farmworkers, who have fed us for many years, are the least protected of all workers by federal and state labor laws. They have no protected organizing rights, and cannot insist on union representation elections or collective bargaining. The government has actively intervened to obstruct the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee's attempts to organize farmworkers. For instance, the Defense Department more than tripled its purchases of lettuce from Dow Chemical subsidiary Bud Antle during the UFWOC lettuce boycott.

Thus the government helps to provide big farmers with a cheap, easily exploitable labor force. Seven percent of California farms hire 75 percent of the state's farm labor. The larger the farm, the more labor the farmer can exploit, thus cutting costs of production and raising profits. The small farmer has no one to exploit but himself, in competition with $1.50 an hour wages paid to many farm laborers. And taxpayers pay the welfare costs of keeping farm laborers alive between seasons of peak work.

THE TAX SUBSIDY

There are numerous tax breaks in the IRS cookie jar that may be of benefit to any knowledgeable farmer. The important edge obtained by diversified corporate farmers comes from a number of special tax breaks that enable money expended in farming operations to cancel out substantial amounts of otherwise taxable profits from an owner's *non-farming* operations. Since the old-fashioned farmer doesn't have any significant non-farming profits, this is of no use to him. But to agri-business companies, which operate in many non-farming industries, this kind of tax shelter has proved extremely lucrative.

In the past couple of years reform moves have been made to curtail the special tax breaks (as well as the in-

Illustrations by James King

equities) in the crop subsidy program. But corporate ingenuity has found ample loopholes remaining in both these areas through which to make its way. There is little evidence that they have suffered much more from these reforms than the inconvenience of devious legal maneuvers.

[THE MYTH OF AGRI-BUSINESS EFFICIENCY]

THE FACT IS, GIANT FARMS are *not* more efficient than small farms, even in a strictly economic sense. The government's own studies conclude that all of the economics of size can be achieved by modern, fully mechanized, one- or two-person farms ranging from 100 to 600 or sometimes to 1000 acres, depending on the crop (see Ag. E. Report No. 107, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture). It's worth remembering that "inefficient" family farms have been producing national food surpluses for decades.

Concern for small farms is not nostalgia for the past – it makes economic, political, social, and ecological sense. We have been taught to assume without thinking that big and powerful equals efficient and good. The demise of small farms has profound effects on both urban and rural America. As 2000 farm families a week leave their land, local businesses, schools, and community groups shut down. More people crowd into the cities (75 percent of Americans now live on 2 percent of the land), where they will be dependent on big agri-business corporations for their food (and possibly for their jobs, housing, etc.). As large landholdings replace family farms, and the cities become even more crowded, rural communities turn into company towns. A 1944 study by anthropologist Walter Goldschmidt compared two farm communities in California's San Joaquin Valley, Arvin and Dinuba. Arvin was characterized by large landholdings, Dinuba by family farms. The differences are striking: The majority of workers in Dinuba were self-employed, while two-thirds of the workers in Arvin were agricultural wage laborers. Dinuba supported twice as many independent businesses and did 61 percent more retail business. Dinuba had many more parks, schools, and community groups, as well as more institutions for local political decision-making.

Goldschmidt originally planned to extend his research to include all farm communities in the San Joaquin Valley, but a vigorous campaign, spearheaded by the powerful Associated Farmers, forced him to discontinue his work. To this day, no follow-up study has been done – it's difficult to get research funds to look into the American power structure. But it seems likely that comparable study today would yield even more striking results.

In California, by far the nation's leading agricultural state, less than one tenth of one percent of the farms own roughly 40 percent of the cropland. Tenneco and Standard Oil each own over 300,000 acres of California land–much of it agricultural. Tenneco also has vast landholdings in Arizona–altogether it controls a land area more than twice the size of Rhode Island (it actually *advertises* this in its annual report).

Southern Pacific is California's biggest landowner with 2.4 million acres, about 150,000 agricultural (originally given to it free by the government to build a railroad). Other big California "farmers" include the 348,000 Tejon Ranch (with a big interest held by the *L.A. Times-Mirror*) and Kaiser with 111,000 acres. In the early 1940s California's largest agricultural landholder with over 600,000 acres was the Bank of America, which had foreclosed on a farm a day during the preceding depression years. Today the Bank of America, the world's largest agricultural lender, works closely with big corporate farmers while frequently refusing loans to small farms, thus giving another non-agricultural impetus to corporate control of the land.

California is only the most important example of the need for land reform in the United States. The situation varies somewhat from region to region – in the deep South landholdings are highly concentrated, in Maine 12 corporations own 52 percent of the land, in the Midwest things are not yet quite as bad. But everywhere the pattern is the same: land, whether agricultural, timber, urban, is increasingly controlled by big corporate interests.

[LAND REFORM IN AMERICA]

THE KIND OF CONCENTRATED control of such basic resources as food and land vastly increases the power of a few corporations over the lives of millions of people. Most of us are alienated from the land–unlike most people who have ever lived, we've pretty much forgotten about it. But there is no more basic resource, none that on as many levels–physical, social, and spiritual–so critically determines the dimensions of human life. And the corporations own it.

Land reform does not just mean a return to small farms. It means a radical restructuring of society. Corporate control of land helps force people into the cities and keep them there. Think for a moment about the vast changes in U.S. society if 75 percent of the people did *not* live on 2 percent of the land–you begin to get an idea of the profound implications of land reform. A certain traditional might suggest that the alternative to the USDA farm of 2015 is for "the people" to "take control" of the same ten mile wheat field and the skyscraper cattle factories. But the people can never control such things, which inherently centralize power and which point to a world of Super Cities worse than we have today. Ultimately, land reform should not just mean opening the land up for people who want to farm, but opening it up for everyone, for communities of farmers *and* carpenters, poets, printers, teachers, tailors, plumbers, jacks-of-all-trades. It should mean a decentralized society, in which the countryside is an attractive, healthy place where people live and work, where people are able to obtain and make use of simple, durable tools and machines, and build regionally a substantial self-sufficiency and independence. If we are really serious about having a direct say in decisions which affect our lives, we will first have to take the basic organization of our society out of the skyscrapers and bring it down to earth.

Larry Casalino works with the Food, Land, and Power Project (contact c/o Institute for the Study of Nonviolence, Box 1001, Palo Alto, California 94302). Stuart Burns and Leah Honea shared in the research for this article.

FARM UNION STRUGGLES FOR SURVIVAL

by

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

If there is any single union in America that best exemplifies the crusading ideals that built the labor movement in the bitter 1930s, it's the United Farm Workers Union, led by Cesar Chavez. Now, less than two years after winning union contracts for California grape workers, the union is in a life-or-death struggle for its very existence.

The United Farm Workers is made up of the poorest and most oppressed of America's workers. It started among the Mexican-American and Filipino farm workers of California, many of them illiterate, most of them migrant workers who never had the protection of a union contract before, and all of them desperately poor.

The union came into national prominence through its long struggle with the grape growers. The main weapon in that struggle was the boycott. A strike of farm workers could not succeed by itself. Growers could chase strikers off their land and hire other migrant workers, many of whom were never aware that they were being used as strike-breakers.

But the whole country was inspired by the brave efforts of Chavez's small band of unionists and the boycott of grapes spread. People refused to buy grapes picked by non-union workers and the growers finally signed a contract with the union. That struggle, and Chavez's inspiring, almost saintly, personality, won a warm place in the hearts of the country for the farm workers.

The grape contract was followed by other successes, including a well-publicized union contract with big growers of citrus fruits in Florida, where many of its members are poor blacks. Although farm workers are not covered by laws protecting union organizing, the UFW was well on the way to success.

Now the union is locked in battle with the iceberg lettuce growers in California's Salinas Valley, and once more it is pinning its hopes on a nation-wide boycott for victory. But this time there is a terrible possibility that not only will the union lose, but that it may even be driven out of existence. And the

...more...

reason is that it is not only tackling the wealthy growers, but this time the weight of the federal government's power is coming down against the farm workers.

The National Labor Relations Board has asked for an injunction against the union, preventing it from carrying out a boycott of iceberg lettuce on the grounds that such boycotts are against the nation's labor laws. This is an unusual move, because the labor laws specifically exclude farm workers. Since they don't benefit from any of the provisions of the labor laws, they have also been excluded from the laws' penalties.

The catch here is that a small handful of the union's members work as "packers" and are technically not farm workers. The NLRB is arguing that because of this the whole union is subject to the penalties of the no-boycott law, even though the overwhelming majority of the union's members are still not covered by the law's protection of collective bargaining.

So the possibility exists that the courts will stop the boycott, the NLRB will hold hearings charging the union with illegal boycott activities, and that the union may eventually be liable for civil damage suits from the non-union growers that could bankrupt it and permanently put it out of business.

It's not too hard to see what is really happening here: the power of the growers and the government is being harnessed in an all-out fight to break the union and deprive black and minority workers of their right to organize and strike. The law is being used to strip the poor of their rights and to protect the rich.

The dangers of such a short-sighted policy are too awesome to contemplate. If the workers' nonviolent tools are brutally taken from them, future farm strikes could well be as bloody as the industrial strikes of the past. And so long as one small, struggling union of the poor is allowed to be crushed, no worker, even one in the big and seemingly powerful trade unions, is safe.

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Map Series

Bulletin 264

coverage of Agricultural Workers under State and Federal Labor Laws

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
Arthur W. Motley, Director

1964

Rec'd 6/16/66

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NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

INFORMATION LETTER

Number 30 June, 1965

I. Farm Workers Organize
II. Farm Labor Legislation
III. Crops and Foreign Labor Importation
IV. Farm Product Prices Drop

I. FARM WORKERS ORGANIZE

Florida

Some 1400 farm workers and crew leaders in Belle Glade, Florida, members of the United Agricultural Workers of America, have voted to accept a charter as a local union of the Laborers International Union, AFL-CIO. In the first successful effort ever made to organize farm workers in Florida, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO lent its support to the drive undertaken by the United Steelworkers of America among canning processing workers at American Can and Continental Can Companies in Winterhaven. At an Industrial Union Department meeting late in April, thirty international unions decided that the Laborers International Union should assume jurisdiction over agricultural workers on the East Coast.

The Laborers Union, sixth largest in the United States, is expected to pour up to half a million dollars into a massive organization movement aimed at unionizing migrants and other farm workers up and down the Eastern seaboard. It is estimated that by fall the campaign will reach the proportions of the widely publicized West Coast organizing drive centering around the grape strike in Delano, California.

Both the Catholic and Protestant churches are deeply involved in this movement to bring basic union protections to some 106,000 farm workers--primarily Negro, Mexican-American, and Puerto Rican--whose annual earnings average $1,312.

Working and living conditions in the Belle Glade area are among the worst in the nation. Jack Ross, formerly head of the Florida State Citizens Committee on Agricultural Labor, had this to say about Belle Glade migrant housing in July, 1965: "I have had a lot of contact with slums in lots of places, and I am not easily shocked. But I saw conditions in Belle Glade which were worse than almost anything I have seen in Chicago or New York....I can only say that I intended to stay and see all I could, but after about 3 hours and visits to 20 or so places, I was so upset that I had to leave. I drove home earlier than I had planned and stayed awake most of the night trying to absorb it all....Negro families in Belle Glade pay about the same for two miserable rooms in wretched conditions as I pay for my comfortable house in the suburbs."

Arizona

Earlier this year some 175 central Arizona farm workers organized the Arizona Farm Laborers' Association, calling for higher wages, better working conditions, greater job security, and protection from employment abuses. The Association is working closely with community action groups in the agricultural towns of Avondale, Stanfield, Guadalupe, and Cashion, and has the support of the Arizona

co-chairmen: Frank P. Graham • A. Philip Randolph • treasurer: John A. Mackay • assistant treasurer: Robert W. Hudgens • committee: Steve Allen • William L. Batt, Jr. • Louis H. Bean • Robert Coles • Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg • Helen Gahagan Douglas • Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy • L. H. Foster • Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn • Henry B. Herman • Msgr. George G. Higgins • Jacob M. Kaplan • Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman • Isador Lubin • Archbishop Robert E. Lucey • Benjamin E. Mays • Bishop Reuben H. Mueller • Peter H. Odegard • Daniel H. Pollitt • Wilbour E. Saunders • Dore Schary • John M. Seabrook • Norman Thomas • Frederick S. Van Dyke • Josephine Wilkins • founding members: Herbert H. Lehman • Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt • Maurice T. Van Hecke • executive secretary: Fay Bennett • program secretary: Helen K. Shettle • field representative: Stanley Hamilton

Migrant Ministry. There does not seem to be direct labor union involvement as in Florida, although John E. Evans, Secretary-Treasurer of the Arizona AFL-CIO, promised he would fight for the inclusion of migrants under the benefits of all labor regulations in the state. In January, 1966, the workers staged a peaceful protest march at the State Capitol Building as Governor Goddard spoke on their behalf in his message to the State Legialature.

California

The ten-month-old grape workers' strike for recognition of their farm unions by some 34 growers in the Delano area met with partial success in April, when one of the largest ranches, Schenley Industries, finally agreed to negotiate without conditions with one of the unions, the National Farm Workers Association.

The news came to the strikers as they were finishing the last leg of a 25-day, 300-mile protest march from Delano to the state capital in Sacramento. Jack Conway, Executive Director of the seven-million-member AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, and Paul Schrade, Regional Director of the United Auto Workers, accompanied the farm workers, led by Cesar Chavez, on the first day of the pilgrimage. Two weeks later, other AFL-CIO officials walked part way with the strikers; among them was William Kircher, Director of Organization, to whom Chavez attributes much of the credit for the Schenley offer to negotiate. The march was climaxed by an Easter Sunday rally, largest of its kind since unions began trying to organize farm workers over 30 years ago; 8,000 demonstrators thronged the steps of the Capitol and listened to speakers who had flown in from as far away as New York to be with the strikers.

The strike began in September when members of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, walked off grape ranches in the Delano area protesting low wages and poor working conditions. Ten days later the independent National Farm Workers Association joined hands with AWOC, both groups pledging maintenance of the strike effort until the growers agreed to recognize the unions and bargain with them. Money was contributed by local unions and church groups, but it wasn't until Walter Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers and the Industrial Union Department, presented the strikers with a Christmas gift of $5,000 and promised a $5,000 monthly contribution "until this strike is won" that the farm unions were able to expand their strike efforts.

The partial breakthrough (33 other struck growers have yet to follow Schenley's example) was hard won. Nearly 10,000 people across the nation had participated in boycott activities against Schenley products. Boycott offices were set up in 16 of the largest U.S. cities. Over two million pledge and protest cards were distributed across the nation. The strike sympathizer had only to fill in his name and mail the card to Schenley. One hundred seventeen boycott committees, loosely directed from California, picketed supermarkets and liquor stores where Schenley products were sold.

On April 7, the day after the Schenley offer, Robert DiGiorgio, head of the area's largest grape ranch, offered to hold elections among his workers to determine whether or not they wanted to be represented by a union. As conditions to holding these elections, DiGiorgio called for a halt to boycott pressures, compulsory arbitration as part of negotiation procedure, and no-strike clauses in any final contract with the company. Chavez declined the offer, saying that the pickers presently in the field were strikebreakers who therefore had no right to vote, and that the pre-condition of cessation of boycott pressures was unacceptable.

Subsequent events have indicated that even this limited DiGiorgio offer was not made in good faith. Late in April, a near-riot between pickets and DiGiorgio guards broke up a meeting of company and union leaders. Cesar Chavez said: "Talks would be fruitless as long as DiGiorgio continues doing bodily harm to our pickets. We simply cannot sit in the same room in Fresno." (According to union reports, a picket, Michael Rosas, was hit on the head and required ten stitches when he helped a fellow picket who had been held at gunpoint and later dragged away by a guard. DiGiorgio officials have since ordered their guards to disarm.)

In addition, a DiGiorgio letter to its farm worker employees said the company "firmly believes you do not need a union, but we are ready and willing to let you tell us in a secret ballot if you want a union or if you want DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation." Gilbert Padilla, Vice President of NFWA, said the letter "tells workers they can vote for the union or for their job--some 'free' election."

In view of these facts, Chavez has diverted the massive boycott machinery from Schenley to DiGiorgio, and has called for a halt to all purchases of DiGiorgio products, which include S & W Fine Foods, TreeSweet, and White Rose brands.

During the week of May 9, approximately 2,000 people in California alone walked on picket lines. In Los Angeles, NFWA had over 500 pickets including officials from the AFL-CIO, Teamsters (independent), and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (independent). One store finally sent its employees home.

Texas

On June 1, 1966, 500 farm workers, members of the Independent Workers Association, went on strike in the field of three of the largest melon growers in the lower Rio Grande Valley. According to a union spokesman, the workers are asking for a contract with the growers and a wage increase to $1.25 an hour.

II. FARM LABOR LEGISLATION

The Delano Hearings

Early this year the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor held public hearings in the Delano area of California. Individuals and organizations concerned with the living and working conditions of farm workers were invited to present testimony.

Some of the statements presented were unexpectedly strong in favor of legislation for farm workers. The Catholic Bishops of California united for the first time in an urgent appeal for collective bargaining rights and a minimum wage for farm laborers. The statement, read by Bishop Donohoe, was applauded by nearly 1,000 people gathered in the Delano High School Auditorium. Senators Murphy (R-Calif.), Kennedy (D-N.Y.), and Williams (D-N.J.) broke their own rules of procedure by leading the applause for the Bishop, who said in part, "It is becoming evident that unless farm workers are given the chance to organize they are going to become wards of the state. This one act [collective bargaining] will not solve the farm labor problem, but it will be a first and giant step toward a solution."

Copies of the hearings may be obtained from Frederick R. Blackwell, General Counsel, Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Minimum Wage

On May 26, 1966, the House of Representatives passed a minimum wage bill, H.R. 13712, which includes farm workers for the first time. This historic breakthrough extends a $1.00 minimum hourly wage to some 400,000 to 485,000 workers who labor on farms hiring more than 500 man-days of work during a calendar quarter. The hourly minimum goes into effect February 1, 1967, rises to $1.15 one year later, and reaches $1.30 in February, 1969.

When the bill came before the House it stated that farm workers must work more than 13 weeks a year in agriculture for their work days to count toward the 500 man-days which a farm must hire before being required to pay a minimum wage. However, once a farm reached the 500 man-day level, then all workers on that farm would receive the minimum regardless of whether or not they had been included in the original man-day count.

Unfortunately, an amendment offered by Congresswoman Green of Oregon was adopted to exclude from coverage those who work less than 13 weeks a year, even if they work on farms which are required to pay the minimum. This would give rise to basic inequities: two workers picking side by side, accomplishing the same tasks, would be receiving different wages.

Senate action on the bill, which is now before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, will probably come in late June. We strongly urge you to write your Senators stating that you are in favor of the minimum wage, but with a 300-man-day test rather than the 500 (thus including more workers on large farms); that you believe wages for farm workers should begin at $1.15 instead of $1.00; and finally, that you are opposed to the Green amendment or any similar one.

Collective Bargaining

A Senate bill, S.1866, now in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, would amend the National Labor Relations Act to include farm workers, who have heretofore been specifically excluded from the effective right to bargain collectively. We hope you will write your Senators that you support this bill, due to be voted on in late June. Remind them of the critical situation in Delano, and of the fact that if NLRA coverage had been extended to farm workers, the ten-month struggle there for union recognition would not have been necessary.

Unemployment Compensation

A House bill, H.R. 8282, was reported out of the Ways and Means Committee with the farm labor clause struck out. It is now before the House Rules Committee, and when it reaches the floor for a vote, it is expected that some efforts will be made to restore farm worker coverage. Again, letters to your Representative supporting the extension of coverage to farm labor are essential.

III. CROPS AND FOREIGN LABOR IMPORTATION

Following the expiration of Public Law 78 (the Mexican Labor Importation Program) at the end of 1964, growers were forced to turn again to use of domestic farm workers, who had been neglected by most large growers for many years in favor of the almost limitless supply of low-paid braceros available under P.L. 78. Since higher wages and improved conditions would have to be offered in order to attract American workers, some growers still hoped to obtain Mexican and other foreign

workers under Public Law 414 (the Immigration and Nationality Act). However, the Secretary of Labor used his authority to protect jobs and opportunities for American workers, and set minimum wages and conditions that growers would first have to offer domestic workers before he would approve importation of foreign workers under P.L. 414.

Most growers found an adequate supply of domestics available when they offered improved wages and conditions. In some cases imported workers were authorized in certain crops and for specific periods of time. Some growers who failed to show that they had made genuine efforts to recruit domestic workers had their requests for foreign workers denied. By late fall it was clear that the ban on unlimited importation of foreign labor was a resounding success: 100,000 more domestic workers picked the nation's crops at slightly higher wages than the year before.

Again in 1966, the replacement of imported with domestic labor has increased, and according to the U.S. Department of Labor, the number of foreign workers in the United States as of April 30 totaled 1,205, in contrast with 6,248 a year ago. Here is a brief summary of current problem areas, and recent decisions by the Labor Department on the authorization of temporary foreign labor importation.

California--Asparagus. Early in May the U.S. Department of Labor refused the request by asparagus growers for 2,500 foreign workers. The Labor Department's California regional director of the Bureau of Employment Security, Glenn Brockway, stated that the asparagus growers "declined to undertake an effective recruitment program to obtain American workers." Until very recently the growers have consistently refused to use state Department of Employment services to get domestic workers. According to Brockway, the government has repeatedly urged the asparagus growers to provide improved family housing, and offer higher wages and better working conditions in order to attract American workers. "These efforts were not made," he added.

California--Strawberries. On May 16, 1966, the Department of Labor authorized the importation of 1,000 Mexican workers to harvest the strawberry crop in Monterey County. After consulting with members of the California Farm Labor Panel, and with the California Department of Employment, it was decided that "Salinas Strawberries, Inc. has made a wide range of genuine and often costly efforts to attract workers... /including:/ acquisition of two trailer courts with the total of 254 modern and fully equipped trailers representing an investment approaching 2½ million dollars; acquisition through lease of 34 family housing units...."

Oscar Gonzalez, President of the United Farm Workers in San Jose, strongly opposes this authorization of imported workers. Gonzalez claims that the above-mentioned family housing offered to workers is rented at exorbitant rates which "could in no way be construed as encouraging families to come to Salinas," and that sufficient efforts were not made to attract domestic workers this year. Whereas last year hundreds of San Jose workers were bused daily 60 miles to and from Salinas, no similar attempts were made this year.

IV. FARM PRODUCT PRICES DROP

Early in April, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman reported that farm prices have fallen since February 15. He predicted that the average prices of all farm products will be 6 to 10 per cent lower in the fourth quarter of the year than they are now; more specifically, vegetables are expected to drop 20 to 25 per cent by the end of the year. He listed these vegetable price decreases since February 15: fresh lettuce down 35 per cent; cabbage, celery, and onions down more than 20 per cent; fresh oranges and grapefruit down 7 per cent.

2-10-66

Labor News
2/10/66

MIGRANT Lab

MERGER AGREEMENT between the AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee and the National Farm Workers' Association gets favorable comment from, left to right, AWOC Rep. Larry Itliong, Executive Sec.-Treas. Thomas L. Pitts of California AFL-CIO, NFWA head Cesar Chavez and AFL-CIO Dir. of Organization William L. Kircher. The merger pact, which will unify striking grape workers for the Aug. 30 representation election at two DiGiorgio Corp. locations, will go to the next meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council for ratification.

Migrant Labor Council

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. VI, No. 19 — May 16, 1966

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

"I suggest, Sheriff, that you read the U. S. Constitution before you arrest any more strikers." *Sen. Robert Kennedy*

Sen. Robert Kennedy made a dramatic appeal for justice among farm workers during recent hearing in California. Quotation above aimed at law officers who side with growers did much to calm an explosive economic situation.

The annual—virtually invisible—battle over California water monopoly is now under way on Capitol Hill. There are no headlines. No TV cameras. No exposés by the columnists. But at stake are huge supplies of federally-subsidized irrigation water, vast tracts of the country's most fertile soil and control of our most populous state.

The budget item is a mere $12 million to continue construction of a $157 million underground pipeline on the San Luis project (San Joaquin Valley of central California). This system will deliver subsidized irrigation water to a modern feudal barony—the most tightly held block of rich farmland in America.

(Continued on page 2)

Should taxpayers subsidize rich anti-labor growers?

By George Ballis

American taxpayers are paying through the nose for cheap water supplied by the federal government. While many family farmers are helped by this, today huge rich land barons in California not only pocket big profits, they also keep farm workers on strike, refusing to bargain the American way for wages, hours, and working conditions.

Farm Labor

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

Activities Report
May, 1966

During the past year the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor has concentrated on three major issues affecting American farm workers: the Delano (California) grape workers' strike, proposed minimum wage and unemployment compensation legislation, and the transition from reliance on imported labor to reliance on domestic workers following the end of Public Law 78 (the Mexican Importation Program). NACFL emphasized its "multiplier effect" by sparking efforts of groups all over the country, and continued its informational and educational work on an ever-increasing scale in response to growing demands.

The Grape Strike

The California grape strike of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, and the independent National Farm Workers Association, was a continuing concern of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. NACFL took the lead in bringing together widely representative church, labor, and civil rights groups in New York City that were concerned with backing the strike effort, and set up a meeting with Schenley lawyers to ask the company to sit down with the strikers. This meeting brought an important element to the strike movement: the powerful involvement of national organizations that voiced their support by putting the issues in the perspective of simple justice and morality.

To mobilize support for the grape strike, NACFL acted in the following ways:

1. Sent out thousands of fact sheets on strike developments to concerned organizations and individuals and to news media.*

2. Wrote to key people in church, labor, and civil rights organizations whose moral and financial support was essential in making the strike an issue of national concern.

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*NACFL's mailing list includes the following:	Approx. Number
1. Organizational leaders of: all major faiths and church denominations, plus many local church groups; civil rights groups; farm worker organizations; state citizens' committees on farm labor; national, state, and local anti-poverty, political, and voluntary and fraternal groups Individuals: students, teachers at all levels; community leaders; state and local government officials; and hundreds of interested persons who have asked to receive NACFL's mailings regularly	2,750
2. Labor: Presidents, Secretary-Treasurers, and Education Directors of all National and International Unions and state bodies	450
3. Press: All major U.S. dailies and weeklies, news services, and magazines; columnists, radio and TV commentators, and writers	375
4. Labor Publications	275
5. Congress: All U.S. Senators and Representatives	535
6. U.S. Government Officials (in Washington, D.C., and regional offices)	300
7. Libraries	150
Total	4,835

3. Published a 36-page pictorial report, The Grape Strike, which was distributed to the entire mailing list; requests for additional copies continue to pour into the office and total close to 15,000 pamphlets since the March printing.

4. Placed an article on the strike in The United Teacher.

5. Had its Program Secretary appear on a radio program which dealt with the issues involved in the strike.

On April 6, 1966, Schenley Industries announced they would recognize and bargain with the National Farm Workers Association, and a day later the Di Giorgio Corporation agreed to hold an election. NACFL will continue to back the strike effort by pressing for swift action on the promised negotiations, and will encourage further organizing efforts--in California and elsewhere--which hopefully will follow this historic breakthrough of the farm workers' unions in achieving recognition.

Legislation

As the minimum wage bill including farm workers went through several stages, NACFL presented testimony at the Congressional hearing and sent successive action memos and fact sheets to its mailing list asking for letters of support to be sent to Congressmen. NACFL has sent several letters to every Congressman urging support for the bill.

When a bill providing unemployment compensation for farm workers was being considered by the House Ways and Means Committee, NACFL again presented testimony and also sent action memos to organizations and individuals whose Representatives were on this Committee, calling for wires and letters at this crucial point, to ensure that the bill would be reported out with the farm worker provision intact.

All of these mailings have the "multiplier effect"--a number of organizations quote directly from our materials in their own publications, often sending out special mailings as a result of NACFL's alerting them to the issues, and other organizations request quantities of our memos and fact sheets to send directly to their mailing lists.

The End of Public Law 78

The end of Public Law 78 meant the end of an unlimited supply of imported Mexican workers, and victory in a struggle which NACFL had fought since its inception in 1958. NACFL had sought repeal of the importation program in the belief that domestic workers--given the opportunity to demand higher wages and better working conditions without fear of losing their jobs to low-paid foreign workers--could form a skilled and stable work force. NACFL predicted that many thousands of unemployed and part-time farm workers would, under improved conditions, seek work in the fields where they had largely been displaced by imported workers for so many years.

NACFL cooperated with the Department of Labor in tapping the domestic labor supply, and asked for assistance from voluntary groups in recruiting workers in areas where a shortage was expected. Growers who requested foreign workers under Public Law 414 (the Immigration and Nationality Act) were required first

to offer domestic workers wages and conditions set by the Labor Department; NACFL circularized these regulations to local groups urging them to check on compliance with the regulations in their areas, and also urging them to press for use of these minimum standards in all farm recruitment.

Efforts by growers to use P.L. 414 in place of P.L. 78 brought quick response from NACFL, acting as a "watchdog" in this transition period, investigating and publicizing the facts in each situation and countering the propaganda barrage from growers who claimed that crops were rotting in the fields because of a labor shortage. NACFL gave strong support to the Secretary of Labor in his basic stand against renewed importation, for which he was subject to much abuse from grower organizations and some legislators representing their views. NACFL also criticized the Secretary in several cases where imported workers were authorized. In April, 1965, NACFL sent a memo, "The Current Farm Labor Situation," to its mailing list, with special letters enclosing the memo to all Senators and Representatives.

NACFL published a 16-page pamphlet, The Case for the Domestic Farm Worker, dealing with the Florida situation and written in answer to a grower publication which distorted the facts. The pamphlet was distributed to thousands, including government officials and members of Congress.

In September a proposed Senate amendment to the Farm Bill would have transferred authority over importation of foreign labor from the Secretary of Labor to the Secretary of Agriculture. NACFL fought, along with other concerned organizations, to defeat this move, and contacted many Senators personally. The amendment, backed by powerful grower interests, would have been a blow to domestic workers since the Agriculture Department is ill-equipped to administer the program. The vote was 45-45, with Vice President Humphrey casting the deciding vote to defeat the amendment and retain the Labor Secretary's authority on this issue.

By late fall it was clear that the ban on unlimited importation of foreign labor was a resounding success: 100,000 more domestic workers picked the nation's crops at slightly higher wages than the year before; the over-all price of fresh fruits and vegetables dropped even though the Consumer Price Index rose; farm income soared to a record high.

Sugar Beet Wage Hearings

In November, 1965, NACFL notified key individuals and organizations in six states where hearings on 1966 sugar beet wages were scheduled for December and January, and succeeded in having testimony presented on behalf of the workers. In more than one area, no such testimony backing increased wages had been given in previous years to counter the well-organized presentation of the growers.

Education

The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor continued its periodical Information Letter, sent to the entire mailing list and distributed even more widely through other organizations that requested quantity lots. Many new persons became concerned with the plight of farm workers as a result of mention of NACFL and its work in a number of newspaper and magazine articles, including several articles in labor publications for which NACFL provided photographs. Ralph McGill's widely syndicated column quoted from NACFL's pamphlet, Poverty on the Land (a report on its Public Hearings), on October 9, 1965.

NACFL's Executive Secretary appeared on a television panel discussion on farm labor issues. Her report on an extensive California field trip was circulated to the entire mailing list (including Labor Department and other government officials), along with a letter urging support of farm labor legislation.

One example of NACFL's "multiplier effect" is given in the following quote from a letter from the Unitarian Society minister in Madison, Wisconsin:

> "While I am sure you receive many such communications, it occurred to me that you might be interested to know the practical usefulness of the bulletins and background material which we receive from time to time from your office. The Social Action Committee here in our church has for some years been very much concerned with the problems of migrant workers....Most recently, we responded to your memorandum of March 1st by including with the order of service on a Sunday morning recently the enclosed memorandum from our committee. I am sure that many people have responded in useful ways...."

This minister also enclosed a radio talk he had given which cogently presented the basic relationship of rural and urban poverty.

An ever-increasing number of requests for information from students, teachers, writers, unions, and others have been answered. Many federal and state officials also rely on NACFL publications and request copies for distribution to their staff members.

Field Work and State Citizens' Committees

The Florida Citizens' Committee on Agricultural Labor, organized in 1964 by NACFL's Field Representative, Stanley Hamilton, continued its effective work by helping to achieve passage of a transportation safety bill in Florida, and it will be ready to give support to the organizing efforts among farm workers begun recently by the Steelworkers Union. Members of the Michigan Council on Agricultural Labor also worked on a state transportation safety bill, and the Indiana Citizens' Committee has backed a bill setting health standards for migrant camps. The two California groups, the Emergency Committee to Aid Farm Workers (in Los Angeles) and Citizens for Farm Labor (based in Berkeley), were most active recently in mobilizing support for the grape strike. Other state citizen committees are functioning in Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Washington. NACFL hopes to reactivate the New York and Wisconsin committees as well as organize committees in other states.

Other Activities

NACFL continued its close cooperation with the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, of which it is a member. Early in 1965 NACFL's Executive Secretary participated in a Consultation on Services to Children in the East Coast Stream. NACFL staff are in constant communication with Washington, the farm labor organizing fronts, and concerned groups.

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The minimum wage bill covering farm workers is close to a vote, and if strong support can be mobilized, it will be passed. House committees are examining bills which would include farm workers under unemployment insurance and collective bargaining provisions. Never before have so many aspects of the farm labor problem been so close to solution--and never before have the need and opportunity for NACFL's effective work been so great.

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Saturday, June 25, 1966

No. 26

$1.75 Wage, Union Shop Gained in Grape Contract

HISTORIC FIRST CONTRACT is signed providing 35-cents-an-hour pay raise and full union shop for grape workers employed by Schenley Industries in California. From left, AFL-CIO Organizing Dir. William L. Kircher, Schenley Attorney Sidney Korshak and Dir. Cesar Chavez of the National Farm Workers Association, which represents the Schenley workers.

'Milestone' Pact Signed By Schenley

Los Angeles—A milestone labor agreement providing a minimum pay scale of $1.75 hourly for farm workers, a union hiring hall, dues checkoff and a union shop was signed here June 21.

The one-year pact, between Schenley Industries, Inc., and the independent National Farm Workers Association, covers some 500 Schenley employes at their vineyards in the Delano area.

It is expected to pave the way for a sweeping revolution on the farm labor front in California and elsewhere in farming centers across the nation.

Grape Strike Impact

Its immediate impact will hit hardest in the Delano area where several hundred grape workers have touched the conscience of the nation in a nine-month strike against deplorable wages and working conditions.

William L. Kircher, national organizing director of the AFL-CIO, who played a key role in negotiating the pact, hailed the agreement as a "significant breakthrough and the first contract of its kind anywhere in the farm industry."

"The Schenley-NFWA contract does many things," Kircher said. "It gives farm workers a firm collective bargaining base and it dramatically demonstrates real union accomplishment.

"It sets a model upon which other farm workers can look with understanding that 'it can be done.'

"And it provides the opportunity for the structure of an actual ongoing union operation within the agricultural industry.

(Continued on Page 8)

Better Jobless Aid Bill To Be Sought in Senate

(Continued from Page 1)

fits with tougher qualifications which keep many jobless workers from receiving them.

The AFL-CIO convention last December had termed the Administration bill "imperative" in view of the "crazy quilt variations" in the 50 state laws.

The real House battle was in the Ways & Means Committee, where a conservative coalition dumped the Administration bill and even voted down the attempt of Committee Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) to preserve some meaningful federal standards.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany's comment at the time was that the committee has passed up "an opportunity to provide realistic legislative safeguards against future recessions," and "instead provided only minimal improvements and no federal benefit standard whatsoever."

Meany urged that the bill be used by the Senate as "a vehicle . . . to improve unemployment insurance" through "realistic, meaningful federal standards." He added:

"Certainly those persons unemployed through no fault of their own should not be used as pawns by the several states in their campaign to pirate industry from socially enlightened to socially backward areas."

Seven Republican members of the Ways & Means Committee, in a report accompanying the bill to the House, gloated over the measure as "a great victory."

They said the Administration bill "was designed to federalize and straitjacket state unemployment insurance programs. It would have established federal benefit standards, both with respect to amount and duration."

Not only did the committee reject all these, the GOP members said, but it also added a provision for court review if the Secretary of Labor should rule that a state's program does not meet even the mild federal standards now in effect.

9-10-1966

Labor

Newcomer wins on the farm

Recently chartered AFL-CIO affiliate defeats Teamsters as bargaining agent for workers at two California farms

The AFL-CIO celebrated Labor Day this week in a manner to which it has become unaccustomed. A newly chartered affiliate won a surprise victory in an area of enormous future importance to organized labor.

The winner was the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, chosen bargaining agent by workers at two California farms of the giant Di Giorgio Corp. The vote was 530 for the UFWOC to 331 for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in an election conducted by the American Arbitration Assn.

Neither state nor federal law requires an employer to bargain with a union that represents his agricultural workers, and no government mechanism exists to determine such a union's majority status. The Di Giorgio management agreed voluntarily to the AAA election, presumably to end 11 months of strike, and apparently under the impression that the Teamsters would win.

Reversal. In an earlier election—run unilaterally by Di Giorgio and boycotted by the AFL-CIO predecessor to UFWOC—management representatives advised workers in writing that the Teamsters would give them better representation. The Teamsters, unopposed, won.

When demonstrations continued, Di Giorgio agreed to two AAA elections: one among farm workers and the other among 140 packinghouse workers, truck drivers, and warehousemen on the two farms. The Teamsters won the packinghouse and drivers' vote, 94 to 43.

Breakthrough. Last week's AFL-CIO victory among the farm workers follows recognition by Schenley Industries, Inc., of the National Farm Workers Assn. as bargaining agent for 450 vineyard workers—the first such union achievement after years of unsuccessful attempts to organize California farm workers.

NFWA, a community-based organization backed by many religious groups, had a mainly Mexican-American membership. The AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee had a mainly Filipino-American membership. Last month they merged and received an AFL-CIO charter as UFWOC in time for the Di Giorgio election.

The merger and victory—and a Di Giorgio announcement that negotiations would begin immediately—spread concern among employers in California's multibillion-dollar agricultural industry. Not the least of their worries was that California's state legislature—no longer heavily rural as a result of reapportionment—might legislate collective bargaining machinery for farm workers. **End**

Migrant Labor

AFL-CIO News
Sept 10, 1966

Migrant Labor

To State Capitol:

20,000 Texans Join Farm Worker March

Austin, Tex.—Twenty thousand Texans marched to the Sta Capitol here Labor Day to demand a $1.25 state minimum wa law and to show their sympathy for a band of farm workers w had walked 400 miles from the Rio Grande Valley to dramati their low wages and their strike against two corporation farms.

They also wanted to show the state's conservative Democratic organization that many Texans were ready for massive socio-economic changes.

At a barbecue that followed Pres. H. S. Hank Brown of the Texas AFL-CIO, which collected more than $16,000 from unions to sustain the marchers and the farm strike and which arranged the Labor Day march and rally, said, "This is Texas labor's greatest day."

Only five days before, Gov. John Connally, accompanied by State Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, who is a candidate for U.S. Senate, and state Speaker of the House Ben Barnes, had met the farm workers' march 50 miles from their destination urging them not to go on.

"There might be trouble," Connally warned.

There was none, as the biggest protest march in modern Texas history moved the last three miles to the State Capitol. Six blocks from the Capitol grounds, Texas Democratic Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough, a member of the Senate Labor Committee, joined the march.

From the steps of the Capitol, Yarborough told the workers, who had come from all over Texas, "a hundred years ago we ended physical slavery. We are here today to end . . . economic slavery.

"Texas has more people living the poverty level than any oth state.

"We are here today to lift Texa out of poverty."

Speaker after speaker said th the rally was just the start of movement to change things.

William L. Kircher, directo of organization of the nation

(Continued on Page 6)

20,000 Texans Join Farm Worker March

(Continued from Page 1)

AFL-CIO, who walked the last two days of the march, said:

"These campesinos (farm hands) are setting a good example for all working Texans who do not belong to a union—and only 10 percent of the work force does."

He added that "This new union of farm workers is going to be built by farm workers and for farm workers."

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, recently chartered by the AFL-CIO, is "the most significant event for organized labor in recent years," Eugene Nelson said.

Nelson, who served as a picket captain in the Delano, Calif., grape pickers strike, brought what he learned there to South Texas, where he organized the second UFWOC group in the country and then led 40 marchers for 56 days half way across Texas. He said:

"It's a cold and grotesque paradox that the people who produce the food—the vital substance—live under the worst conditions of any employe group in the country."

In the march of the farm workers toward Austin were two clergymen, the Rev. Antonio Gonzalez and the Rev. James Novarro.

From the podium the Rev. Novarro said "We were brought together by Divine Providence—how else could a Roman Catholic priest and a Baptist preacher have gotten together."

Father Gonzalez spoke with his mother and father, both migrant farm workers just returned from Michigan, on either side of him.

Cesar Chavez, a leader of the newly-chartered UFWOC, who helped direct the Delano grape strike, told the union members that the union had "taught the growers of California a few lessons in collective bargaining."

Most of the marchers returned to the Rio Grande Valley next day to continue their strike, leaving behind two men on the Capitol steps, one holding a metal religious cross and the other holding flags of America and Texas.

They, and alternates, were to remain there, silent each day, until the legislature passes a law setting a wage floor of $1.25 an hour for all the workers of Texas, including farm hands.

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MIGRANT LABOR

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

INFORMATION LETTER

Number 31 September, 1966

I. Organizing Farm Workers in Wisconsin
II. Farm Worker Organizing in Texas
III. News Bulletins

I. ORGANIZING FARM WORKERS IN WISCONSIN

"Those people are the most neglected in the state. A friend of mine does volunteer work for them; he says that they've never seen a dentist; that when they break a bone it heals any old way, just so they can go back to picking in the fields."
--An unidentified man, attending a rally of migrant farm workers in Wisconsin.

On August 14, 1966 about twenty-five cucumber pickers set off across the plains of central Wisconsin from Wautoma to Madison to protest their living and working conditions to officials at the state capital eighty miles and four walking days away.

The group, called Obreros Unidos (United Workers) is affiliated with the National Farm Workers Association in California, and headed by Jesus (who pronounces his name Jesse) Salas. A Stevens Point State University student, Salas comes from a migrant family who settled in Wautoma seven years ago and opened a small cafe. He was graduated from high school in 1961 and worked summers in state-sponsored education and social programs for the migrants.

The Obreros Unidos are making simple demands: a $1.25 hourly state minimum wage (at present the state law does not cover farm workers); representation on the 28-member Governor's Commission on Migratory Labor; accident insurance; sanitary facilities; better housing.

Participants in the march (who represent the 4,000 migrants who come to Waushara County during the summer months) encountered no real hostility during their journey to Madison. "One man even stopped his car, said 'good luck' and handed us a ten dollar bill," said the Reverend Anthony Dolski of the Green Bay Catholic Diocese.

Ranks of the marchers swelled to about 150 on the final day, as sympathizers including clergy and nuns fell into line. They were greeted at the steps of the state capitol by government officials, among them Joseph C. Fagan, chairman of the Wisconsin State Industrial Commission, which reports on wage conditions and adjusts wage scales for women and minors. Fagan spoké warmly of the marchers, and attached considerable significance to their dignified protest: "The biggest challenge you gave us, Jesus Salas and your brave band, is to have a human concern. Apathy in moral standards, due to preoccupations in living, in making a dollar, is a growing problem. You gave us for only a brief week the chance to look at something much better than what we have had for some while. And that is the chance to care about someone who is trying very hard to care about his own people."

co-chairmen: Frank P. Graham • A. Philip Randolph • *treasurer:* John A. Mackay • *assistant treasurer:* Robert W. Hudgens • *committee:* Steve Allen • William L. Batt, Jr. • Louis H. Bean • Robert Coles • Helen Gahagan Douglas • Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy • L. H. Foster • Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn • Henry B. Herman • Msgr. George G. Higgins • Jacob M. Kaplan • Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman • Isador Lubin • Archbishop Robert E. Lucey • Benjamin E. Mays • Bishop Reuben H. Mueller • Peter H. Odegard • Daniel H. Pollitt • Wilbour E. Saunders • Dore Schary • John M. Seabrook • Helen K. Shettle • Norman Thomas • Frederick S. Van Dyke • George Wiley • Josephine Wilkins • *founding members:* Herbert H. Lehman • Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt • Maurice T. Van Hecke • *executive secretary:* Fay Bennett • *assistant executive secretary:* Linda W. Lewis • *field representative:* Stanley Hamilton

An editorial in the Capital Times dated August 20, 1966 gives an excellent appraisal of the import of the march: "The migrants ask for a wage [$1.25] that barely breaks through the poverty line. Since Wisconsin prides itself on its social conscience and since exploitation of migrant labor is not a recent development, it seems reasonable to expect the state to pay its due bill with alacrity. The state, which accorded the march a proper dignity, will make a farce of that march if the migrants' petition is shunted, shuffled and referred. There should be no necessity for even the hint of the need for another march."

Wisconsin state law does not provide a minimum wage for farm workers at the present time. It is even doubtful whether the substandard wages set for women and minors by the State Industrial Commission (for women over 16, $1.10 an hour in areas with populations over 1,000; $1.00 in towns under 1,000; for minors 95 cents and 85 cents respectively) apply to migrant women and children.

Joseph Fagan said that if a case were found where men made less money than women working in the fields, his Commission could test the non-discriminatory clause of Wisconsin's fair employment practices law by questioning whether women could receive the minimum and not men. A series of hearings will be held this fall to determine public sentiment concerning a $1.25 hourly wage for migrant workers.

At least one large canning and processing company, Libby, McNeil and Libby, already guarantees its 400 field workers $1.25 an hour. Often Libby pays as much as half of this in deficiency wages to workers unable to pick $1.25 worth on the piecework basis used by other companies.

In answer to the inevitable grower charges that they are presently paying the desired wage, a University of Wisconsin graduate student, Mark Erenburg, who has been working on a wage study with migrants for three years, said that if the workers were making more than $1.25, the processors should not be opposed to paying them the minimum wage.

One of the demands has already been met: the migrants were enjoined to elect their own leaders to represent them on the Governor's Commission on Migratory Labor.

Increased interest has also been shown in improving housing conditions: Mr. Carl Kwasigroch of Middleton, Wisconsin, inspector for farm camps in four counties, said the housing code itself was deficient; it describes such details as screening and ventilation, but says nothing about walls and floors. "How can you possibly judge a dwelling unit?" he asked.

The march has ended, and no economic pressure or walkout is planned, but it took an 80 mile march on blistered feet to gain the state's ear.

II. FARM WORKER ORGANIZING IN TEXAS

> "I am doing it [marching] with my own heart, I have already wasted all my life in the fields. I don't want the new generation to struggle like I did...."
>
> --Reyes Alaniz (quoted from the Texas AFL-CIO News, August 20, 1966)

Starr County, Texas, scene of the most recent farm labor strike, is among the poorest in the nation: the average family income is $1,568, less than one third the

national average. The migrant worker is the worst paid, worst housed and most backward in the four-county Rio Grande Valley. The only person lower on the economic scale is the Mexican worker from across the border.

The strike began on June 1, when 300 workers, with no support, picketed at the gates of La Casita Farms. The strikers, who numbered over 1,000 in late June, voted to affiliate with the California-born National Farm Workers Association, which recently received an organizing charter from the AFL-CIO, a preliminary step toward full membership in the labor federation. (Its new name is the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.)

The farm workers in Texas have never organized before. They are asking only "a decent wage for a decent day's work." The workers are demanding $1.25 an hour; at present the wage rates range from 40 cents an hour to a top of 85 cents.

Unlike the year-long California grape strike (one of whose leaders, Eugene Nelson, is in great part responsible for the Texas movement), the Starr County strike has received the staunch support of local priests who have spoken out time and time again on behalf of their impoverished parishes.

Father Henry J. Casso, executive director of the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking in San Antonio, had this to say: "The scope of the strike is illustrated by the fact that some of the poorest people in San Antonio, those migrant farm workers who live around Mission Espada, have contributed food and clothing to the strikers." (More than 10,000 pounds of food was shipped to the strikers by the Bishop's Committee during the first three weeks of the strike.)

Bishop Medeiros of the Brownsville diocese commented upon the significance of the strike in terms of human dignity: "Human labor is not just another commodity on the market; it is something which comes from the human person and confers dignity upon the product of his work. It cannot be bought or sold like groceries or farming tools, because something of the human person is stamped on his work, and we cannot buy or sell human beings."

According to Newsweek Magazine (September 12, 1966), "Neither the march nor its clerical support would be possible without the hard-headed leadership of San Antonio's Catholic Archbishop Robert Emmet Lucey, 75, who likes to recall that his father was a union man. When the strikers recently marched into Lucey's cathedral to offer a basket of melons and a bushel of cotton to God, he told the crowded church: 'We endorse and approve your demand for an hourly wage of $1.25....This objective of yours is a step in the right direction.'"

On July 4, a small group of the strikers began the 387 mile trek to Austin, Texas, to present their grievances to the Governor, and to ask him to call a special session of the state legislature to enact a $1.25 minimum wage law. Among the leaders of the march were Eugene Nelson, former picket captain of the Delano grape strike; Houston Baptist minister James L. Navarro; Houston priest,Rev. Antonio Gonzales; and San Antonio priest,Rev. Sherrill Smith. According to a report in the New York Times only about twenty-five marchers made the entire trip. Three of these were more than seventy years old, and one was eighty-three. Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, joined the marchers for an afternoon. The trip was made without incident; in several cities the mayors and city officials turned out to greet the marchers and in some cases offered their political support.

During most of their two months on the road the marchers were accompanied by a small grey burro with $1.25 painted in pink on his side.

Governor Connally paid a surprise visit to the demonstrators en route, and told them he would neither call a special legislative session nor be on hand to meet with them in Austin. Further, he urged that the rally planned in Austin be cancelled because marchers in other parts of the nation had caused "riots, bloodshed, loss of life and property." Father Sherrill Smith called the Governor's token visit "a slap in the face, a pat on the head, the great white father type of thing."

As the small troop marched through downtown Austin, Protestant and Catholic clergy, labor union officials, Negroes representing Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and local citizenry swelled the ranks to some 4,000 strong.

Hero of the two and a half hour rally on the Texas State Capitol steps, though not present, was New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Over 8,000 people shouted "Viva Kennedy" when a telegram from him was read to the crowd. At one point the participants chanted "We want Kennedy." The liberal Senator has increasingly articulated the cause of the farm worker in Congress and to the nation. He was present at Senate hearings held in Delano, California, and his reply to a charge that it would be impossible to devise a system of collective bargaining for farm workers has often been quoted: "If we can put a man on the moon by the end of the 1960's, it seems we should be able to work out such a simple problem for farm workers after thirty years of talking about it."

Thirty labor union leaders were present, and pledged continued support for efforts to organize the two million farm laborers in Texas. Nicholas Zonarich, head of organizing for the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, said: "For the first time the farm workers have been united into the house of labor. We shall support you."

III. NEWS BULLETINS

1. The Congress finally approved amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act assuring for the first time some 400,000 farm workers (those who labor on farms hiring at least 500 man days of work during a calendar quarter) a $1.00 hourly minimum wage beginning February 1, 1967. The minimum rises to $1.15 in 1968 and stops at $1.30 in 1969. Sugar cane workers are included in the coverage, but local, temporary workers are not.

Senator Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) led a floor fight to include a provision regulating child labor in agriculture; although it was defeated, the final bill does contain a provision prohibiting the employment of children under 16 in "particularly hazardous" agricultural occupations.

While the bill is certainly an encouraging beginning in the efforts to bring farm workers into the mainstream of American life, it is important to realize the narrow scope of coverage: in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, for example, where extreme poverty is the lot of nearly every worker, the federal minimum will not have any effect, for there are very few farms large enough to come within the provisions of the law.

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2. The year-long strike of some 2,000 grape pickers in Delano, California, directed first at Schenley Industries and more recently at the DiGiorgio Corporation, has been a struggle for employer recognition of two farm unions. In April, Schenley Industries agreed to recognize and bargain with one of the unions, the former National Farm Workers Association, an independent grass-roots organization headed by Cesar Chavez. A satisfactory contract was signed several weeks later.

By mid-summer the DiGiorgio Corporation, largest grape ranch in the area, had agreed to hold an election to determine which union, if any, the pickers preferred. The issue was further complicated when the Teamsters Union saw a chance to take advantage of the unionizing efforts, and began signing up workers in the DiGiorgio fields. The election was planned for August 30, to be run by the American Arbitration Association.

It was feared that since the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, and the National Farm Workers Association would be listed separately on the ballot along with the Teamsters, the three-way ballot might lead to a Teamster victory. On August 22, the two farm unions merged into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO; the new union has received its organizing charter, a preliminary step toward full membership in the labor federation.

1,343 farm workers cast their ballots a week later at the DiGiorgio ranches, and only 19 rejected union representation. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the merged union, as opposed to the Teamsters.

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3. Oscar Gonzalez, head of an independent farm union in California, called a strike in the tomato fields of Albert Aguilar in the Santa Clara Valley on August 26. It is the first farm worker strike in the history of the valley.

According to the United Farm Workers Union, Aguilar laid off 200 domestic pickers in anticipation of the arrival of Mexican braceros later that week. Said Gonzalez: "We're going to make them obey the criteria for braceros." (In order to bring in Mexicans, a grower must first pay at least $1.40 an hour to domestics; if there is a labor shortage even at this wage rate, the grower can apply for foreign workers.) Gonzalez charged that Aguilar is paying only $2.50 a day to pickers.

One effect of the strike is that braceros may not be allowed in the fields if investigators from the state determine that the strike is valid.

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4. According to the Los Angeles Times "California's gross farm income will soar to an all time high of more than $3.8 billion this year despite the dramatic and far-reaching changes made in the farm labor work force."

Migrant Labor
Labor News
9/23/66

Farm Labor Group Given New Charter

CHICAGO — The AFL-CIO gave new momentum and drive to the farm workers campaign in California by chartering a new organizing committee made up of the groups that have merged their efforts in the Delano grape strike.

The Executive Council voted a charter for the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and called the action "an essential step toward winning a measure of economic justice for farm workers."

The charter was presented by AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany to Cesar Chavez, director of the National Farm Workers Association, and Larry Itliong, the Delano director for the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee.

The two groups have merged in their efforts to win union recognition in the grape fields and are currently appearing as a single unit in a representation election scheduled for Aug. 30 at the giant DiGiorgio Corp.

Meany termed the granting of the charter an event of "great importance." Chavez said it was a "historic moment" and the beginning of "real unity" and a major effort to organize exploited farm workers.

Chavez said he looked forward to the time when the organizing committee would turn in its charter for one as a national union, emphasizing that the farm workers would be best off in their own union.

Meany pointed out that the AFL-CIO has been actively supporting the grape strikers and will continue its help. AFL-CIO Dir. of Organization William L. Kircher, who has been active in the strike and assigned AFL-CIO organizers to the current DiGiorgio campaign, participated in the charter ceremony.

Farm Labor

Huelgistas March

By JOHN McKEON

The march of the **huelgistas** from Rio Grande City to the state Capitol of Austin, Texas came to a dramatic close Labor Day on the capitol steps. A crowd of sympathizers, conservatively numbered at "somewhere around ten thousand" by capitol police, joined the original thirty marchers for the last four miles of the 480-mile trek.

The march, organized by Father Antonio Gonzalez, a Houston priest, was to dramatize the need of Texas migrant workers for a living wage. More than two million Texas farm workers, the overwhelming majority of them Mexican-American or Negro, average 50 cents an hour for their labor when they work at their most highly seasonal of all trades.

The signs carried by the marchers spelt out their needs in simple terms: $1.25 an hour **por la Justicia y la Dignidad** (for Justice and Dignity).

In the Texas-invented ploy known as "Heading Them Off At The Pass," Governor John Connally and several of his staff had themselves driven in an air-conditioned limousine to meet the marchers while they were still some fifty miles from the Capitol, marching in 100-degree heat. The Governor made it plain that he did not undertake the drive to welcome the marchers or praise their iron-willed perseverance, but simply to warn them that he would not be in his office when they arrived, because, as he told them, "I do not want to dignify what you are doing by being there to receive you."

The answer to their problems, the Governor told the marchers, lay in education. Father Gonzalez, himself a former farm worker, replied to the Governor, "It is the children of **los ricos** (the rich) who benefit by education, the children of the **campesinos** (farm workers) are too poor and hungry to benefit by it."

The Governor then left, as an aide expressed it, "to enjoy a brief, well earned vacation." The Governor spent the vacation dove-hunting in the brakes of South Texas.

Following the march into Austin and the rally on the Capitol steps it was decided by the marchers to leave two of their number behind to mount sentry duty on the Capitol steps in a vigil of prayer until January, when the Texas legislature meets and a bill will be introduced to bring Texas field hands under the protection of a $1.25-an-hour Minimum Wage Law. The sentries in the continuous vigil of prayer and reminder will be rotated week by week until January. The first two sentries, Reyes Alaniz, 62; and Benito Travino, 52; were instructed in their duties by Father Gonzalez and widely quoted in the Texas press. "There are two million farm workers in Texas who are depending on you. I want you to carry yourself as men. Stand tall, and quietly, and with dignity. And stand in the sun, do not stand in the shade, you are **campesinos** and used to the sun."

Questioned later by newsmen on how he happened to be chosen for the vigil, Reyes Alaniz said, "My companions decided that since I had thirteen children I would need the money badly since it was also decided that our families should not suffer because the vigil was undertaken. So I am here."

Asked by the newsmen how much he was being paid for the vigil, Alaniz smiled and said, "More than I have ever before been paid in my life as a campesino. $1.25 an hour. **Por la justicia y la dignidad.**"

The leader of the NFWA in Wisconsin is Jesus Salas, only 22, but educated by many seasons in the fields and several years in college. The big growers in Wisconsin (Libby's, Chicago Pickle Co., Marks Brothers, Dean Foods, and others) pay wages often under $1. There are of course no insurance or medical benefits. There are over 20,000 farm workers for the harvest, and most are migrants, Mexican-Americans.

In mid-August, a group of 30 farm workers decided to have a march in Wisconsin, to wake up the growers and officials, and to protest the low wages. They set out from Waushara County (one of the worst in the state) to the State Capitol, a distance of 90 miles. Along the way they explained the cause to thousands of other farm workers, and many hundreds joined in the march.

Over 500 attended the rally on the Capitol steps in Madison, and state officials promised to help them.

10-2-66

Labor News 10/2/66

New Farm Workers Organizing Group Is Now Chartered

CHICAGO — The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has been chartered by the AFL-CIO as "an essential step toward winning a measure of economic justice for farm workers."

The council declared, in approving the creation of the new organizing committee, that "another step" must still be taken—the inclusion of at least some farm workers in pending amendments to the wage-hour law and in the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, the unemployment insurance system and, for most part, the system of workmen's compensation laws.

The AFL-CIO will not be content, the council declared, until farm workers "have the same legislative safeguards and the same access to collective bargaining available to other workers."

The council cited the progress being made after generations during which the farm worker was America's "forgotten man."

The progress, the council said, is not fast enough and not broad enough but it will be stepped up.

The granting of the charter, the council said, symbolizes the fact that the plight of the American farm worker is troubling the conscience of America.

The statement was issued after a thorough report to the council by AFL-CIO Organizing Dir. William L. Kircher, who has been directly aiding the organization of farm workers in California, and Cesar Chavez and Larry Itliong. Chavez was president of the National Farm Workers Association, which has merged with the AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee of which Itliong was a key official.

Both groups are currently involved in an all-out campaign to win a representation election at the giant DiGiorgio Corp. The new UFWOC was chartered as the new organizing committee to continue the campaign in California and elsewhere.

10-7-66

Migrant Labor 10/7/66

Labor Department To Improve Training And Manpower Services For Rural Workers

Labor News

WASHINGTON—The Labor Department is further expanding its efforts to improve training and other manpower services for rural workers, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz announced.

He said a rural manpower training specialist has been assigned to each of the 11 Bureau of Employment Security regional offices to aid State employment security agencies in the development of rural manpower training projects.

"More than a third of the Nation's unemployed and underemployed," Mr. Wirtz said, "live in rural areas and almost half of the families in these areas have a cash income under $3,000 annually. Many thousands of these poverty stricken farmers are achieving dramatic increases in income through special training programs offered them under the Manpower Development and Training Act," he said.

"In many cases the trainees, most of whom had annual net incomes of $1,200 or less, show an income increase of 50 percent or more in the first years after training. It is essential that we continue to develop new techniques to improve the skills and raise the economic levels of these rural families."

A great shift is occurring in the types of workers needed by agricultural employers. While day-workers are being displaced by technological changes, increasing and unmet needs have arisen for farm technicians, semi-skilled agricultural workers, and contract service workers. Rural areas must provide the manpower for this growing need.

Manpower development and training programs can provide some answers to these problems, particularly for two of the most significant ones which affect the working lives of rural workers:

1. The migration to urban centers of rural people ill-equipped to earn an adequate living; and

2. The rapid pace of technological changes in agriculture which demand expanded retraining of the farm work force.

Some of the actions which will be emphasized in the renewed efforts to alleviate rural poverty are:

—Experimental projects to move interested and qualified unemployed or underemployed rural workers to areas where jobs exist;

—Overall community programs, to provide a wide range of employment services to unemployed and underemployed rural workers;

—Comprehensive training programs for rural workers to up-grade their farm skills or to prepare them for other available occupational opportunities;

Labor News Oct 7, 1966

CURBING SPECIAL corporate tax breaks and rolling back prime interest rates, will help break the depression in the nation's home-building industry, AFL-CIO Research Dir. Nathaniel Goldfinger (center) told Hobart Rowen (left) of the Washington Post and Alan Adams of Business Week magazine on Labor News Conference. The interview is a weekly AFL-CIO public service production on the Mutual radio network.

Migrant Labor

Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz Discusses Labor Situation With Florida Citrus Group

WASHINGTON—Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz met today with representatives of the Florida citrus industry regarding its harvest labor needs in the coming season. The industry expects a crop increase of approximately 18 percent this season, and its representatives told the Secretary that a substantial increase in the work force would be needed.

The Secretary approved a request made by the industry to continue, for another year, the special wage formula which he accepted last year. The formula, calling for a minimum average rate of $1.50 an hour for all workers during a given pay period, replaced an earlier formula setting a guaranteed minimum wage of $1.15 an hour. The wage formula must be offered by employers if they are to be eligible for foreign farm workers.

"Last year's experience with the formula proved to be a very successful one," the Secretary declared, noting that thousands more American workers were recruited for the crop than in the previous year. He said that the average wage for orange pickers, which industry records show to have been $2.07 an hour for the season, had attracted many new workers to the groves.

The citrus industry representatives discussed the possible need later in the season for off-shore pickers with the Secretary. The particular labor needs of the fancy fruit portion of the industry were explored in detail.

The Florida delegation told the Secretary that it expects a citrus harvest of 164,000,000 boxes, this year compared to last year's production of 140,000,000. The greatest rate of increase within the citrus crop will be of fancy fruits, the group told the Secretary.

The Secretary indicated his appreciation for the extensive efforts made by the industry to recruit the needed workers throughout the southeastern states.

Migrant Labor

DIOCESE OF MIAMI
OFFICE OF COMMUNITY SERVICE
240 SECURITY TRUST BUILDING
110 E. FLAGLER STREET
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131

October 21, 1966

TO: PARTIES INTERESTED IN THE MIGRANTS

FROM: REV. MARTIN A. WALSH

SUBJECT: MEETING FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, AT STS. PETER & PAUL CATHOLIC CHURCH - 2:00 P.M. TO 4:00 P.M.

There will be another meeting of the various groups working in one way or another with the migrants, October 28, 1966, from 2:00 P.M. to 4:00 P.M. at Sts. Peter & Paul Catholic Church (Auditorium), 1435 S.W. 12th Avenue, Miami, Florida.

The purposes of the meeting will be as follows:

1. To discuss the enclosed Resolutions.

2. To discuss the steps to be taken by the various concerned groups between now and the IUD Board meeting of November.

3. To discuss among the groups and the farm workers general approaches and strategy to be employed in the coming months.

4. To set up a permanent committee composed of members of the concerned groups whose function will be to implement the program adopted at this meeting.

Since we feel that the meeting is of utmost importance, we trust that you will make every effort to be present.

For the meeting to be as fruitful as possible would it be possible for each one to bring two or three farm workers who have exhibited leadership qualities to be present with you at the meeting.

Martin A. Walsh

REV. MARTIN A. WALSH

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Ag. Wks

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

INFORMATION LETTER

Number 32 December, 1966

I. Farm Labor Organizing
II. The Ground Is Our Table, a book on farm labor by Steve Allen

I. FARM LABOR ORGANIZING

California

Grape fields and storage plants continue to be the focal points of farm labor organizing in California. Over a year ago workers demanded higher wages and union recognition from some 33 growers. Early targets of the strike were the two largest ranches, Schenley Industries and the DiGiorgio Corporation; both have since agreed to the concept of collective bargaining, although much still needs to be worked out with the far-flung complex of DiGiorgio ranches.

Representation elections in the DiGiorgio fields had been accompanied by the divisive tactics of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The two initial farm unionsthat had committed themselves to the strike (the National Farm Workers Association and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO) merged into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, to bring about greater unity of farm workers and to more effectively oppose the Teamsters' late attempt to woo them.

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee defeated the Teamsters at DiGiorgio's Sierra Vista and Borrego Springs ranches on the 30th of August, 1966, but the right to an election has to be fought for at each DiGiorgio ranch. DiGiorgio's 9100-acre Arvin Ranch became the next center of controversy. DiGiorgio initially claimed it was in the middle of a union rivalry, and refused to proceed with the election unless both unions were represented. The Teamsters finally withdrew, and an election date was set for November. The workers were to vote simply "yes" or "no" on whether they wanted UFWOC to represent them. A comfortable majority voted "yes." The contract that will be discussed includes a UFWOC no-strike pledge, and if the two parties cannot agree on the terms within 45 days, negotiations will be referred to arbitrators. A fourth DiGiorgio ranch at Marysville, in Yuba County, will have elections in its fields on July 7, 1967.

A consumer boycott, endorsed by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, has been launched by UFWOC against the products of Antonio Perelli-Minetti, his sons, and their 26 private corporations. Field workers went on strike September 19 at the 1500-acre ranch in McFarland when the company refused to recognize the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee as bargaining agent. According to UFWOC's Delano Newsletter, "After the fields had remained empty two days, local labor contractors provided strike-breakers who were driven into the fields--through our picket lines--on Teamster buses with Teamster representatives acting as armed guards." William Grami, director of the farm worker division of the Teamsters, then announced that the Teamsters had signed a contract with the Company and represented the workers. The strikers had not been consulted about the contract.

co-chairmen: Frank P. Graham • A. Philip Randolph • treasurer: John A. Mackay • assistant treasurer: Robert W. Hudgens • committee: Steve Allen • William L. Batt, Jr. • Louis H. Bean • Robert Coles • Helen Gahagan Douglas • Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy • L. H. Foster • Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn • Henry B. Herman • Msgr. George G. Higgins • Jacob M. Kaplan • Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman • Isador Lubin • Archbishop Robert E. Lucey • Benjamin E. Mays • Bishop Reuben H. Mueller • Peter H. Odegard • Daniel H. Pollitt • Wilbour E. Saunders • Dore Schary • John M. Seabrook • Helen K. Shettle • Norman Thomas • Frederick S. Van Dyke • George Wiley • Josephine Wilkins • founding members: Herbert H. Lehman • Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt • Maurice T. Van Hecke • executive secretary: Fay Bennett • assistant executive secretary: Linda W. Lewis • field representative: Stanley Hamilton

On October 14, packing shed workers at the Hourigan-Mosesian-Goldberg plant, denied recognition of UFWOC as their bargaining agent, walked out and joined field workers who had been striking since September 18. The state had certified the field workers' strike as a labor dispute on September 28, and picket lines were set up to discourage truckers from picking up or delivering grapes to the struck ranch. The system proved effective despite Teamster pressure on their drivers to cross the lines, and repeated breaking of the lines by Delano police. While the shed workers' election awaited National Labor Relations Board action on UFWOC's petition, Goldberg agreed to an election for field workers. On November 15, UFWOC again won overwhelmingly, 285-38.

In the most violent act against the strikers, a picket, Manuel Rivera, was critically injured when a truck carrying scab grapes was ruthlessly driven through the picket lines. No arrest was made. It is to the credit of the farm labor union, with its deep commitment to nonviolent tactics, that the brutal act met with no retaliation.

Texas

The farm labor strike for $1.25 an hour, begun in June by workers who have since affiliated with UFWOC, continues against 12 growers in Starr County.

Latest developments center around the flow of Mexican nationals who cross the border daily to work in the United States. These "green-carders" (so-called from their green visa for permanent entry into the U.S. under provisions of Public Law 414) are similar to the braceros previously admitted under Public Law 78 in that they contribute to keeping the farm wage scale low in areas near the border. Although permitted to remain in the U.S., many "green-carders" recross the border each night, and since they can live more cheaply on the Mexican side, they are competing unfairly with the American workers who cannot live on the same low wages.

On October 24, about 60 American farm workers walked onto the International Bridge at Roma and convinced many of the Mexicans crossing from the other side that they were "taking the jobs of others and helping the bosses win the strike." Two of the leading organizers, Eugene Nelson and Bill Chandler (both of whom worked on the Delano effort before coming to Texas) were arrested for blocking the bridge.

Franklin Garcia, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, gave an example of the degree of success: a La Casita Farms bus normally picks up 35 to 40 Mexicans workers at the Roma bridge each day. On the morning of October 24 "the bus was there, but after explanations were started at 5:30 a.m., only six people got on that bus by 8 a.m. Because it was successful, the growers called the sheriff of Starr County to stop the explaining." Mr. Garcia announced that other AFL-CIO unions will join in similar efforts at other international bridges along the U.S.-Mexico border to convince Mexicans to refuse to work for less pay than Americans.

Bulletin! On November 16 a report issued by a Starr County grand jury called the Texas farm workers' strike "unlawful and un-American," and "abusive of rights and freedoms granted them as citizens" (New York Times, November 18, 1966). The jurors continued, "The means as are practiced by the union group...are directly contrary to everything that we know in our American and lawful way of life." They called for the President to send men to the area "to assist in preserving the rights of all concerned" and for representatives of the attorney general's office and a Texas Ranger to remain in the county to assist local officers "during these extraordinary times."

In contrast to these incredible statements the facts speak for themselves. Farm workers in Texas are exercising a basic right that is protected by law for most other workers--the freedom to organize and bargain collectively. The report com-

plains of violence and threats on the part of farm workers. There have been absolutely no worker-instigated incidents of violence; even at a rally of 8,000 farm labor sympathizers (which Governor Conally refused to endorse for fear of violence) the audience was orderly and attentive.

Wisconsin

Successful efforts to increase Wisconsin's hourly minimum wage have been made as a result of protest demonstrations led by the United Workers, an affiliate of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

As one indication of the opposition's sentiments, according to the Milwaukee Journal, "At a meeting of the Wisconsin Better Government Committee...a resolution was adopted which said the migrants enjoyed 'more freedoms than the average American.'" Recording secretary for the meeting, Karl E. Koehler, said it was "not too difficult for a person to go in and make $3 an hour" picking pickles. This has the whole aspect of going up north for a two month vacation and getting paid for it," he said. The resolution further advised the legislature to be "extremely cautious in legislating away the freedoms of one of the few remaining free groups in this country."

It is scarcely believable that anyone could describe labor involving bending over, picking, and carrying heavy baskets in the hot summer sun a "two-month vacation" with pay. Picking pickles is considered one of the most arduous of stoop-labor tasks; the vines are tough and close to the ground, and heavy gloves must be used.

A survey conducted by Mrs. Elizabeth Raushenbush, chairman of the Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor, came to conclusions very different from those of the Wisconsin Better Government Committee. According to the November, 1966, report, a migrant working in the cucumber fields of Waushara County earned an average of less than $20 a week in 1964. She added, "Because of an excellent growing season, earnings may have been slightly higher in 1966 than in 1964, but the structure of the industry and the structure of the labor market have not changed significantly since this study was made."

On November 10, 1966, the State Industrial Commission, empowered to set the minimum wage for all women and children, approved a $1.25 minimum to go into effect February 1, 1967. Minors under 18 will receive $1.10. Under the new law at least 65 per cent of those women farm workers covered must receive $1.33 next year.

Jesus Salas, leader of the August march that sparked the action on minimum wage, has continued his efforts to organize farm workers. On October 10 Salas' organization demanded recognition of its union from James Burns and Sons Company, a potato warehouse firm. Clergymen and AFL-CIO representatives joined the pickets, but the effort was abandoned. Salas said the picketing had been started too late in the season, "a tactical error in timing," but that it would resume next year.

New Jersey

Early in September, 1966, grower reaction to the presence of VISTA Volunteers in Cumberland County fields touched off a flurry of public protest. The VISTA Volunteers came up from Florida with Negro migrants as part of an antipoverty program called Upstream, which develops child care centers, reading classes, and other services for migrants. Only 11 of some 35 to 40 growers allowed the VISTAs on their property; most farmers were wary of the sympathy between the VISTAs and the labor union organizers who had been at work in the state. (The organizers' aim was to get enough workers to sign union cards so they could ask the National Labor Relations

Board to conduct an election on whether a union was desired. The campaign proved most successful where VISTAs had been allowed in the camps earlier.)

Louis Pizzo, major Cumberland County grower and member of the Governor's Migrant Labor Board, barred VISTA Volunteers from his fields and shouted: "See those people in the field, well they're nothing, I tell you, nothing. They never were nothing, they never will be nothing, and you and me and God Almighty ain't going to change them. They gave me the bottom of the barrel and I'd fire them all, clean them from the fields, if you'd get me someone else." Pizzo was also quoted as saying: "But I'll tell you one thing, there's no place on this farm for anyone with a union card--and I've told my people as much....If I have to deal with a union, I'll shut the whole damm place down. You can't run a farm with unionization."

After mediation by aides to New Jersey Senator Harrison A. Williams (Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor), Pizzo agreed to let the VISTA Volunteers have access to his workers. Aroused civic leaders nevertheless demanded Pizzo's resignation from the Migrant Labor Board.

According to the Trenton, New Jersey Sunday Times Advertiser (September 11, 1966), "Although the dispute between Pizzo and the VISTA contingent was reported settled, a new controversy gained momentum. The New Jersey Consumers League accused the Migrant Labor Board of failing to exercise leadership and authority as prescribed by state law. In a letter...the League endorsed Governor Richard J. Hughes' request for a report on the Pizzo controversy from John N. Seabrook, Migrant Labor Board chairman. But the organization urged the governor to extend the probe to 'other allegations in recent press stories of bad housing, child labor in the fields and disregard of the right of farm workers to organize and bargain collectively.'"

Another Migrant Board member, farmer Edward B. Fogg of Salem County, was found guilty by the Board of 22 violations of the housing code and fined $50. (He could have received a fine of $200 on each count.) Among other things, he was requested to repair a hole in the wall of one building, replace broken windows, install hot and cold running water, and make a privy fly-proof.

During a public meeting held by the Migrant Labor Board, witnesses described conditions under which many workers are forced to live. A social caseworker from Monmouth County told of migrant workers and their small children who were abandoned in an isolated camp by their crew leader; they received no wages, and were told by the farmer to live off the potatoes in the field.

A local welfare director in Gloucester County refused at first to pay for the burial expenses for a dead infant of a Puerto Rican migrant couple. The director was quoted as saying: "Puerto Ricans should practice birth control." The director, Mr. Leonard, was finally persuaded to bury the baby, but failed to notify the parents of the funeral. The couple thought their infant was still in the hospital mortuary , and did not learn it had been buried until a County nurse came to the fields and informed them.

Although the Governor has appointed a task force to investigate farm labor conditions, no reports have been issued.

Bulletin! Mrs. Lonnie Allen, president of a New Jersey farm workers conference, has been ordered out of her house, owned by prominent Cumberland County farmer Maurice Uhland. Uhland was recently fined $50 by the state for housing violations which included "an overflowing cesspool and gross rat and roach infestation." Mrs. Allen is certain the eviction of her family of 15 is a result of her work as head of SCOPE (Southern Citizens Organization for Poverty Elimination, composed of 50 migrant farm

workers). In a telephone interview with a New York Times reporter, Mrs. Uhland first asked, "Are you white or colored?" She called Mrs. Allen a "troublemaker," and continued, "Why should I house those kind of people?"

Though most of the seasonal workers have returned to the South, growers have already nailed up "No Trespassing" signs all over the county, doubtless in an effort to discourage union organizing activity next year.

New York

Funeral services were held on September 28 for two migrant farm laborers from Puerto Rico, who were burned to death in the tractor shed in which they had been living at a farm labor camp near Brocton, New York. The fire was started by an old pot-bellied, wood-burning stove; the walls of the shed were not insulated. A third man escaped death by climbing out of a window. He is still in critical condition, with 3rd degree burns covering 20% of his body from the waist up.

During the summer months roughly 2,000 farm workers live in the shanty town around Brocton, a small farming community south of Buffalo. Many of the workers are Puerto Rican men who leave their families for the summer to pick the crops on the East Coast. They work a 17-hour day, six days a week. Felipo Molina, a worker who has spent 17 summers in the Brocton area, says that in a good year, March through October, he ends up with $300 to $400. And in a bad year? "I buy for eat. I send my family. I have for transportation home. That -- that is all."

Don Hillegas, student at Fredonia State University and member of the Campus Americans for Democratic Action, spent all summer trying to improve housing conditions in the area. According to him, "Many of the workers actually live in chicken coops and deserted garages. I have seen the housing inspectors tell the owners 'clean them up or get the people out'; but that same inspector never pays a second visit and conditions remain the same."

Buffalo's State Assemblyman Arthur Hardwick, Jr., and other members of a joint legislative committee toured migrant labor camps a week after the fire. The committee found two camps operating that had never been issued permits. One had an "open well about 20 feet from a septic tank which was overflowing white sewage onto the nearby grass. Rat holes were found, and old newspaper mats covered the ceiling" (Fredonia-Dunkirk Evening Observer, October 10, 1966). The other camp had no bathing facilities.

Commented Hardwick: "...Health officers throughout the state are serving at the pleasure of county officials....Enforcement should be on the state level, rotate the men to make them more effective and to keep them away from political ties." Hardwick also recommended that the number of workers required before housing would come under farm labor housing rules be cut from five to one. "If this were done, then the camp in Brocton would have come under the county jurisdiction."

According to recent reports, some 75 farm workers have been signed up the United Steelworkers of America, which has 9 locals and 5,000 members in the Dunkirk area. Joe Granto of the Steelworkers gave early support to organizing farm workers. "Who are we not to help someone in trouble?" he explained.

The seeds are there in Brocton for a successful organizing effort: the migrants themselves have a strong and articulate leader in Mrs. Lares Trejan. It is she who sought out Joe Granto, who went on the local radio station asking her people to

refuse to work on the day of the funeral, who sees the importance of unity among the workers. With hard union support, a dedicated core of citizenry, and the concern of legislators such as Arthur Hardwick, a farm workers' movement in New York State can become a reality.

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The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor is at work on a report on farm labor organizing--past, present, and future--in which other areas of the country will be treated in some detail. Please send us reports and news articles on farm labor organizing, and also any other clippings pertaining to farm labor issues in your area.

II. THE GROUND IS OUR TABLE

The Ground Is Our Table, by Steve Allen, with photographs by Arthur Dubinsky (Doubleday: $3.95, 140 pages).

In this short, fact-filled story of the American migrant worker Steve Allen has cut through the maze of detail to the human injustices perpetrated on over two million American field workers. He has succeeded in achieving the difficult balance between human concern and factual reporting; his compassion for these impoverished Americans is accompanied by persuasive evidence that better working and living conditions are not problems of finance, but problems of conscience.

NACFL recommends this book highly; its personal style will make it excellent reading especially for those who are not yet aware of the plight of America's farm workers.

Farm Problem? ~~EV~~
Ag. Problem.

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

RATIONALIZING THE FARM LABOR MARKET: THE CASE FOR SUPPLEMENTAL WAGE PAYMENTS

by

FRED H. SCHMIDT

Reprint No. 160

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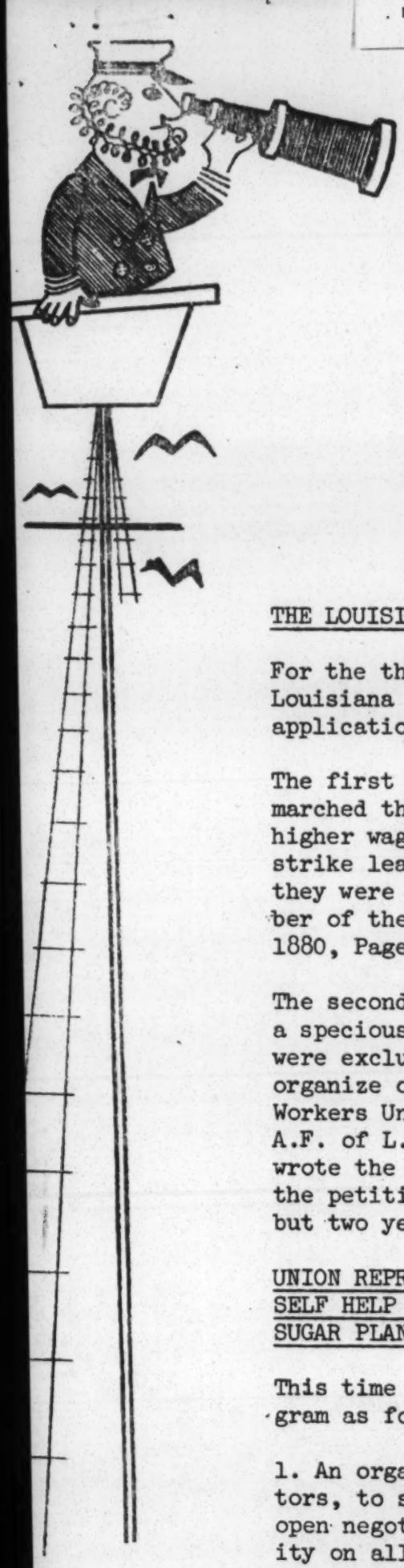

The Lookout

AGRICULTURAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION NO. 300

FROM: H.L. Mitchell
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Metairie, La. 70005

NEW YEAR'S DAY 1967

THE LOUISIANA STORY

For the third time in 100 years, the sugar cane plantation workers of Louisiana are organizing a union. Over 500 tractor drivers have made applications for membership and some have paid $1 on their joining fee.

The first effort to organize occurred in 1879, when the former slaves marched through the sugar cane plantations calling on all to strike for higher wages. The Governor of Louisiana called out the militia and the strike leaders were sent to prison on charges of trespass. A year later they were pardoned, after a petition was filed by Mr. Demas, a Negro member of the Legislature from St. James Parish. (Appleton's Cyclopaedia 1880, Page 482)

The second union was broken in 1953, by local court injunctions based on a specious theory advanced by Richard Nixon that - since farm workers were excluded from protection by the labor laws, they had no right to organize or strike during the harvest season. Our National Agricultural Workers Union appealed the injunctions on a pauper's oath, after both A.F. of L. and C.I.O. refused to pay the costs of an appeal. Dan Pollitt wrote the brief, my wife, Dorothy, cut the stencils and I mimeographed the petition to the U.S. Supreme Court which set aside the injunction, but two years too late to save the sugar workers' union.

UNION REPRESENTATION
SELF HELP HOUSING, A CREDIT UNION
SUGAR PLANTATION WORKERS

This time the sugar workers' organization is based on a three point program as follows:

1. An organization is being formed, mainly by skilled farm machine operators, to secure increased wages and better conditions. It is proposed to open negotiations with the employers once the Union represents the majority on all plantations. (There is a labor shortage and skilled farm machine operators cannot be replaced)

2. A credit union organization is being formed to free the plantation workers from debt to loan sharks and others. The Southern Regional Council and others are assisting in the preliminary educational work.

3. A program to re-house rural families in the sugar cane country is under way. The Farmers Home Administration has given approval to a self-help project to construct the first 10 units of individual homes located on a tract of land near Edgard, La. (104 applications for loans to such families were on hand in FHA offices on Nov. 25th.(Letter from John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture) An announcement will be made as soon as construction gets under way.

As usual, I have tried to be the man behind the scene to help carry out the good ideas such as the above. In the sugar plantation country we are fortunate in that we have Frank Lapeyrolerie, an outstanding Negro leader, described as "The Man Who Gets Things Done." Frank was a leader in the 1953 strike and was, as he is today, Secretary-Treasurer of the Local Union.

FARM WORKERS IN CALIFORNIA

Early last year I was sent out to California by the International Union to make a survey and report on organization of farm workers. I went to Delano, took a turn on the picket line, and for the first time met Cesar Chavez, the colorful and able Mexican-American organizer of farm workers. I learned that Chavez, as a young man just out of the armed service, was among the 40,000 cotton pickers in the Central Valley who went on strike in 1949 against a wage cut, and won. The strike was led by our union organizers Hank Hasiwar and Ernesto Galarza. Soon after my visit the March to Sacramento occurred and Chavez's union, then the National Farm Workers Association, (independent) won a contract for farm workers in the Schenley grape vinyards. In 1950, our Union also organized Schenley workers and lost. When we threatened to boycott their products, the Schenley Labor Relations man laughed. He said he had more influence with the AFL than our Union did - and he was right.

There are those who express the fear that now "Hoffa has been shot out of the saddle" the Teamsters will soon return to the AFL-CIO and under new leadership will use their power and connections with corporate agriculture to organize the nation's farm workers, leaving Chavez and the United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee with only a piece of paper hanging on the wall of some shack in a farm worker town. We hope this will not happen!

I MET OLD FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES

While on my way out to California, I stopped over in Arizona for a visit in Tucson with Clay East, the first president and the man most responsible for the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. I also visited with J.R. Butler, the long time president of the STFU, now retired and living in a small home among citrus trees in Phoenix. Clay East and I had dinner with Dr. Dave Minter, a refugee from Mississippi. Dave is still practicing medicine and is also helping to run a migrant clinic near Tucson.

I had a brief visit with Ernesto Galarza in Los Angeles and lunched with Alexander H. Schullman, the attorney who represented our Union in the long strike against Di Giorgio in 1947-48. Later, I spent an afternoon with Ann and Hal Draper at Berkeley, and then met Bill Becker in Sacramento. Bill was on Governor Brown's staff. He organized the Schenley workers in 1950, and led the first strike. I also had a short visit with Don Grubbs who wrote his Ph. D dissertation on "The STFU and The New Deal." It has never been published because Don can't find time to cut it down to the right size.

SHARECROPPERS OF THE SEA
NOW HAVE A UNION

During the year I continued to work with menhaden fishermen. About 400 of these pogy boat men worked under union contract in 1965 and 1966. The Union had bargaining rights for an equal number but because of the weakness of the National Labor Relations Act and its poor administration in New Orleans, influenced by a firm of legal bandits, it has been impossible to get a decent contract for about half the men. Now that there is a real labor shortage up and down the Gulf Coast, these men stand a good chance of a better deal in the New Year. The Union also has new contracts covering dairy workers in Bogalusa and Lake Charles.

A BUSMAN'S HOLIDAY

After travelling almost constantly during the year, in late November I had a busman's holiday - travelling to Atlanta, Chapel Hill, Washington, New York and Philadelphia, then to Chicago and Memphis.

STFU RECORDS AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
LIBRARY, CHAPEL HILL

While in Chapel Hill I had an opportunity to see the way the old union records are kept. There are about 80 boxes of correspondence, documents, etc., all arranged under subject matter and date. The director of the Southern Historical Collection seems to think that these files containing letters from sharecroppers of the 1930's about their problems was a great find. Important people save their papers, but the records of the poor are seldom preserved. Through the years I had tried to keep every piece of paper that came our way. As a result, the historians have something

to use and to quarrel about. At least, no serious historian can write about the South in those years without describing the role of the STFU and those who had a part in it.

HISTORY BEING WRITTEN

Historian George Tindall at the University of N.C. is writing a book on the history of the South in the 1930"s. I read the chapter on the New Deal agricultural program. To me, his presentation of the role of the STFU seemed to be fair and objective. His book is one of a series on the South from colonial days onward. Most of the series have already been published. Howard Kester's "Revolt Among the Sharecroppers" has become the authority on the early days of the Union,

"LABOR & LIBERTY" BY J.S. AUERBACH

There is a recent book which covers the STFU role in the origin of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee. It is by Jerold S. Auerbach, history professor at Brandeis. The title is "Labor and Liberty", published by Bobbs Merrill at $6.50. It is quite good but it seems to subscribe to the devil theory of history. To him, the STFU was merely an expression of the Socialist Party in opposition to the New Deal, rather than a people's movement.

A NEW PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE RURAL SOUTH

As I travelled around last November and talked to old friends and new ones, I found a universal need being expressed. I want to do something about it.

Everyone agrees that there is a need for a southwide organization to unite those organizations and people native to the South who want to bring about economic change among rural people.

Now that the civil rights and expanded social welfare laws are on the books, the time for demonstrations has passed. The time has now come for building organizations which can change the lives of the rural poor. The country is aware of the needs of Negroes and to a lesser extent, the Mexican-Americans, because of those demonstrations. We need to reach the poor whites in the rural areas of the South for they too, are the victims of economic insecurity who find expression in bigotry, prejudice and hatred. They are being exploited by political demagogues like George Wallace of Alabama. The Populists of the 1890's, the IWW in the decade prior to World War I, and our own STFU in the 1930's found a way to unite people in the rural South, regardless of race. While it will not be easy, I know it can be done again.

Then there are numbers of young men and women, many of whom were in the civil rights movement who could again be mobilized to help form a poor peoples' movement to bring about economic change. I am sure there are dozens who would be willing to go into the rural areas all over the South and work for a period of two years in building organizations of, by and for the people. But they would have to have a part in the organizations and in developing its program. Young people are too sophisticated these days to want to give even a part of their lives to build just another credit union, just another co-oO, or just another trade union that is merely an extension of the present power structure. They want an independent organization of, by and for the rural poor. Early in the New Year we hope to get a few people together to do some preliminary talking and later on, perhaps have a south-wide meeting.

All good wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

H.L. Mitchell

2-11-67

Texas Farm Workers Press Strike, Boycott

AFL-CIO 2/11/67

Rio Grande City, Tex.—Striking South Texas farm workers are counting on pickets, a public boycott and the growing support of the clergy to win a union contract from the corporation-owned La Casita farm, which sprawls along the U.S.-Mexican border.

Strikers and their supporters, including priests and ministers, have been hauled off to jail—in company pickup trucks when police patrol cars were filled. But the AFL-CIO's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has responded by stepping up picketing and challenging a state anti-labor law banning "mass" pickets.

The consumer boycott is aimed at the vegetables and melons grown at the struck farm and marketed under a variety of labels. The workers have been on strike since last spring and many are veterans of a 400-mile march to the state capital in Austin last summer which drew national attention to their plight.

The UFWOC has responded to a campaign of harassment and arrests by mass picketing at the entrances to the big corporate farm, which is a subsidiary of Harden Farms of California.

The pickets are undaunted by Texas Rangers, who have been stationed in the area since the strike began, and local law officers. But La Casita did erect a fence across what had been a public road to

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from Page 1)

keep pickets farther from the entrances.

A La Casita official said that the farm owned the road.

The latest arrests included five Catholic priests from San Antonio, and five strikers. They were taken into custody for calling out to non-strikers in the La Casita fields to persuade them to quit work and join the strike.

The priests and strikers were on private property adjoining La Casita with permission of the owner when they were arrested. They were booked for disturbing the peace—two miles from the nearest house.

Pres. H. S. Hank Brown, of the Texas AFL-CIO immediately called for an investigation of the arrests by the Justice Dept., and such an investigation has reportedly begun. Two of the priests reported that Justice Dept. agents had contacted them and taken depositions.

La Casita grows and markets lettuce, celery, carrots, peppers, tomatoes, melons and other vegetables under several names including La Casita and Hi-Goal.

What makes the boycott especially difficult is that these brand names rarely appear on the grocer's shelf. The merchandise is sold and shipped in bulk under these names and then repackaged in small quantities by jobbers or grocers.

UFWOC is attempting to trace vegetable shipments to grocers. The union then plans to put informational pickets at the stores selling La Casita products.

The arrest of the 10 persons last week was just the latest act of harassment against the striking farm workers.

Two weeks earlier two strike leaders were pulled out of a small group of strikers gathered near a gate to La Casita and thrown in jail.

In protest, other strikers, marched and prayed outside the run-down, old Starr County jail during the night and four of those praying were also arrested.

Late last year 10 people, including several students and strike leaders Tony Orendain and Bill Chandler, were arrested and spent over a week in jail before being released on bail. Last summer, the farm workers dramatized their plight and their desire for a union by staging a 400-mile march from Rio Grande City which began on the Fourth of July and ended with 20,000 Texans joining them on the State Capitol steps on Labor Day for a giant rally.

UFWOC organizers, and the strikers themselves, have continued to emphasize that their goal is a union contract with La Casita, which employs about 300 persons regularly and up to 500 seasonally.

But their struggle also has called attention to their low wages and the fact that Texas has no general wage and hour law. The legislature for the first time is giving serious consideration to passage of such a law.

Agriculture

The Rise of a Farm Workers Union

by David F. Selvin

Once again, as they have so many times in their agonized past, California farm workers have a union of their own. They have sustained a strike for recognition and union rights deep into a second year. They have won path-breaking collective bargaining agreements. In one immeasurably significant victory, they have captured a major citadel in the growers' open shop. The future of their brave young union, given any decent measure of help, seems bright.

Other generations of farm workers have won their strikes and written union contracts. They have counted their members in tens of thousands and spanned great stretches of California's green and golden valleys. But their unions were shattered, their contracts torn up, their members scattered. Bitterly, inevitably, they were forced back into the unending competition of too many people for too few jobs, the low wages, the miserable housing, the school-less, doctor-less, near hopeless grind of poverty.

Will it happen again? Is the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, in fact, the "effective and permanent union for agricultural workers" that the AFL-CIO Executive Council saw on the horizon a year ago? What are the odds that this union, unlike its countless predecessors, can survive the enmity of these wealthy and powerful employers?

A half century of failure argues against it. The casual, disorganized, uncertain labor market in agriculture multiplies the difficulties. The lack of legal sanctions for unionism in the fields strengthens the employers' stubborn, unchanging resistance. Employers show no signs of giving up the weapons of war they have wielded these many years: the strikebreakers, armed guards, influence with (or over) local authorities, arrests, injunctions. Poverty, chronic underemployment and migration, as they always have, withhold resources of money, political weight and manpower from the union.

On the other hand, the emergence of an almost totally domestic workforce and the drastic reduction of imported labor hold promise of more unionism rather than less. Relatively high levels of industrial employment help to reduce competition for jobs and toughen the farm workers' bargaining power. Rapidly developing mechanization of farm production should add still more strength, but it will also reduce job opportunities.

Beyond these factors, though, perhaps the strongest

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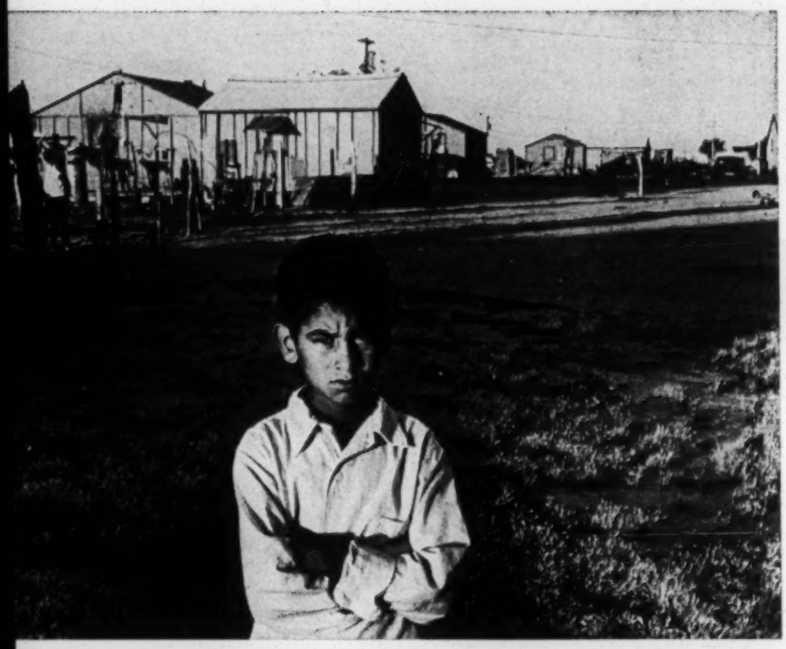

argument that unionism will extend its beachhead is in the record of these last 19 months. Few thought it was anything but another local dispute in September 1965, when the then Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee called a strike in the vineyards around Delano, in the southern end of California's great central valley. It was joined on strike soon after by the National Farm Workers Association.

AWOC was the remnant of an earlier AFL-CIO union drive. NFWA was more of a community organization, oriented more toward welfare than unionism. AWOC was largely Filipino in membership, NFWA largely Spanish-speaking. The former drew union support, the latter involved church and civil rights groups as well.

Still, this unlikely combination hung together and, somehow, saw the strike through its first winter. They survived the police bullying, the harassment of their pickets, the growers' strikebreaking efforts. They survived frequent days when the strike larder was low and the winds on the valley floor were cold and biting.

As spring came, the strikers began a march to Sacramento, the state capital some 300 miles to the north. It was a demonstration, a protest, a cry for help.

On Easter morning, on the capitol lawn, the few score who had set out a month before were multiplied a hundredfold and more. They came from every corner of the state and from every walk of life to give witness to the cause.

That morning they cheered the announcement that Schenley, second largest of the grape growers, had yielded and recognized the union. They heard, too, that the giant DiGiorgio Corporation, biggest of the growers, made a first, tentative but at that time unworkable offer for an election.

Today, these farm workers—organized now in the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee—hold a contract at Schenley, a second at DiGiorgio, a third in the making at Christian Brothers. They are pressing their fight against other growers by picket and by boycott, with whatever leverage they can bring to bear. It is a beginning.

Perhaps the DiGiorgio contract—resolved by lengthy negotiations and final arbitration in April—is the pattern of the future. Little in it is new—except for farm workers. Little in it hasn't been duplicated often in union agreements—except for farm workers.

Its wages will make no farm worker wealthy or—considering the seasonal nature of the work—particularly comfortable, but they will make his lot substantially better.

It represents a breakthrough against a giant of an employer and one who had successfully turned back every effort to unionize its farmhands. In that sense, it marks a 30-year high and an important precedent.

Even more important in the long run, though, is almost surely to be the hiring hall, with the contract provisions surrounding it and the beginning it offers of welfare programs for the agricultural worker.

Basically, the hiring hall makes the union the first and major source of labor for DiGiorgio. Employes with the longest continuous service are given preference in filling vacancies and in sharing the available work. Seasonal layoffs will not break the continuity of service.

If farm work is ever to provide a decent, year-round living, it must offer job opportunity not merely at the seasonal peak but, somehow, for all or a large part of the year.

Farm work is not the first to face this necessity. Longshore work, for instance, was no less casual. Yet it has been decasualized and regularized to provide a decent living 12 months a year.

In much the same way, farm work could be decasualized as well. It would call for a central source of labor, working closely with farm placement services and growers over relatively large stretches of agricultural country in crops stretching around the calendar. A government agency could set it up. Growers could do it if they cooperated in their labor use as closely as they do in fighting unionism.

However organized, though, it would be neither complete nor fully effective without a union and collective bargaining. No other way offers equal protection for the workers' interests or as great a potential for winning participation, cooperation and support. The hiring hall is the key.

The union is a key, too, to the development of welfare services. Here, as in industry, pooled funds encompassing multi-employer units—the larger the better—offer the most efficient means of developing the necessary health and welfare services. They can go far beyond anything a single grower or even a group of growers could reasonably offer on their own.

The DiGiorgio contract makes a start by instructing the company to apply for unemployment insurance for its farmhands. It sets up a fund for health and welfare services, requiring a $25,000 company contribution to start and five cents an hour per worker from January 1, 1967. Starting April 3, 1968, the fund may be used, as the parties decide, for health and welfare benefits, life insurance or pensions. So, in these rudimentary beginnings, the way is pointed toward bringing the farm workers into the mainstream of the benefits that are almost universally a part of every other job.

But many barriers remain. The California farmer for a good hundred years has made an abundant supply of cheap labor a cornerstone of his economic credo. He has gone to unconscionable ends to guarantee it.

At the start, migratory harvest hands reaped the wheat that grew in the state's hot valleys. Once the crop was in, they departed and were forgotten. As specialized crops replaced the "bonanza" farms, the Chinese supplied the growing demand for labor. The anti-Chinese agitation drove them from the farms and their places were taken at first by the Japanese, then by the Filipinos and Hindustani, the Italians and Portuguese and Armenians and countless others.

Through it all, the grower was guided by two major requirements: that there be more men than jobs; that between crops he would accept no responsibility for his temporary, however essential, employes.

Then the Mexicans came. The Great Depression sent many of them back to their native land. Their places were filled by a flood of Arkies and Okies fleeing the dustbowls and depression of the Midwest and the Southwest. By the mid-30s, California's farm labor force was almost totally native. A keen and perceptive observer of "factories in the fields" saw this new domestic workforce as a promise of a new farm workers' unionism. But it was not to be.

The grower had always fought unionism at every

Chavez on Unionism

"If the farm worker of America, especially the migrant, is to have any measure of his fair share of the good life, then he will have to struggle for it. In such a struggle, his greatest asset is himself and his fellow workers banded together in an organization dedicated to the mutual benefit and improvement of all.

"This is the definition of unionism. That is why the farm worker today is a unionist, devoted to the idea of unions and determined to make collective bargaining serve him and his family as it has served the best interests of workingman families for many years in this nation.

"Just as the strength of the worker is greater within a union, so is his union's strength greater within the family of American unions . . . the AFL-CIO. That is why the farm worker today is a unionist and an AFL-CIO unionist.

"Farm workers are determined to build a union of, by and for farm workers . . . one that can take its place with pride among the other unions in this great family and merit their support and respect in the process."

—Cesar Chavez, Director, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee

turn, with every weapon he could command. Hundreds of strikes had swept across the fields and orchards. Some won higher pay and many were defeated. Some unions gained a foothold, hung on precariously for a time, then were trampled under. Unemployment, two men or more, it seemed, for every job, undermined the unions' strength and made strikebreaking easy. Violence and vigilantes, hunger and want strengthened the growers' hand. Unionism clung in a few packing sheds and in the processing plants, but it was wiped out in the fields.

World War II drained agriculture of much of its workforce. An emergency program imported thousands of Mexican nationals to work the fields. The bottomless supply of labor, the grower-controlled contracts, the collaboration of government agencies all helped to stabilize wages. For most of the war, wages were held steady at about 1940 levels where they were not actually rolled back.

When the first wave of braceros was ended soon after the war, a new wave of "wetbacks" supplied the abundance of workers that broke the wage rates and prevented the farm worker from pushing ahead.

Then a second program of imported labor was undertaken under Public Law 78. Again, the growers were able to hold the line against wage increases and unionization. Finally, after several extensions and accompanied by the growers' wailing, Congress wiped out Public Law 78 on the last day of 1964. The growers seemed unable to believe that it was happening to them. They made virtually no preparations to replace the workers they were to lose.

In the five years between 1959 and 1964, contract foreign labor had supplied 26 percent of the state's seasonal man-year requirements—a great deal more in certain crops. In 1965, the proportion was cut back to less than 3 percent. Last year it was cut back even further—to less than 1 percent.

The number of domestic seasonal workers jumped from 105,000 to 120,000 between 1964 and 1966. A large part of the increase was among local workers.

There had been 10 recognized labor disputes in 1964, 57 in 1965. A partial count showed 466 domestic workers involved in strikes in 1964, 7,457 in 1965. Average hourly farm rates jumped from $1.35 an hour in mid-1964 to $1.54 in mid-1966.

This was the background against which, in September 1965, the grape pickers at Delano launched their strike. It set the stage for the next act, although in many ways it had already started.

Mechanization cut the workforce in cotton from 120,000 seasonal workers in 1949 to 25,000 in 1961. In 1964, the tomato harvester machine was in the final stages of development. In 1965, though, growers used 266 machines to harvest some 30,000 acres of canning tomatoes. The 1966 season saw about 800 machines harvesting well over 100,000 acres. An acre of tomatoes required about two man-weeks of labor in 1965 and less than three-quarters in 1966.

Speeded by a special appropriation, the University of California is spurring an extensive research program to put technology to even wider use. About 80 projects are looking into such devices as a grape harvester that jars fruit off the vine and a lettuce planter that picks up one seed at a time. The projects involve some 20 crops, including such fragile and highly perishable ones as grapes, peaches, cantaloupes, as well as tomatoes and lettuce.

They often spend as much time adapting crops to the machines as in designing and testing the machines. They are exploring, in addition to the grape shaker and the precision lettuce planter, a tree-shaking and fruit-catching system for picking peaches, a tree-shaker to bring down prunes and olives, mechanical methods for moving human pickers up and down trees and through orchards.

The research program, too, is working on a "tight-fill" system of shaking fruit into packing boxes in place of the laborious hand method. Mobile packing plants and countless varieties of conveyors and loaders are moving into the fields. Almost no crop is without some experimenting, some development of mechanical aids.

The higher skills that these machines are likely to require, along with their greatly increased productivity, hold out a prospect of higher pay. Skill in itself is a prime source of bargaining strength, of course; organized, it is even more powerful. The onsweep of technology, however, also reduces the workforce and job opportunities and puts a premium on higher levels of education and technical competence. These can, of course, be turned to the service of the union and its members and that is a main face of the challenge.

The need for some human labor in the fields and orchards, especially in California, is more likely to remain for some time to come. Feed grains and cotton

have proved particularly susceptible to mechanization, but vegetables and fruits are tougher crops to crack. California has a lion's share of these labor-intensive, specialized crops. But California growers are pushing mechanization hard even in these hard-to-mechanize crops. At best, they are bound to reduce the human labor needed to grow and harvest them; at worst, they will come close to eliminating it.

Beyond this, farms grow still larger. California had 7,000 fewer farms last year than the year before without a comparable fall in acreage. Manpower requirements are falling, even in the labor-intensive specialty crops which fell by a third between 1947 and 1965. Agricultural productivity mounts at a 5.5 percent annual rate.

A recent conference on farm labor yielded these predictions of things to come: ". . . the proportion of hired labor will rise while the total labor force will decline . . . farmworkers with improved training and skills will be in demand and . . . migratory labor will be reduced to a minimum with the growth of a regular labor force."

Thus, more and more, California agriculture takes on an industrial cast. Farm labor comes increasingly to resemble industrial labor and their problems increasingly coincide. Given some special requirements that are peculiar to agriculture. the gap between the two is nevertheless closing. As it does, the prospects of unionism brighten.

But mechanization and the changing structure of the workforce is only one major problem facing the farm worker and his union.

They suffer under liabilities imposed on no industrial worker, nor have they been for some 30 years. The farm worker is outside the unemployment insurance system. Only a small fringe of farm workers are covered by the minimum wage law. (The California law applies only to women and minors.) Similarly, he stands only on the edge of the social security system. In California, he has only recently been brought under the state disability insurance plan. A Senate subcommittee recently urged a re-examination and extension of workmen's compensation for farm workers.

Beyond this, the farm worker is penalized by low pay, aggravated by the seasonal and migratory nature of his work. He suffers in health care, housing, education for his children. He is compelled to live in slums and is denied an effective part in community life. He is exploited at every turn. Some tentative steps have been made in the direction of meeting his needs but they always seem too little and too tentative.

Most of all, the farm worker is denied the right given every industrial worker by law: the right to bargain collectively through a union of his own choosing. He is, in the main, excluded from the National Labor Relations Act. In the face of employer retribution, he has no appeal. In the face of employer resistance, he has no alternative but to strike. The DiGiorgio collective bargaining relationship was patched together largely by private parties—the representation election was conducted by arbitrators. It had no foundation in law, its sole official support the goodwill and informal intervention of friendly officials.

The upshot is that labor relations on the farm are more often conducted under the rules of jungle warfare than under the more civilized restraints of legal recognition and rational procedures. Such a setting is more appropriate to the longtime anti-union attitude of most California growers. It lends itself more readily to armed guards, police harassment, incitement to violence. It remains a high and craggy barrier to decent and democratic labor relations in the state's increasingly industrialized agriculture.

At bottom, the job of building a farm workers' union belongs to the farm worker himself. No one else has either the incentive or the opportunity to do the job or to do it as well. Yet, he is more urgently in need of the tools to do the job than any other American worker on the American scene today. The very poverty of his job, the almost total lack of legal protection, the almost complete denial of participation in the welfare aspects of this welfare society, the anachronistic anti-union attitudes of growers—all these put him in the disadvantaged position of the industrial workers of the early '30s and with even fewer resources.

If the farm workers' union is to survive in this unfriendly, even hostile clime, it will need a full measure of assistance. It will need money and organizers. It will need all the help it can muster to secure remedial legislation, to win an equal place in the state and national framework of rights and welfare. These last months since September 1965 have made it perfectly clear that, given this help, the farm worker is determined to make his union both permanent and effective.

Migrant Labor

Now It's "Huelga!" in Texas Too

Organized labor is giving full support to striking farm workers in the Rio Grande River valley, who have been subjected to "inhumane treatment . . . both by employers and by some local government officials," it was announced by Pres. H. S. Hank Brown of the Texas State AFL-CIO.

And "out of humanitarian consideration, we urge other groups and individuals to do the same," Brown added.

The cry of "Huelga" by Central California grape workers is being echoed in the South Texas valley, where the plight of laborers on the melon farms appears to be even worse than that of the grape pickers and packers in California.

The Texas workers have banded together into an unaffiliated union and are demanding $1.25 an hour. Present pay is between 60 and 85 cents an hour.

And the Texans are receiving encouragement and advice from the experience of the National Farm Workers Association in California and their leader, Cesar Chavez.

On a recent visit to OCAW headquarters in Denver, Chavez asked for support for the Texans by this union and OCAW locals and members in the valley.

Brown, speaking to a state convention of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in San Angelo, told of an order by a county commissioner to use county equipment to spray insecticide on the striking farm workers in an attempt to break up a meeting.

"We are told that the Neighhood Youth Corps boys were ordered by this local official to do it," Brown said. "We intend to ask the federal government to investigate the matter. Certainly, the Department of Labor, which finances the Youth Corps, would want no part in such a Nazi-like deed."

He called for "proper legislation to stop this grievous treatment."

The Texas AFL-CIO has sent food and clothing to the striking workers through the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish-Speaking of the Catholic Church.

Growers are importing strikebreakers and union officials charge that many of them are workers from Mexico. Such action is illegal and Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz has been asked to investigate.

Schenley Signs Contract Covering Farm Workers

The National Farm Workers Association, which has been on strike for nine months against California vineyards and captured the nation's imagination with a march from Delano to the State Capitol at Sacramento, has become an established organization with the signing of a union contract with Schenley Industries.

The milestone agreement, providing a minimum pay scale of $1.75 an hour, a union hiring hall, dues checkoff and union shop, was signed in Los Angeles on June 21.

The new contract for farm workers covers some 500 Schenley employes in Delano area vineyards. It is expected to pave the way for decent wages and working conditions for farm labor in California and in other farming centers across the nation.

Bargaining began last April when Schenley agreed to recognize and bargain with NFWA.

William L. Kircher, national organizing director of the AFL-CIO, who played a key role in negotiating the pact, hailed the agreement as a "significant breakthrough and the first contract of its kind anywhere in the farm industry."

Cesar Chavez, director of NFWA, said it was "a milestone agreement" that would have far-reaching effect on the lives of poverty-stricken farm workers.

Sidney Korshak, attorney for Schenley who negotiated the agreement for the company, spiked reports that the immediate 35-cent hourly boost in all wage classifications, as called for in the agreement, would hit the housewife in the pocketbook. The company will absorb the higher production costs out of profits, he said.

 Migrant

IUD Director Cites 'Ferment' For Organizing

There is a "clearly recognizable ferment for new organization" in the country, Jack Conway, executive director of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., told a press conference in Washington.

Conway said that organizing activities of the IUD, in the last six months, have had "fairly substantial success" and that there is a "shift in the climate in the country as a whole."

He said the "ferment" includes such groups as government workers, teachers, professional workers, medical technicians, migratory workers, and the working poor.

The IUD Executive Board, Conway reported, feels that the current structure of the AFL-CIO may have to be changed to cope with such challenges as organizing social workers, medical technicians, and the working poor.

"I personally believe that the AFL-CIO is equipped to meet this situation which has developed," he said.

Conway noted that the IUD has grown since its convention last November until today it has per capita payments on 6.5 million members. The growth, he added, came from new affiliates, step-up in per capita of older affiliates and new growth.

Federal Protection Urged:

Grape Strikers' Breakthrough Spurs Union Drive on Farms

UNION ORGANIZATION for farm workers is "off the ground," the AFL-CIO's chief organizer has declared in a network radio interview.

William L. Kircher, director of the federation's Dept. of Organization, cited recent union recognition victories of the Delano, Calif., grape strikers as evidence that farm workers can organize and bargain collectively.

In response to questions from reporters on Labor News Conference, Kircher listed three reasons for the improved position for farm worker unionization:

- Killing the bracero law, which permitted the importation of transient farm workers from Mexico.
- The "dramatic appeal . . . developed by the National Farm Workers Association, under the leadership of Cesar Chavez."
- **The seven-year effort of the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee that laid a solid base for the Delano drive and the recognition agreements signed with Schenley Industries Corp. and the Christian Brothers winery.**

Kircher warned that new and wider strikes will be inevitable "as long as the farm worker is excluded from the same kind of federal protection that other workers have—namely, the National Labor Relations Act."

FARM WORKERS are now denied "governmental machinery for indicating their choice or desire with respect to having a collective bargaining process—of organizing themselves into unions of their own choosing," Kircher noted.

Under such conditions, employes have no collective bargaining rights unless their employers voluntarily grant them, he charged, adding that this means strikes, strife and boycotts become "inextricable parts of the procedure."

Reporters questioning him on the weekly AFL-CIO public affairs production for the Mutual radio network were Sam Sharkey of the Newhouse Newspapers and Alan Adams of Business Week magazine.

MEXICAN WORKERS' federation member supports strike of AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee by walking international picket line in Miguel Aleman, Mex., across the Rio Grande River from Roma, Tex. Sign translates into "Strike—Don't Work in Rio Grande." Initials CTM identify the union, affiliated with ORIT—the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers.

Grower Agrees to Bargain:

Farm Workers Win Beachhead in Texas

Rio Grande City, Tex.—The AFL-CIO's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee won its first beachhead on Texas soil when a major Rio Grande Valley grower signed an agreement recognizing the union as exclusive bargaining agent for his workers.

The grower, Virgilio Guerra of Los Velas ranch near Roma, Tex., agreed to start negotiations promptly on contract terms that will be the first for UFWOC in Texas. The agreement provides that, if no settlement is reached within 60 days, remaining items will be submitted to an arbitrator chosen by union and management negotiators.

The pact was signed by Guerra and UFWOC Vice Pres. Gilbert Padilla in the shade of a large tree in one of the Guerra fields.

Union field workers, immensely heartened by the victory, went back to the picket lines after a lively celebration, determined to win similar settlements with other growers during the present cantaloupe and honeydew melon season, now at its height. The major objective is La Casita ranch, focus of a nationwide "Don't Buy" campaign which UFWOC has asked all American labor to support.

UFWOC achieved its first agreement with the aid of an international picket line, one of the first ever attempted. The Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM) affiliated with the Inter-american Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), stationed pickets across the Rio Grande in Ciudad Miguel Aleman, Mex., and hoisted the red and black "Huelga" flag that, under Mexican law, prohibits workers from

(Continued on Page 6)

Mexican Labor Backs Farm Union; Texas Grower Grants Recognition

(Continued from Page 1)

crossing a picket line, or a bridge leading to a work place.

The flags were up from May 11 to May 13, when the governor of Tamaulipas state ordered them down, due to a misunderstanding, the union said. Negotiations are under way to have them hoisted again, UFWOC headquarters here reported.

Not a single Mexican worker crossed into the U.S. while the flags were posted at the Tamaulipas end of the border crossings—at Miguel Aleman, opposite Roma, and Camargo, across from Rio Grande City, the committee staff said.

While the flags were down, 17 workers with green work cards crossed the bridges to work at La Casita, compared with 130 before CTM local and national leaders lent active support to the U.S. strikers.

Now the word is that the growers have turned to the lower valley for new strikebreakers — around Brownsville, McAllen and Harlingen.

Guerra, a grower who employs 50 to 100 pickers, is one of six brothers with extensive land holdings in Starr County and the principal stock interest in this border county's only bank. A family spokesman said the brothers have been "under pressure" from growers and businessmen not to sign the agreement with UFWOC, but Virgilio signed anyway.

Besides strikebreakers, union organizers have had to contend with the Texas Rangers and local politicians who, the workers say, favor the growers.

'Private' Police

When Starr County Atty. Randall Nye called the troopers into this county, the state police met with growers and county officials before starting their tour of duty, UFWOC officials reported.

Since then, they charge, the troopers have "harassed us at every turn" by arresting union pickets—85 at this writing—using boisterous and profane language, jailing UFWOC representatives unnecessarily, and holding one union man —Ismael Dias, driver of a union car—five hours before charging him.

When a train stopped at Mission, Tex., where four women workers were picketing a grade crossing, Rangers removed the crew and took over operation of the train, loaded with melons, the UFWOC reported.

Eugene Nelson of UFWOC was arrested and held on a warrant charging he "threatened the lives" of all Rangers in Starr County. A local constable accused him of coming into the court house and using threatening language. He was held in jail over the weekend before union attorneys obtained his release in bail.

On the other hand, AFL-CIO Organizer David Lopez and the Rev. Ed. Krueger, here as an observer for the Texas Council of Churches, filed charges May 15 that they were "roughed up" by a trooper at the Texas end of the international bridge here. They reported no action from the county attorney as of May 17.

The union sent a telegram to Pres. Johnson charging the Rangers "acting under color of law" are using physical violence and intimidation to deprive citizens of their constitutional rights and urging him to authorize an investigation. The Justice Dept. then sent investigators here.

Metal Trades Name Raftery to Council

Pres. S. Frank Raftery of the Painters has been elected to the executive council of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept. to fill a vacancy.

Russell M. Stephens resigned as third vice president of the department when he left the presidency of the Technical Engineers to accept a government post. Other vice presidents moved up and Raftery was chosen ninth vice president.

Migrant Labor - Fla.

Angie Van der Bosche - Fla

5-6 groups -

Consultation on legislation

Church -

Grocers

State Council

Civil Rts

Labor

(305) 624-8674

Who -

Interfaith Agency for Social Justice -

welfare Bills

Coordinating Com for Farm Workers -

Migrant Labor

Hope for Listening group - Angie has Peaked

Legis & Pol. Act.

--- Angie VanderPoel —

Fla Council of Churches
legislative proposals

Coord. Com. for Farm Worker

Inter-Faith Agency for Social Justice
— yes

NAACP —
has not agreed to participate

Labor —
UPWA — yes

Diocese — yes

Watts guidance —

One of sponsors — not Smith

No specific endorsement of specific legislative proposal

Serving wife rule
└ special interests

March 31st
Orlando

Pool of people
Pool
13

526-9725

Ag. —

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Henry F. Vice

86th Congress
2d Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

Migrant Labor

THE MIGRANT FARM WORKER IN AMERICA

BACKGROUND DATA ON THE MIGRANT WORKER SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY

PREPARED FOR

THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

UNITED STATES SENATE

Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Ag Labor

A REPORT ON

THE DELTA FARM STRIKE

BY: CLAUDE RAMSAY, PRESIDENT
MISSISSIPPI AFL-CIO

August 16, 1965

During the past few months the farm strike in the Mississippi Delta has received much publicity in newspapers and magazines throughout the United States. We, in the State AFL-CIO office, have received numerous telephone calls and letters concerning the situation. Appeals for financial assistance to our unions throughout the Nation are continually being made. For these and other reasons I have decided to write this resume of the situation in general.

During the "long hot summer" of 1964, I had two ministers associated with the Delta Ministry call on me at the State AFL-CIO office in Jackson, Mississippi. They wanted to talk about the possibility of organizing the farm laborers in the Delta. Our conversation lasted approximately two hours. During this period of time I reviewed the situation from stem to stern with these people. I advised them that, as I viewed the matter, this situation was impossible to deal with from a trade union point of view. In so doing I reviewed the AFL-CIO's experience in trying to organize the sugar cane laborers in Louisiana and the vegetable growers in California. At the end of our discussion, I introduced them to R. W. Starnes, Assistant Regional Director of Organization for the AFL-CIO, and suggested that they review the situation with him. In essence Bob gave them the same advice as I.

There can be no question about the wages and working conditions of these workers in the Mississippi Delta, they are among the worst existing anywhere in the Nation. Faced with these facts, the question arises as to why the problems of these people can not be solved from a trade union point of view. In order to understand this it is first necessary to know something about the Delta farm operation.

The Mississippi Delta is approximately 150 miles long varying in width up to approximately 75 miles. The area comprises most of the land area in 18 counties. Hundreds of plantations of varying size are in operation, with the major crop being cotton. During the past decade most of the day labor has been eliminated by machinery. As a matter of fact, most of the cotton is now picked

by mechanical pickers; the mule has long since been replaced by the tractor. This means that cotton chopping is the only work of any significance left for the farm laborer except, of course, the machine operators. According to the best information available, approximately three thousand equipment operators are involved and some twenty-five thousand men, women and children who work in the fields during the chopping season. This season usually lasts about two and a half months during the growing season.

Employment is fairly steady for the 3,000 equipment operators since they prepare the soil, plant and cultivate the crop as well as operate the mechanical pickers. The going wage for these operators is $6.00 a day which is from sun-up to sun-down. The choppers receive $3.00 a day, which in most cases is from day light 'til dark. Most of the equipment operators live on the plantations in rent-free tenement shacks scattered throughout the area. On the other hand, most of the choppers live in the towns and communities throughout the Delta and are recruited and shaped up into crews by a local Negro who receives fifty cents per laborer recruited for a day's work.

Obviously, the only organizable people in this operation are the 3,000 equipment operators who live on the plantations. How do you organize and produce benefits for some twenty-five thousand seasonal workers who are employed only two and a half months each year and who are largely unemployable elsewhere? The answer to this question is also obvious, you can't. The other question is, how do you organize 3,000 tractor drivers scattered over this large area who live on the plantations? Again the answer to this question is obvious, it would take an army of organizers to cover the area who in turn would find the task of even meeting the people almost insurmountable. The cost factor would, of course, be prohibitive in such an operation.

All of these things were reviewed with the Reverend Larry Walker and his associate, I can't recall his name. Both of these gentlemen had come to the Delta area as part of the "Summer Project" sponsored by the various Civil Rights groups. It should also be mentioned that these ministers discussed with me their plans to picket Greenville Mills in an effort to secure more employment for Negroes in the plant (Greenville Mills is a carpet manufacturing plant in Greenville and is not organized). Pickets were placed on this plant and kept there for a number of months. I mention the Greenville Mills situation for I am convinced that the Delta farm strike grew out of this situation.

During the month of May of this year, several tractor drivers walked off their jobs at the Andrews plantation in Tribbett demanding an increase in pay. Since that time efforts have been made to keep others off the job in the surrounding area. Considerable publicity has been given to the situation. A number of reporters for various publications have spent considerable time in the area. Estimates vary as to the number of people actually on strike but everyone who has spent time in the area seems to agree that the strike has not been very effective to date. This is understandable when you consider the fact that only three or four plantations are affected out of the hundreds in the area. While not trying to be critical of the people responsible for the situation, this is exactly what I had warned them against.

As already stated, we have received numerous letters and telephone calls for help both from the strikers and unions in the North. After discussing the matter at length with Donald Slaiman, Director of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO, it was agreed that someone from his department should go in and survey the situation. Consequently one of his assistants, E. T. Kehrer, who works out of the Atlanta office, spent almost a week in the area during the first week of July. Kehrer's report verifies the fact that the lot of these people will be hard to improve from a trade union approach, even though we are very much in sympathy with their plight.

As Kehrer points out in his report, it is almost impossible to separate the Freedom Labor Union project from the various civil rights projects in the area. As a matter of fact, the FLU appears to have been organized by the Freedom Democratic Party - the FDP in turn was a by-product of the 1964 "Summer Project." FDP has been very critical of the State AFL-CIO in its newsletter and has especially been critical of me. This criticism seems based on the fact that we advised them against this course of action in the first place. I also suspect that part of this criticism is based upon ignorance as to what has been done. Some of this criticism is directed at the so-called liberal establishment of which the AFL-CIO is a part and which the FDP seems to hate about as much as any thing else.

Contrary to the belief of some of these people, the State AFL-CIO is very much concerned over the plight of these people and wants to do everything possible to alleviate conditions in this area of the state. In an effort to do this we have spent considerable time and effort on the situation. The criticism seems

to center around the fact that we are in disagreement on the approach and that we are trying to make sure that any money sent into the situation is used in the proper fashion.

A review of certain things indicates that some of the people involved in the problem actually don't have the welfare of the people at heart. For instance on July 22 a young Negro called on me at the office and announced that he was chairman of a committee that had been sent up to raise funds for the strikers. Some time after he had left a person with one of the more responsible civil rights groups called and advised me that he could not be trusted and that he had a reputation of having sticky fingers.

A few days later I was contacted by the Shaw group and agreed to see a committee from that local. This meeting took place in our office on July 26. There were eight people in the group including George Shelton, Chairman of the local, Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Knight and myself represented the Council. This meeting lasted for approximately an hour and a half. In the course of this meeting we reviewed the situation in detail. I suggested that the logical answer to the Delta farm problem would be to extend the Minimum Wage law to cover farm labor and a training program, financed through the Office of Economic Opportunity, for the displaced or seasonal workers. This idea went over like a Ton of Bricks. A young white Snick worker with the group said I did not have the spirit of the labor movement and that these people were going to strike until their demands were met.

Having been advised by Kehrer that there was no semblance of real organization and that no machinery existed to properly disperse funds to the needy, I next suggested that I contact the Organization Department of the AFL-CIO and see if we couldn't get an experienced organizer to come in and help set up a real organization. This too went over like a ton of bricks: I was told in short order that they did not want any one coming in to tell them what to do. They said that all they wanted me to do was to raise money for them. I then pointed out the fact that they were asking me to help finance an independent union not affiliated with the AFL-CIO and that I doubted if any of our unions would be interested in such a proposition. My next suggestion didn't go over either; I told them that I would advise our unions to send contributions to the Delta Ministry for distribution purposes, feeling that this group would be in a better position to see to the needs of the people in the entire are. Their position was the same - All funds should be sent to the Shaw Local.

At the close of the meeting I told the group that I would like to arrange another meeting with them in the near future and invite representatives of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department and the Organizing Department. They agreed to this proposal advising me where to contact them, etc. Consequently, I arranged another meeting in our office on August 10th. As soon as arrangements were completed for the meeting, I called the group and advised them of the date, time and place.

On the morning of the 10th a gentleman by the name of Aaron German called me, collect, from Shaw and wanted to know if the meeting was still on. I advised him that it was and that I had several people coming in for the meeting. He said he did not know if they could get down or not, that George Shelton was in Washington and that they did not know if they could arrange for transportation. I, of course, urged him to make every effort to get here since we had all of these people coming in.

The following were invited and did attend the meeting. E. H. Williams, AFL-CIO Regional Director; Robert Starnes, Assistant Regional Director, AFL-CIO; E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department; James Jackson, State Director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Russell McMahan and Miss Bernice Hinton of the Int'l. Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Thomas Knight, Secretary-Treasurer of the State AFL-CIO and myself. Jackson and McMahan were invited to the meeting because numerous appeals had been made to their two international unions for financial assistance. We wanted them to get a first hand look at the situation. It should be noted that several of these people went to great length to get to this meeting. Williams drove in from New Orleans, about 250 miles; Jackson drove a hundred miles from Hattiesburg; McMahan and Hinton drove two hundred miles from Pascagoula and Kehrer flew in from Atlanta.

The meeting was scheduled for two p.m. at our office. After the above named group had arrived, I advised them of the telephone call earlier and that I doubted if any one from Shaw would show. In view of the fact that we needed to discuss this situation at length with these people, we started the meeting as scheduled. Kehrer and myself went into detail with the group pointing out all of the complications involved. In so doing I pointed out the fact that there appeared to be an element involved which seemed determined to discredit the AFL-CIO and that I wanted to avoid giving them any unnecessary fuel.

We all agreed that conditions were deplorable in the area and that there was an obvious need for help for some of the people. We further agreed that in order to make sure that funds were allocated properly, contributions from our unions should be sent to either the Delta Ministry in Greenville, Mississippi or the State AFL-CIO for distribution. It was the feeling of the group that I should advise our International Unions to this effect and suggest they in turn pass this information on to their local unions.

Our discussion lasted approximately an hour and a half. At the end of this time I placed a call to Shaw to determine if any one was on the way to the meeting. Mr. German answered the phone again and advised me that they had not been able to arrange transportation. I asked him when Shelton would be back; he said they expected him to be gone for at least a month. Apparently Shelton is now touring the North appealing for funds. If this is the case, it is even more important that this report be carefully read.

Everyone in the meeting thought it rather strange that arrangements could be made to send Shelton to Washington for a month, yet transportation could not be arranged for a hundred mile trip to Jackson. As has already been pointed out, many of our people went to great length to get to the meeting and were naturally disappointed when no one showed from Shaw. Frankly I was not too surprised after considering what transpired in our meeting on July 26th.

As of this date we have received no further word from these people. In the event we do, we shall carefully catalogue all developments for future reference. I hope to get into the area myself in the near future for another first hand look at the situation.

AFL-CIO NEWS - Sept 3, 1966

Cracks Into Anti-Union Stronghold

San Francisco—Field workers at two major farms of the giant DiGiorgio Corp. have chosen the AFL-CIO as their collective bargaining representative in a crucial and historic farm labor election.

Unofficial returns indicated that the two unions of farm workers which have been on strike at DiGiorgio since last September and who made up the single AFL-CIO entry on the ballot defeated the Teamsters in a unit of nearly 900 field workers.

Official results of Aug. 30 voting at the firm's Delano and Borrego Springs farms were delayed until arbitrators could rule on 332 challenged ballots.

But observers were convinced that the challenged ballots could not upset the unofficial result. Nor would they change the choice of the Teamsters in a smaller unit made up of truck drivers and helpers and shed workers.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany wired the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, Cesar Chavez and Larry Itliong, its leaders:

"Warmest congratulations on a great victory. The road is now open to a new era for farm workers, not only in California but all across the nation.

"You are the pioneers who opened that road and you will be gratefully remembered for generations by those who will benefit from your efforts.

"But let us now move forward. As you know this triumph is not an end in itself but only a beginning. I again assure you that

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued from Page 1)

the whole AFL-CIO will be enlisted in the battles ahead, as it was in the battle just won."

Sources close to the election reported that the AFL-CIO unit received 528 votes, the Teamsters 328, no union 12 votes in the "white ballot" unit made up of field workers. The vote in the other, smaller unit was 94 for the Teamsters, 43 for the AFL-CIO, seven for no union.

Final Tally Delayed

Arbitrators Sam Kagel and Ronald Haughton announced Aug. 30, that there would be no final count of the 1,349 ballot cast until 332 challenged votes had been decided.

By far the greatest number was held up on claims that the voter's name did not appear on the list of workers who had worked at least 15 days for DiGiorgio since the start of the grape strike.

To rule on whether the challenged votes would be counted, Kagel said, would take at least two days, perhaps as much as a week. Pending that determination, no official count would be announced, he said. The two arbitrators were to start hearings on them Sept. 2.

The arbitrators' announcement was given to a score and more reporters, television and still cameras, reflecting some part of the national attention that has been focused on the fight of the Delano grape strikers for union recognition and collective bargaining.

AFL-CIO Dir. of Organization William L. Kircher, who headed the election campaign, said in Delano:

"The DiGiorgio victory has a message for every farm worker in America—it can be done. Farm workers can unionize, they can use collective bargaining as a base for building a better life and a greater share of America's abundance for themselves and their families, even when powerful forces enter into a conspiracy to defeat them.

"What hapened in Delano has a message for every AFL-CIO member also. It is a timely reminder that the unity and solidarity of all union workers still provides the best pavement for the road to a better way of life for those who have long been denied."

The crucial, pathfinding vote hac few precedents in farm labor his

tory and none of the legal procedures that surround the usual National Labor Relations Board representation elections.

It involved, too, one of the state's largest and most influential farm corporations, as well as a head-on contest between the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters, the latter a late entry in the effort to win bargaining rights for DiGiorgio farm workers.

And it climaxed, just days short of a year, the strike by grape pickers in the National Farm Workers Association and the AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee.

It was Sept. 8, 1965, that AWOC launched its strike in the Delano vineyards, joined days later by the NFWA. They fought side by side through a long winter, but with growing support from the labor movement and from a variety of church and civil rights groups.

The grape strikers capped a 300-mile march from Delano to the state capitol at Sacramento last Easter with the announcement that their strike had won union recognition at the Schenley vineyards, second largest of the Delano growers.

The way was opened, too, for negotiations with DiGiorgio that ultimately led to last Tuesday's vote.

Election Last June

The corporation had conducted an election of its own last June. That was set aside after AWOC, NFWA and others protested the almost total absence of impartiality. The Teamsters had been the nominal "victor" in the company-sponsored ballot.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown appointed Haughton, head of the University of Michigan Institute of Industrial Labor Relations, as fact-finder in the disputed vote.

Without passing judgment on the DiGiorgio-sponsored vote, Haughton won agreement of all parties to an election on Aug. 30 conducted under jointly-agreed rules by the American Arbitration Association. Haughton and Kagel, a University of California law professor, would stand by to decide disputes.

The rules for the new election met the principal objections of the two unions of grape strikers who joined forces in the election: they recognized the right of strikers to vote and they insured impartial conduct of the balloting. Both safeguards had been ignored by DiGiorgio in its balloting.

DiGiorgio had been the target of a long, bitter, and unsuccesful strike nearly 20 years ago. With that exception the Delano grape strike was the first significant union activity in California's vast corporate agriculture since the Thirties.

Victory at DiGiorgio marks a major milestone not only for the year-old grape pickers' strike but for the state's—and the nation's—farm workers.

Kircher said that in the final weeks of the campaign representatives of AFL-CIO unions came to Delano to help in the campaign. Five special representatives of the national AFL-CIO staff were there for the last five weeks of the campaign, he added.

Migrant Labor

RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS, the condition of the more than 100,000 Farm Workers in South Florida is morally, economically, physically and socially intolerable, exhibiting the following characteristics:

a) The average annual wage of the Florida Farm Worker is less than $900 - not even one-third that of the national poverty level.

b) The health condition of the Farm Workers continue to exhibit high rates of disease and sickness incomprehensible in Modern 20th Century America. For example, in one of Florida's smallest counties 100% of all Migrant children between the ages of 0 and 15 years have parasitic diseases, 43% of these also have skin diseases and 86% of them under 5 years of age suffer from diarrhea.

c) Studies demonstrate the pathetic state of education among the Farm Workers where the average adult has an educational level of less than 6 years. Less than 1% of Farm Workers finish high school, and it is the rare individual who has ever entered college.

d) Housing conditions are in such a deplorable state that "new" 1966 farm family housing is an 8 x 16 ft. wooden shack without electricity or toilet facilities and other housing is inadequate, dirty, unsafe, and expensive. In Collier County alone last year fires destroyed 175 beds

in 7 camps with 4 deaths and the destruction of 13 buildings;

e) A Farm Worker's infant's chances to live and enjoy life are significantly less than those of his urban counterpart. In one area over one third of the Migrant births reported were delivered by midwives outside of hospitals and without a physician present;

f) Sanitation conditions are so basically deplorable that privies are almost totally lacking in the fields and drinking water is contaminated by sewage. In the Florida Health Projects Report one county was reported as stating that there were more health violations than privies;

g) The morals of the Farm Worker and his family are daily undermined by the almost total lack of privacy in their housing and toilet facilities;

h) Social Security laws; Child Labor laws, School Attendance laws, and other protective laws of the State are often unenforced with reference to the Farm Workers;

i) Unemployment insurance coverage, unemployment disability insurance coverage, workmen's compensation, fair employment coverage, and Social Security coverage are either nonexistent or inadequate;

j) Economic exploitation in the form of "company stores" and exhorbitant interest rates is the pattern among the Farm Workers;

k) Mothers with young infants and young school children are

forced to work to subsist while their infants are either left on their own or cared for by school-age children;

WHEREAS, the local communities, often oblivious to the plight of the Farm Worker, manifest their "cruel concern" for the Farm Worker by

a) "Imprisoning" the Farm Worker in the camps and other types of ghettoes;

b) Generally denying the Farm Worker the protective function of the law;

c) Effecting in the communities' economic and moral life the grower's adage of "We used to buy our slaves. Now we just rent them."

d) Disavowing the plight of the Farm Worker in the hospitals, doctors offices, and clinics as exemplified in instances where doctors refuse to treat Farm Workers even when offered adequate remuneration, and hospitals refuse to admit them;

e) Refusing to implement Federal ameliorative programs geared to uplift the Farm Worker;

WHEREAS, the State of Florida has portrayed an image of total unconcern with the plight of the Farm Worker on a State level by:

a) Being remiss in the enforcement of housing codes, sanitation laws, compulsory school attendance laws, automobile safety inspection laws;

b) Allowing camps once closed for health reasons to reopen

with identical unsanitary and unhealthy conditions;

c) Failing to enact basic programs to correct the existing conditions spelled out above;

d) Not cooperating in the development of imaginative approaches in education, housing, community development, manpower training, and others to restore dignity and self actualization to a people exploited by and forgotten in the State of Florida.

WHEREAS, the Nation's conscience, characterized principally by total apathy and only recently pricked by such events as the Edward R. Murrow documentary "Harvest of Shame", the hearings by Senator Williams' Committee, and the recent marches in Delano and Texas, has responded with token measures which either inadequately or not at all address such major existing problems as:

a) The lack of Unemployment Compensation Benefits to Farm Workers;

b) The lack of total coverage of all Farm Workers by the Minimum Wage Law;

c) The lack of the safeguards of the National Labor Relations Board;

d) The lack of proper legislation regarding national housing codes, minimum national health standards, proper safety codes, standardized sanitation laws, and national crew-leader registration laws;

e) The lack of national welfare laws applying to all the poor;

f) The inadequate Federal Programs and Money to attack the problems of the Farm Worker in a massive, imaginative, and planned manner;

g) The rigid Federal Loan Programs which eliminate the vast majority of Farm Workers from their benefits;

h) The lack of a Legal Aid Program designed to actively seek the rectification of all inequities wrought upon the often unsuspecting and uninformed Farm Worker;

i) The lack of a Nation's and Federal Government's enthusiastic commitment to erase a stain of such magnitude that it calls out unceasingly for remedy in a Nation built on the principles of Freedom, Justice, Equality, and Humanity.

WHEREAS, the Diocese of Miami Human Relations Board, The Florida Migrant Ministry, The American Friends Service Committee, The Florida Chapter of NAACP, the Community Action Fund, The Inter-Faith Agency for Social Justice and Farm Workers throughout Florida, meeting on October 28, 1966, at Sts. Peter and Paul Church, realize that the above conditions are true and that these conditions can only unite men of good will everywhere in calling out for their remedy,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

That a resolution be sent to all International Union Presidents calling upon them to:

a) Reassume the humanitarian concern which was once theirs and to accept the responsibility which is theirs by virtue of their office and the labor tradition to organize the

unorganized Farm Work in order that he may attain the economic benefits which are his due as a human being and as a laboring man;

b) Seek union contracts incorporating the following:

1. Increased hourly wages;
2. Improved incentive rates;
3. Guaranteed minimum daily wage (when work is available);
4. Show-up pay (when worker reports to work and work is not available);
5. Life, hospitalization and medical insurance for employee and dependents;
6. Transportation allowance;
7. Standards for sanitation, health and safety;
8. Mandatory direct payment from grower to worker (eliminates crew leader as paymaster).
9. Mandatory Social Security deductions;
10. Workmen's Compensation coverage;
11. Housing or housing allwance at workers option;
12. Access to property by non-workers;
13. Grievance procedure and arbitration;
14. Other fringe benefits normally incorporated in union contracts;

c) Join with the above mentioned Churches, Service Groups, Organizations, Community and Grass-Roots leaders in alleviating the above stated conditions of the poor through such wide-range corrective programs as:

1. Cooperative self-help housing
2. Cooperative stores
3. Credit unions
4. Medical and dental clinics
5. Legal care centers
6. Day care centers
7. Recreational centers
8. A full worker education-vocational training program incorporating:
   a. Youth Education Centers
   b. Adult Education Centers
   c. Neighborhood Youth Corps
   d. Opportunities Industrialization Centers
   e. On-the-Job Training
   f. Training through the Office of Manpower and Training (OMAT).

9. A comprehensive mobility program to provide resettlement after training.

d) Join with the above mentioned groups in securing local, State, and Federal Legislation in the following areas:

1. Coverage under the National Labor Relations Act
2. Extension of the Fair-Labor Standards Act
3. Mandatory coverage under Workmen's Compensation Act
4. Coverage under Unemployment Compensation Laws
5. Federal Minimum Standards on Housing, Sanitation, Health and Safety
6. Enforced and strengthened crew leader registration laws
7. More and better programs through Federal Agencies.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED

(1) That a delegation be sent to the Governor-elect on the night of his election calling for his commitment to a State program incorporating the following:

a) An assistant to the Governor, or a State Cabinet Office of Farm Worker Coordination, or a State Commission to be appointed by the Governor to address itself entirely to the affairs of the Farm Workers;

b) A State Minimum Wage Law to encompass all the workers;

c) Coverage of the Farm Worker under State Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment Compensation Laws;

d) Effective and enforced laws and programs regarding health, safety, housing, and sanitation;

e) Enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws among the Farm Workers;

f) A State Crew-Leader Registration Law;

g) New and dynamic programs to upgrade the educational achievement of the Farm Worker;

h) A concerted program to bring into Florida massive Federal Programs and Money such as Poverty Funds, Manpower Training, Education, etc., so that the Farm Worker may take his place in American society as a productive and responsible member;

i) A visit by the Governor-elect to the farm labor camps to see at first hand this State and national disgrace.

(2) That a delegation of the above mentioned groups meet with the Florida Senators and Congressmen to alert them to the gravity of the conditions mentioned above, to make them aware of the combined concern of said groups, and to secure from them a commitment to unite in securing the following legislative program:

a) Coverage under the National Labor Relations Act.

b) Extension of the Fair-Labor Standards Act.

c) Mandatory Coverage under Workmen's Compensation Laws.

d) Coverage under Unemployment Compensation Laws.

e) Federal Minimum Standards on Housing, Sanitation, Health, and Safety.

f) Enforced and strengthened Crew Leader Registration Laws.

g) More and better programs through Federal Agencies.

h) More imaginative and adaptive programs and policies and increased appropriations in the following Federal Programs as they particularly relate to the Farm Worker:

1. The OEO
2. Farm Housing Act
3. Manpower Development and Training Act
4. Elementary and Secondary Education Act
5. Higher Education Act.

(3) That a resolution be sent to Presidnet Johnson and to the Nation incorporating the following:

a) The Farm Worker has been subsidizing the Nation through his back-breaking, undercompensated and inhumanitarian labor.

b) The Nation can not permit this disgraceful condition to remain as a symbol of apathy, exploitation, and evil.

c) The plight of the Farm Worker cries out to our Nation's conscience for immediate and effective help.

Migrant Labor

Selected Readings

Migratory Workers

The living conditions of migratory workers seem to have hardly changed at all since the earliest days when the "Okies" sought to pick fruit in California. They are a reality within the realm of our American society, but they live outside its structure; so much so, that until recently, when government and academic studies began to focus on these problems and publish a good deal of information about them, the major portion of the American population had been almost totally unaware that people were living in such despicable conditions in this day of progress, affluence, and comfort.

Poverty, community ignorance, and indifference maintain a vicious cycle which prevents change or escape, and so it has continued, generation after generation.

Over 10,000 domestic (mostly Texas Mexican) migratory workers come to Wisconsin annually with their families to work primarily in agriculture. The University of Wisconsin takes an active part in the study of their conditions and needs, under the direction of Professor Elizabeth Brandeis, in hope of being able to instigate improvements. (See "Migratory Workers" in the "News" section for details on her project.)

The library of the Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education is gathering material on various aspects of this field, including information on the migrant worker. It is hoped that a recognition of existing conditions can lead to action in the way of making available education and vocational training so that the cycle can be broken, and those who desire to improve their lot will have the means to do so.

The following publications are included in our collection to date:

AGENDA, Vol. I, No. 4 (MAY, 1965)
Several articles in the Industrial Union Department publication are devoted to the problem of the migrant worker. As a preface, the "Legislative Newsletter" summarizes the most recent legislative activity in relation to migratory farm labor.

"The Forgottenest" discusses the problem of braceros and the resulting grower attacks on Secretary Wirtz, the major migratory routes, uninsured occupational hazards, and needed legislative action.

"Human Loss Beyond Comprehension" is a statement on the nation's apathy by W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor. This was the result of a trip on which he visited the migrant farm workers.

Some "Facts and Figures" on the size of farms, child labor, union activity, and sharecroppers give a summary view of the current situation.

James F. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union, wrote "The Vanishing Family Farm" and shows its diminishing position in the face of the big food industry so that "if present trends continue the result will be complete elimination of competition in the market place and a reduction of farmers to sharecroppers or farm workers who have lost all control over farm management." The action proposed and accomplished by the National Farmers Union since 1949 is indicated as well.

The "Economy Newsletter" ends the series of articles specifically on migrant labor. This includes information on wage-price relationships in agriculture.

BRANDEIS, ELIZABETH. "MIGRANT LABOR IN WISCONSIN." *LABOR MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL POLICY: ESSAYS IN THE JOHN R. COMMONS TRADITION,* CH. VIII. MADISON, 1963, pp. 197-230.
Miss Brandeis' essay sketches the over-all situation of migratory labor in this country, and that of this state is given in detail. She begins with an historical survey of the use of migrant workers in Wisconsin, describing the original use of recent immigrants, the Mexicans and Texas-Mexicans, and finally children. The farm labor shortage during World War I began the steadily increased large-scale use of migratory workers. Today's conditions (particularly for the dark-skinned Spanish-speaking workers), wages, current national concern, government protection (both state and federal)—all these aspects are discussed, and she concludes that most protective legislation wholly or partially excludes agricultural workers. The Fair Labor Standards Act exempts them wholly from wage and hour provisions and largely from child labor laws. The Social Security old age, survivors, and disability insurance, the 1937 Sugar Act, the Interstate Commerce Commission's rules for transportation and the 1959 regulations for growers all meet with such difficulties that they are rendered weak and ineffective.

The State of Wisconsin ranks high in providing legislation, but there still lacks protection for minimum age, limits of hours, child labor, unemployment compensation, assistance in case of sickness or other misfortune (because of residence requirements) and decent housing. Only in 1961 was workmen's compensation initiated. In comparison to the domestic work force, foreign workers entering the country from Puerto Rico and under agreements with Mexico and the British West Indies have more protection.

Miss Brandeis tries to answer the question, "Why do migrants benefit so little from labor's gains?" and explains some of the difficulties involved, such as

the unstructured and unorganized relationship between worker and employer.

In conclusion, she writes, ". . . if most of these stoop labor jobs do disappear in the next few decades, they will leave behind an ugly residue of children grown into adults with so little education that they will be unable to function in the modern economy."

CHILDREN IN AGRICULTURE UNDER FEDERAL LAW. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, WAGE, HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISION. 1964, 1 PAGE.

This is a table of figures covering the period of July 1, 1963 to July 30, 1964, which correlates school grade retardation and the illegal employment of children.

DANIEL, FRANZ. "PROBLEMS OF UNION ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATORY WORKERS." *INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION PROCEEDINGS.* MAY, 1961, pp. 636-643.

"The problem of organizing working people into unions consists of an educational procedure which convinces those people that they will economically benefit by organization." It is difficult to work against the fear, resentment, and lack of confidence of the worker, but the AFL-CIO has made a great deal of progress nevertheless. The author describes some of the activities, the goals, and the successes of unions in the face of many obstacles, among them that of resisting growers who discourage domestic help, and seek out the more docile, lower-waged braceros.

FARRELL, A.E. *END CHILD LABOR NOW!* GOOD HOUSEKEEPING MAGAZINE (NOVEMBER, 1960) pp. 62-66.

This article is designed to open the eyes of that section of the public which is ignorant of the existence of such a group as migratory workers, and their conditions of living. Farrell concludes with recommendations for action both legislative and on the community level.

FOCUS, AN OCCASIONAL NEWSLETTER ON THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN. MAY, 1964, 4 pp.

Different topics discussed here include the implications of the Economic Opportunity Act for migrant workers, the highlights of the Poverty Program (an emphasis on youth, community action, programs for rural areas, and the volunteers' program), the "Areas of Need," such as day-care centers, preschool care, language training, and adult education. In this issue are suggestions for action and selected readings for the interested citizen.

LEVINE, LOUIS. "A MIGRATORY WORKER IN THE FARM ECONOMY." *INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION PROCEEDINGS.* MAY, 1961. pp. 622-630.

The author compares the characteristics of hired farm workers to those of workers in other industries. They show a looser attachment to the labor force, more casual relationships with the employer, and they have not unionized because of conditions and a lack of legislative protection. This, however, is currently changing. The labor surplus situation is aggravated by three basic factors: technological displacement, chronically low incomes on the less productive farms, and the high increase in rural population.

Several aspects of the problem include: the role of the employment bureau in maximizing a continuity of employment, the origins and travel-ways of the different types and regional groups of migrant workers, and the earnings of migrant workers which vary from crop to crop, area to area.

The migrants' bargaining position is a difficult one in relation to the availability of foreign workers and new farm machinery. As unemployment is increased these people are in no position, educationally, to seek out non-agricultural work.

Levine feels that while the humanitarian and welfare aspects of the problem are very important, the more fundamental areas in need of attention are employment and the labor market.

THE MIGRATORY FARM LABOR PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES. 1965 REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE. UNITED STATES SENATE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR. WASHINGTON, 1965. 76 pp.

After a statement of the Senate resolution and some brief background facts, the report thoroughly examines most aspects of the migratory problem.

Two major sections deal with legislative accomplishments and continuing needs in the areas of health, education, day-care for children, sanitation, housing, contractor registration, and foreign workers; and in the second, those problems calling for basic legislation such as wages, unemployment and underemployment, collective bargaining, child labor, compensation, insurance, transportation, and residence requirements.

Three appendices offer vital information on this subject. The first deals with helping factors—the Economic Opportunity Act, the provisions of which are enumerated, and facts about VISTA volunteers. In the second the problem of foreign labor is examined. The text of Secretary Wirtz' statement on the termination of Public Law 78, regulations governing temporary, foreign agricultural workers, and the agreement concerning the employment of British West Indians for agricultural work are all included. The last appendix gives the text of selected laws affecting migratory labor. These are the Migrant Health Act, the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, Housing Act, and Crew Leader Registration Act.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN has published several monographs (1964). Among these are:

About the National Committee on the Education of

Migrant Children. A brief history of agencies devoted to "America's most disadvantaged" children whose position has, in fact, become worse with the changes in employment needs. The functions of the committee are described and its clearing house is a source of most of the information available on the subject.
Congressional Record, 88th Congress. Ryan, "The Forgotten People." This is a speech encouraging legislative action in behalf of migratory workers with information obtained from reports of the National Committee for the Education of Migrant Children. The speaker stresses the ignorance and/or indifference of states towards the presence of the migrant child within its educational boundaries.
The Educational Problems of the Migrant Child. Education is made almost unattainable to the migrant child because of impermanence, poverty (and therefore unwilling parents), and the public schools themselves, which would rather avoid the difficulties of transient records and the possible retarding influence in the classroom. The article briefly summarizes attempts on the part of the government and national committee to improve this situation.
Status of the Migrant Labor Legislation. A listing (without much description) of bills passed since 1962 regarding child labor, working rates and conditions, taxes, voting, education, health and sanitation services, housing, etc.
Stockburger, *Criteria for the Employment of Foreign Agricultural Workers in the United States.* The author opposes the importation of foreign labor because it worsens the position of "already poverty-stricken domestic migrant labor." For decades they have been denied protective legislation, while the demand for their labor has steadily declined. Evidently farm workers do not share the recent prosperity and declined unemployment found in other kinds of labor, and therefore efforts should concentrate on the improvement of this condition as the domestic force is sufficient to meet labor requirements without foreign importation.
——, *A Statement to the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.* Miss Stockburger briefly discusses some of the problems of the migrant child's life as seen by workers at a day-care center. While applauding the education bill recently passed, the author maintains that it is incomplete without further provisions for specialized teacher training.
Who is the Migrant Child? His position is outside the structure of community and society, a result of the economic obsolescence and the debasement of the former class of "hired hands." Inadequate diets and unsanitary conditions impair physical development, and in many states the migrant is ineligible for health and welfare services. The greatest area of neglect is that of education.
Woodbury, *In Support of Legislation Concerning Problems of Migratory Workers.* Mildred Fairchild Woodbury, Chairman, at public hearings supports the bills which propose to provide money for day-care centers, educational facilities, and provisions to specially train teachers. Restrictions will be placed on the labor of young children by S.523, particularly necessary as migrancy limits the effectiveness of state action. A sanitation assistance program will be inaugurated.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN offers the following items free upon request:

* *A Survey Interpreted*
* *Fact Sheets*
* *A Selected Bibliography*

Write to 145 East 32nd Street, New York, New York, 10016

SUTTON, ELIZABETH. *KNOWING AND TEACHING THE MIGRANT CHILD.* DEPARTMENT OF RURAL EDUCATION, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION. 1962. 147 pp.

Better educational methods in dealing with the migrant child demand an understanding of the life he leads, his needs, and his deprivations. The author gives a summary description of this background and devotes the remainder of the work to the classroom situation. Her suggestions for improving the educational status of these children are based on their experiences and the resulting insecurities which are aggravated in the non-migrant environment. A good bibliography of selected references is included.

WILLIAMS, HARRISON A. "PROPOSED LEGISLATION FOR MIGRATORY WORKERS." *INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1961 SPRING MEETING.* (MAY, 1961) pp. 630-636.

Williams emphasizes that there exists a bipartisan demand for action on the migratory problems. As a result his eleven-point legislative program, along with companion bills, has been introduced. He describes the provisions and methods of bills regarding the following problems: child labor, crew leader registration, National Citizen's Council, education for children of migratory workers, Adult Education Program, health grants for migratory worker families, day-care facilities, housing, minimum wage, National Labor Relations coverage, and domestic worker stabilization.

Consideration is presently being given to problems of unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, and residence requirements in social legislation.

Migrant Workers in Western Europe.

Literature on the migrant worker in *Western Europe* is also available at the Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education. One can see quickly that the conditions and problems associ-

ated with "Migrant Workers" in America are considerably different in Europe—as are the approaches towards solving them.

Whereas research in this country is primarily concerned with deplorable, unsanitary living conditions, the rejection of the workers from the social, educational, and economic community, unequal pay and benefit allowances, etc., the European concern is primarily with the worker's ability to adjust and adapt himself to the new society, the new language. He is often separated from his family and this may create social difficulties, but the term "migrant" truly does carry a different connotation. To begin with, it does not refer only to agricultural labor, and secondly, migrant workers usually have come to work in the host country for some period of time, if not permanently. They may begin a new job with a year contract. In any case, it is not a life of continual living on the road with occasional stops, sometimes as brief as twenty days.

THE ADAPTATION OF FOREIGN WORKERS TO A NEW SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT. ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT. PARIS, 1964, 20 pp.

This report was compiled by the Swedish joint team which visited the Federal Republic of Germany from 24th-30th May, 1964. A clear picture is given of European attitudes toward foreign labor, the information and preparation for the move to another culture which is available to migrants, training (language, vocational, and other) which is easily obtained, and housing facilities. Social questions are raised concerning medical care, marriage, adaptation, benefits, religion, and the effects of Communist or Fascist propaganda.

The information contained in this report primarily deals with conditions, problems, and solutions in Germany, rather than in Western Europe as a whole. The variations between countries are too great to assume that similar answers elsewhere could be an accurate representation.

WITHIN THY GATES. A REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON MIGRANT WORKERS IN WESTERN EUROPE. ARNOLDSHAIN, 1963. 94 pp.

The proceedings of the Arnoldshain Conference indicate "an important step in the study and action of the member churches of the World Council of Churches on the question of migrations and migrant people." There is a growing number of migrant workers in Western Europe as a result of the "second industrial revolution," and this report deals with the major problems involved including migrant family problems, the impact of the churches, and of the churches on the migrants, the problems of change, and others.

The European migrant's problems are not very similar to those of his American counterpart, and the different nations deal with them differently. Germany shows an active concern and handles the problems well, while in Spain conditions are such that many of her workers are emigrating.

The report concludes with a statement of the churches' recommendations, a guide of discussion questions for local groups, and a selected bibliography, both on Western Europe and individual countries on the continent.

New I.R.R.I. Publications

The following are summaries of a few of the most recently published reprints of the I.R.R.I. A more complete list of 1965 publications can be found on page 11.

Unions and Manpower

BARBASH, JACK. "THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE CHANGING INDUSTRIAL ORDER." *LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS: THE FORENSIC QUARTERLY,"* VOL. 39 (MAY 1965) pp. 19-112.

"This paper aims to examine: (I) the major elements of the present union situation, (II) the quality of the union performance up to now, (III) the factors making for change in the current situation, and (IV) some urgent problem areas."

KASSALOW, EVERETT M. "THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN LABOR MOVEMENTS: SOME COMPARATIVE CONSIDERATIONS." *LABOR READINGS ON MAJOR ISSUES.* (R. A. LESTER, ed.) PRINCETON, 1965.

A basic fact responsible for many of the differences between European and American labor movements is that, as the latter was not built on a previously existing system of feudalism, there are no class or educational divisions. The movement here is narrower than those in Europe, but because it lacks their ideological commitment (usually to Marxism or, as in England, to religious views), American unions are forced to resort to various forms of union security.

The author discusses the main forms and programs employed by European working class movements, the differences in attitudes, conditions, benefits, and government control, and observes that deep socialist feeling and revolutionary ardor has been lessened by improved living standards and welfare benefits. Marxism was being replaced by Reformism.

PETERSON, RICHARD B. "REPRESENTATION ELECTIONS UNDER THE RAILWAY LABOR ACT II." *LABOR LAW JOURNAL* 16:1 (January, 1965).

This article deals with "the form of ballot used in elections under the Railway Labor Act" and is a study of the dispute between the National Labor Relations Board, which recognizes the right of employees to vote against union representation, and the National Mediation Board, which maintains that employees may be given the choice of which union is to represent them, and ask whether or not they ought to be represented.

Peterson first outlines the history of election procedures under the NLRB and NMB, describes the current dispute, analyzes the positions of both parties, and raises several questions for public policy consideration of this issue.

SOMERS, GERALD G. AND ERNST STROMSDORFER. *A BENEFIT COST ANALYSIS OF MANPOWER TRAINING.* MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION. IRRA PROCEEDINGS, CHICAGO, DECEMBER, 1964.

This article stresses questions familiar to the economist: how do the gains in earnings and employment relate to the costs of retraining? How do trainees fare in comparison with non-trainees? How long does it take to recoup the costs of retraining? What are the returns on the investment?

The data was obtained primarily from surveys of trainees and non-trainees in West Virginia. The five groups interviewed in 1962, 1963, and 1964 were (a) those who took courses set up for training the unemployed under West Virginia state legislation, (b) disputes from these courses, (c) those who did not report for training after having been accepted, (d) rejects whose applications were not accepted, and (e) non-trainees. This last was the basic control group.

STERN, JAMES L. AND DAVID B. JOHNSON. *BLUE TO WHITE COLLAR JOB MOBILITY.* PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIAL STATISTICS SECTION OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, 1965.

This article is concerned not only with how many workers made job shifts, but in which direction the shifts took place, from which occupations, and the process by which the shift might be accomplished. The study aims to determine the kinds of training or retraining programs and policies that might be instituted to facilitate shifts by other blue-collar workers.

Most of the data was obtained from the Milwaukee area, in which preliminary results show that slightly more than one-fifth of the men hired or promoted into white-collar jobs in 1961 and 1962 came from blue-collar backgrounds.

"The emphasis being given to mobility research does not necessarily imply that all immobility is undesirable . . . job stability increases as the worker matures, and the finding of the study suggests that training an older worker may be as profitable to the employer as training a younger worker."

Vocational Education

SAMSON, HARLAND E. "APPRAISAL OF DISTRIBUTIVE EDUCATION TEACHER-COORDINATOR," *DELTA PI EPSILON JOURNAL* 7:13 (November 1964).

This study determined the critical requirements for the performance of secondary school distributive education teacher-coordinators as revealed by an analysis of critical incidents. The resulting critical behaviors were classified into six areas of distributive education teacher-coordinator responsibility. They are: student discipline and control, direction of club program and projects, administration and operation of the program, instructional activities, coordination, and personal and professional relationships. Within these categories, requirements for effective or ineffective performances of teacher-coordinator activities were developed.

Graduate Work

Some of the graduate students in the Departments of Education and Industrial Relations have been doing research relating to studies of vocational and technical education. A list of current and recent studies follows:

1965—Robert Fenske. Education. "The Effects of Local Opportunities for Post High School Education Upon Plans of High School Graduates."

—Brian Heath. Education. "The Prediction of Occupational Status for Non-College High School Graduates."

—Gerald R. Matteson. Agriculture. "The Relationship Between the Vocational Education received by a Randomly Selected Sample of 1960-1961 Male Graduates from certain northeast Wisconsin high schools and Employment Variables" (to be completed by February, 1966).

—G. Soundara Rajan. Industrial Relations. "Apprenticeship in the State of Wisconsin."

1964—Conchita Jimenez. Industrial Relations. (Masters thesis) "An Evaluation of Teaching Machines on Foreign Students."

—Marvin Levine. Industrial Relations. "A Description and Evaluation of Retraining Programs in the United States." (Also 1959 Masters thesis on the "Relationship of Higher Education to Occupational Choice.")

AFL-CIO 3/4/67 Farm Labor

'Courageous Struggle' Hailed:

Solid Backing Given Farm Union's Drive

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO pledged its "utmost backing" to the task of building a strong farm worker union—"the crucial element in bringing first class citizenship to farm workers."

It expressed its determination also to back up the union drive with efforts to provide through legislation the rights and benefits enjoyed by other workers under federal and state laws.

The Executive Council adopted a pair of statements emphasizing these approaches and singling out the "courageous struggle" of farm workers to create their own union. They are proving, the council said, "as others proved before them—that workers want and need to organize in order to win a fair share of the fruits of an abundant land they helped to create."

The AFL-CIO, the council said, "has had a constant and active program of organization among farm workers," and the newest phase, the creation of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, is but another step down the road to building a strong union.

Reviewing the history of farm worker struggles in the past two years, the council noted that the emphasis has been on training and development of farm workers to provide the leadership for the union, for the AFL-CIO believes that the most effective union "will be that which is built by farm workers."

The statement stressed that the absence of legal procedure and protection makes the road the farm worker must travel in building his union "one of strike, boycott and harassment." They have proven, the council added, that the difficulties in California and Texas will not dissuade them from building a great union that will take its place "in the family of organized labor."

On the legislative front, while significant gains were made last year, the farm workers are still "the most exploited group in the American labor force," the council said.

It cited the gain of including 30 percent of farm workers under the protection of the wage-hour law and declared that this protection must be extended to all farm workers.

Their exclusion from the protections of the National Labor Relations Act must be ended, they must be included under all unemployment compensation laws and workmen's compensation statutes, and all foreign labor import programs must be finally terminated.

"The substandard status suffered by the three million Americans who work for wages in agriculture can no longer be tolerated," the council declared.

September 21, 1967

Mr. Bill Channel
American Friends Service Committee
4482 Clinton Blvd.
Lakeworth, Fla. 33460

Dear Bill:

Thanks so much for your memorandum on the current status of union organizing with migrant workers in Florida. I would not expect either Tommy Martin or Mike Lozoff to return to the city. As I understand it, Tommy is already in Arknasas and Mike has other things he feels he should do.

However, there are more pieces to the story than you or I have. One person who could be helpful in putting it together is Vera Rony who is in Atlanta and has been close to the two younger men, Pierce and Helstein. If you do not mind, I will send her a copy of your memorandum and ask her to send supplementary or reply memo to you.

I will wait for your O.K. before going ahead.

I trust you will continue to keep me informed as things develop. Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:bjr

P.S. re move to SRC & that Mike & Tommy probably had little pay & expenses.

Arizona Republic
Phoenix, Arizona
SEP 8 1968

OIC Negro Aid Role Expanded

Center Program Is Training, But It Extends Hand

By CHARLOTTE BUCHEN

Herb Boyer, a leading voice of the Negro through Phoenix' Opportunities Industrialization Center, was talking about the troubles OIC is having completing work on its new center building.

The telephone rang.

A Negro student at Phoenix Union High School, excited, blurted out something about a threatened walkout at the school, police brutality and minority history not being taught right.

BOYER CALMLY told the youth to gather up his equally excited friends and meet him at the OIC office after classes.

The boy, accompanied by eight other students, said on arrival: "I told them we shouldn't do anything until we had talked to you."

This, in essence, is the story of OIC. Less than 1½ years old in Phoenix, it already has established itself as the organization designed to help Negroes help themselves.

Its basic role one of training and placing unemployed Negroes in jobs, OIC reaches out beyond that function to act as arbiter, counselor, critic and supportive force for Negroes striving to make a better place for themselves, whether in the area of employment or education, housing, or health.

AT PRESENT, OIC's chief concern, for practical reasons, is that its move Oct. 1 into a building at 39 E. Jackson is hampered because remodeling has been blocked by inability to get skilled electricians, plumbers, and the like to do this part of the work.

It is at that building that OIC will set up its own skill training center to train unemployed and underemployed men and women for in-demand, adequate-paying jobs.

Already OIC, without proper facilities and outside its role as a subcontractor for orientation for the federally-financed Concentrated Employment Program, has placed 116 people in jobs, including 75 who were on public welfare. They are earning from $1.65 to $3 an hour.

Through CEP, OIC has provided orientation for 320 enrollees and will continue to provide this service to CEP under its new federal contract for 1968-69.

ONE OF THE chief differences between OIC's own program and the one it conducts for CEP is that OIC enrollees receive no pay during their training periods. They are in OIC on their own initiative.

Because of OIC's self-help philosophy, Phoenix business, industry and union leaders are rallying around their cause.

A Phoenix bank leased OIC the building for the amount paid in annual taxes, $11,000, while materials for a full remodeling job, architecturally handled by Gabor Lorant, OIC provided its own unskilled labor, and union leaders had planned to provide contractors this summer for the electrical, cooling and plumbing work.

The problem is that constractors using skills got so busy this summer that they didn't have time to work on the OIC building.

NOW, SAID BOYER, OIC is getting desperate for this kind of assistance.

"We're hoping that some of these contractors will offer us their help right away so we can get into the building this fall."

In return for the help of business and industry, OIC plans to train people to fit their specific labor needs.

"We try to fit our programs to local industry's wishes," said Boyer. "Business is our basic support. As an example of how we try to work together, the Salt River Project recruited 22 people for jobs and turned them over to us to prepare them for their high school equivalency tests and to put them through our motivation and attitudinal program.

"During the six-week period in our 'feeder' program, 18 passed their GED (high school equivalency); two have two sections of the GED to complete and the other two have one section each to do. Those four are in our evening courses while working."

BOYER SAID this was a "highly successful program and we hope to do a lot more of this kind of thing for and with business and industry."

When OIC moves into its new building, it hopes to provide vocational training in at least nine skill areas. All of the job training will be provided according to the needs at the time of business and industry. This means there will be continual change in the kinds of skills taught and a need for many different kinds of equipment suited to the skill being taught. Hopefully, such equipment will be loaned or donated by industry.

Already the city of Phoenix has answered one problem for OIC — that of providing hot lunches for the working men and women. Out of the old Arizona Hotel, which the city acquired for land, the city turned over to OIC, for a $1 a year lease fee, $23,000 worth of hotel restaurant equipment.

"WE'LL TRAIN our own people as chefs," he said. "As they move out into jobs in restaurants, more will come in, and in the meantime, other trainees will be fed.

"We're trying," Boyer said, "to stay clear of federal funding. We know the local community can't totally support the OIC program but we feel it can do a large part.

"If we do this, the federal government then can't manipulate and control. Today, there are 96 OIC's operating in the country and the most successful ones started like we're starting — slow.

"But, once you've got it, it's yours and self-initiative is not left out. We've got a lot going for us. The business community has been wonderful."

OVER →

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
SEP 17 1968

Equal Hiring Gains Made in Banking

BY WALTER BILITZ

Banking, long viewed as essentially a white man's industry, is becoming less so with the hiring of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and other minority group representatives, and Illinois banks are making good progress in this effort.

But the banks, and the industry itself, still have a way to go before equal, nondiscriminate hiring is the general practice.

This is what Robert A. Wallace, assistant secretary of the treasury, told a conference on equal employment opportunity yesterday in the Conrad Hilton hotel.

Review President's Order

One aim of the conference—attended by some 200 bankers and sponsored by the Illinois Bankers association, the American Bankers association, and the treasury department—was to review provisions of the President's executive order of November, 1966, requiring banks holding federal deposits to eliminate all discrimination in the hiring and promotion of minority-group individuals. Wallace is in charge of enforcing that order.

Wallace presented employment figures for 109 Illinois banks for the years ended in April of both 1967 and 1968.

Minority Employment Grows

"In comparing the data filed by [these] banks, we find that total employment grew from 27,816 to 29,604 and that minority enrollment grew from 8.1 per cent to 10.1 per cent," he said. "In other words, 1,026 of these 1,788 new jobs, or 57 per cent, went to minority groups. For the area as a whole, this is a good start.

"For Chicago, which is in-

(cont'd on p. 6)

Migrant Labor

6 WASHINGTON POST SEP 15 1968

Growers Hard Hit By Cannery Strike

Migrant Camps Little Improved on Va. Eastern Shore

By Hank Burchard
Washington Post Staff Writer

ONANCOCK, Va., Sept. 14—Hopes for improvement of the migrant labor camps on Virginia's Eastern Shore are being plowed under along with thousands of acres of unharvested crops in Northampton and Accomack counties.

The season now ending has been one of the best in recent years, but the national strike against the Campbell Co. knocked the bottom out of the vegetable market. With the Shore's economy depressed, investment in camp improvements is expected to be even less than in past years.

About 2500 acres of tomatos alone have been plowed under, according to the Virginia Farm Bureau. Farmers who did harvest tomatos have had to sell them for as little as 50 cents for a ⅝ bushel, half the going price during the Depression. The bulk of the Shore's garden truck normally is sold to Campbell and the Federal Government does not subsidize such crops.

"The growers are cutting costs as much as they can," said a local agricultural agent. "It's always the camps that get cut first."

The market disaster, a Farm Bureau spokesman said, "affected every major crop. Most of the farmers recovered little more than cost. Some didn't get that."

One result of the market failure was a surplus of field labor instead of the shortage expected this summer. Foul conditions in the shore's 100-odd camps last year led the U.S. Department of Labor to drop both counties from the Federal labor recruiting service, the main source of workers.

The camps, according to Health Director Belle Fears, are generally somewhat improved over last season. "They get a little better every year," she said.

There apparently are only four camps in the two counties that substantially meet Federal standards. Three were built last winter and one was extensively remodeled.

A sample survey of the others showed most to be much the same as last year: rundown shacks, filthy pit privies, garbage and flies everywhere. They have a unique and clinging odor.

One difference in the camps this year is that the farmers are keeping a much closer watch on who visits them.

Most repairs and improvements have been makeshift, natural enough since many of the buildings are not worth tearing down for salvage lumber.

The four largest camps, owned and operated by the local farm bureaus, show little sign of improvement. Announced plans to replace them with two new camps are still "under study," with no dates set for construction.

The Shore camps contrast sharply with those of the Shenandoah Valley, which, if dreary, are nearly all of sound construction, with hot and cold running water and flush toilets.

One Winchester camp, run by an apple growers' cooperative, spent $50,000 for a new mess hall this year. Few Shore camps have even an old mess hall; the workers eat in their rooms or sitting on the ground.

"As long as these (Shore) farmers can get workers, they'll never do much with these camps," said a Shore resident who used to do volunteer work in the camps "until it got so depressing I had to quit. Nothing ever changed."

The labor crunch may come next season, if the market is normal and the crops are good.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
SEP 16 1968

20 OF MINORITY GROUPS FINISH NEWS CLASSES

New York, Sept. 15 [Special] — Twenty members of minority groups who completed an intensive summer course for careers in radio and television news got certificates from the Columbia university graduate school of journalism recently.

Prof. Fred W. Friendly, the program director, presented the certificates at graduation exercises in John Jay hall on the Columbia campus.

The aims of the course were to bring more members of minority groups into the broadcast news field and to aid members of such groups already working on station and network news staffs to improve their skills and further their careers. Of the graduating students, 17 were Negroes; two were Mexican - Americans; and one a Puerto Rican.

WASHINGTON POST SEP 17 1968

18,161 Placed In Summer Jobs

By Jared Stout
Washington Post Staff Writer

Public and private employers in Metropolitan Washington hired at least 18,161 young people this year, making the summer of 1968 the best yet for youth jobs.

Government agencies hired 14,350 persons between 16 and 21 years old, while private employers took on 3811 youths, according to figures made public yesterday by the United States Employment Service and the Washington Chapter of National Alliance of Businessmen.

The figures were verified in a survey conducted by the three agencies that undertook the hiring and placement of young people—NAB, the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade and the USES.

The largest gains in summer youth employment were made by private employers. The 3811 youths hired by more than 500 companies amounted to more than 10 times the verified placements made last year.

In the public sector, a spokesman for USES said that as of Aug. 3, 14,350 young people had been hired of which 8572 were from disadvantaged families—families on welfare or those earning less than $3500 annually.

While the over-all summer job picture was better than it was last year, spokesmen in the youth job drive conceded that they had failed to make good on the pledge of private employers to hire 4752 youths.

That goal, set for Metropolitan Washington last spring by the NAB, was missed by 941, primarily because of the April disorders in Washington, officials said.

More than 900 of the job pledges that went unfilled were from companies in the hotel, restaurant or tourism field, according to the survey. Five companies that had pledged jobs said a change in ownership had prevented hirings. Another 20 jobs went unfilled because employers said no applicant sent to them was "suitable."

Werner Fornos, No. 2 man in the NAB chapter for Washington, said the businessmen's group was "very pleased" by the response of private employers.

However, he said, the summer job effort should be replaced ultimately "by a year-round program that seeks to provide not just summer but after-school jobs as well."

Fornos, who acted for former Army Secretary Stephen A. Ailes throughout most of the job drive, said "by and large, employers were surprised and pleased" by the performance of youths hired this summer.

All of the summer youth jobs provided by the private sector went to youths who were disadvantaged, compared to 60 per cent of the government jobs.

Fornos said that while the NAB was gratified by the response of private employers, improvements could be made in future summer job programs.

Among those he suggested were earlier placement of school-age youths in jobs and simplified procedures for them to learn where jobs are available.

He also suggested that more sophisticated screening be provided so private employers can get the most talented of those seeking summer work.

BANK HIRING
(continued)

cluded in the above, 37 banks were compared. Total employment grew from 21,231 to 22,636. Minority group employment grew from 1,981 to 2,937.

"In other words, 68 per cent of all new jobs in Chicago went to minority groups. This represents an increase from 9.4 per cent to more than 13 per cent."

He added, however, that 72 Illinois banks outside of Chicago still have no Negro or other minority-group employes, or at best only one or two. In this group, minority employment rose by only 60 persons, from 176 in 1967 to 236 in 1968, he said.

Farm Labor

Monthly Labor Review

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR • BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

LAWRENCE R. KLEIN, *Editor-in-Chief*

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June 1968 • Vol. 91 • No. 6

1969 REPORT

on the work of

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR

NSF

SINCE 1937

"That hunger and malnutrition should persist in a land such as ours is embarrassing and intolerable."

—President Nixon, May 6, 1969

"We're simply too busy with the ABM and surtax fights. We can only seek votes on so many issues."

—Presidential Assistant Bryce Harlow explaining why the White House failed to support its own food stamp bill in congressional committee, later in 1969.

. . . and its

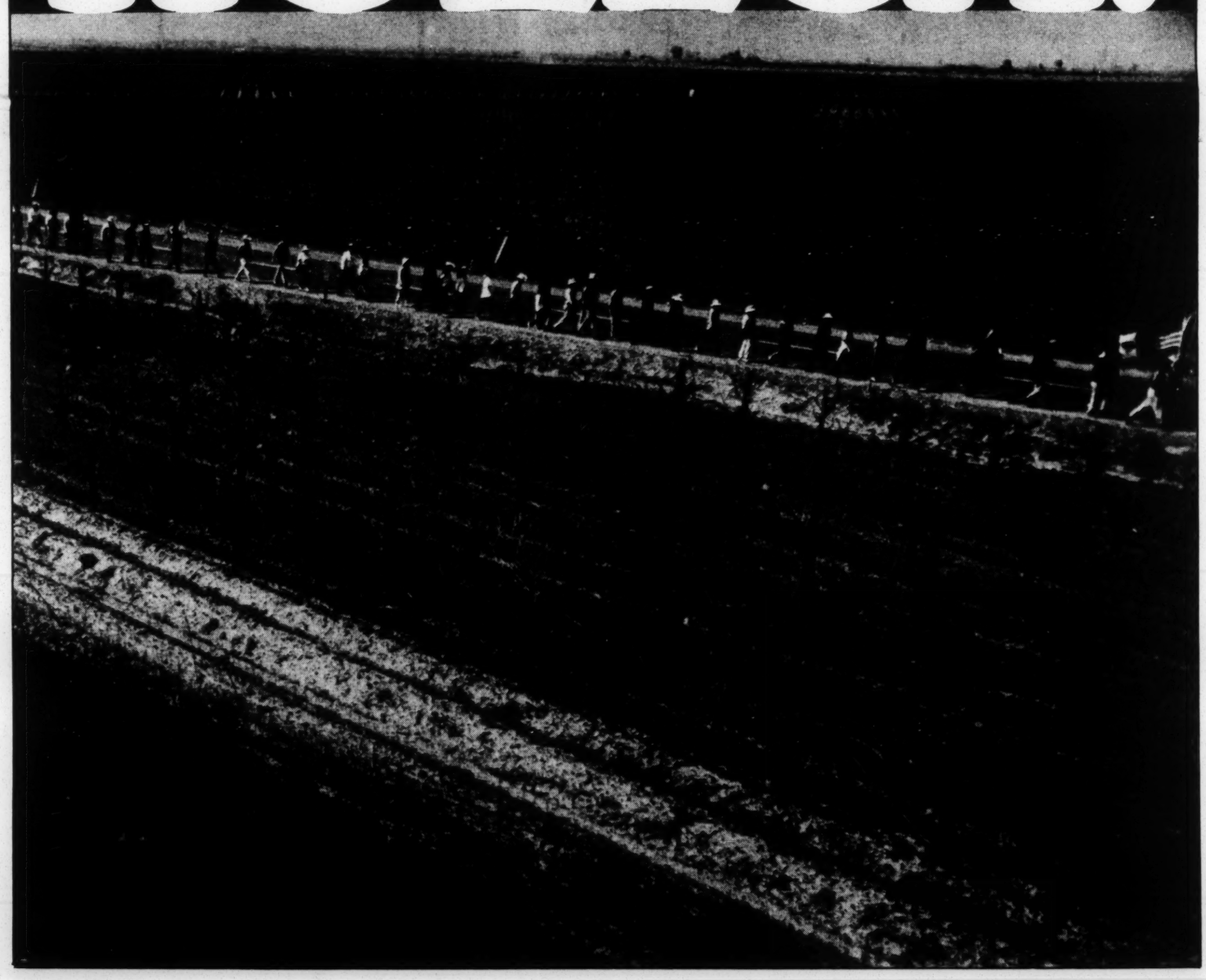
RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND

FARM WORKERS BATTLE FOR JUSTICE

A teaching unit for elementary schools on the struggle of the farm workers for collective bargaining

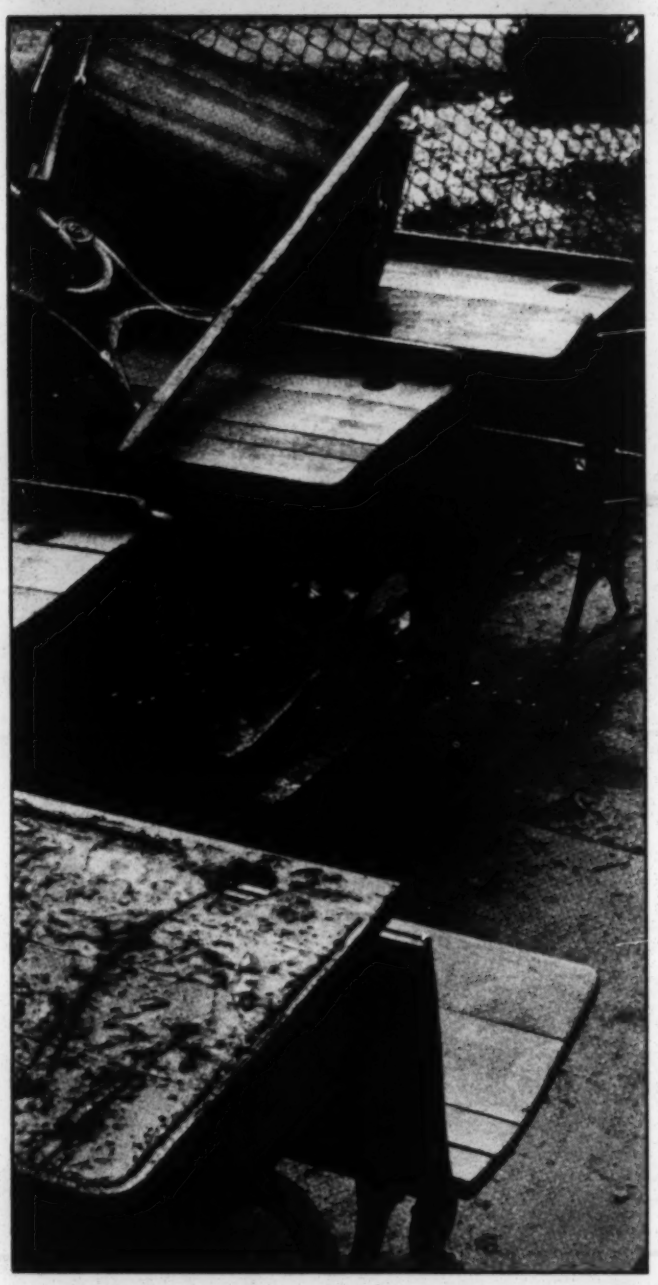
prepared by two New York City classroom teachers, Roberta L. Fass, and Jacqueline F. Lander, for the United Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2, and reprinted by the American Teacher for AFT members throughout the country who may wish to use these plans.

HUELGA!



'With their hands, sweat, and sacrifices, the farm workers are building a monument—their union.'

—Cesar Chavez



A California farm worker trudges between rows of grape vines (top). Her children, if they go to school at all, will end up in a crowded, dirty classroom like the one below.
(Photos by Jon Lewis)

BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS

Many of the problems in America in 1969 have to do with human relations: acceptance of people, negotiations, improved communications, dignity, and fair play.

Organized labor is conducting "Don't-Buy Campaigns" against California table grapes in many cities throughout the country in order to help the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) succeed in getting the growers to recognize their Union and bargain with it.

The problems of the migratory farm workers go back as far as 1869, with the linking of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads. Chinese coolies who had been imported to work on the railroad were now available to be used as cheap labor in agriculture. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in order to prevent them from taking jobs away from the whites. But, by this time, California had such a vast investment in the cheap labor system that all efforts were directed toward perpetuating it. In order to keep this type of labor available, workers were imported from Japan, Mexico, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the Caribbean. In the 1930s, they were joined by an influx of migrant workers from Oklahoma and other Midwestern states who had lost their farmlands to the drought.

During the Korean War, Public Law 78 was passed which allowed Mexican nationals, braceros,* to be brought in under a program of contract labor. Many individuals continue to commute seasonally to California and cross the border from Mexico illegally.

Today, the migratory labor force in California consists of these original groups plus blacks from the Southeastern states and Puerto Ricans. California has the finest agricultural industry in the nation due to its favorable climate, fertile soil, and use of modern techniques. In addition, it has a steady supply of low-paid workers.

The U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor, in its 1968 report, said of these low-paid laborers: "No other segment of our population is so poorly paid yet contributes so much to our nation's wealth and welfare . . ."

The average American family spends $1,500 a year on food. The average farm working family earns only $1,278 a year. An obvious conclusion from these facts is that farm workers do not earn enough money for food nor for any of the other basic necessities. Due to the temporary nature of their work, their housing is substandard. Farm workers have been subjected to a lack of safety equipment on machinery as well as overexposure to agricultural poisons, dust, insects, and pesticides. In the fields there is a total absence of sanitary facilities such as portable toilets, equipment for washing hands or supplying fresh drinking water. There is a high incidence of illness among the workers due to their poor living and working conditions.

In the last 100 years, farm workers have attempted many times to organize but have met with little or no success. A major reason for their inability to unionize stems from their specific exclusion from the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). This act protects the rights of employees and employers through the establishment of rules and procedures for negotiation of labor contracts through collective bargaining. It guarantees federally supervised democratic elections for union representation. Many other workers are protected by this law.

The vast majority of farm workers lack coverage by laws providing workmen's compensation, jobless benefits, minimum wage and full social-security benefits. Children working in agriculture are excluded from child-labor and school-attendance laws. Without collective-bargaining contracts, workers do not have protections that other workers take for granted; for example, job security, overtime pay, holidays and vacation with pay, health insurance, grievance procedure, sanitary toilets and drinking water, rest periods, and so forth. For many, basic welfare and medical services are still effectively out of reach.

Cesar Chavez was a migrant farm worker who came from a family of migrants who traveled up and down California following the crops. From 1952-62 he was a community organizer for the Community Service Organization (CSO). Because of his deep feelings about the suffering of farm workers and his conviction that farm workers had to protect themselves and improve their conditions through their own organization, he left the CSO and took his wife and eight children to Delano, California. There they lived on farm work and he began to organize the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). Through strikes, boycotts, and publicity campaigns, NFWA won 12 contracts with California wine grape growers. In 1967, the Union turned its attention to table grapes, which is the number one industry in California.

In their attempts to achieve collective bargaining, the workers selected the Giumarra Vineyards Corporation, the world's largest shipper of table grapes, as a major target. When the workers went on strike, Giumarra obtained strikebreaking injunctions and imported Mexican braceros and illegal immigrants as scabs. These actions have left the workers with no recourse except to seek public support for a consumer boycott.

Hundreds of farm workers and student volunteers spread out this year to cities all over the country to organize the boycott. This action proved successful as sales and prices of grapes all over the country fell. This has led to a worldwide consumer boycott of all California fresh table grapes until the growers negotiate.

The primary goal of the farm workers' action is to obtain union recognition and assurance of good-faith collective bargaining. The best way to achieve this goal would be to include the agricultural industry under the National Labor Relations Act. Other industries with perishable products that have a seasonal need for a large number of temporary employees are covered by the NLRA and have successful collective-bargaining relationships. An example of such industries related to agriculture are fruit and vegetable canning and freezing operations, and sugar processing.

New York consumes 20 percent of the California table grape crop. In February, 1968, 50 grape strikers from Delano, California, arrived in New York to initiate their boycott campaign. They have been successful in their efforts. Table grape consumption has declined. As AFT members, we have honored their boycott. As teachers, we can help the agricultural workers in their struggle for collective bargaining. The following unit has been prepared by members of the United Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2, to assist you to develop concepts with your pupils to acquaint them with that struggle.

POSTSCRIPT

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee is now in its fourth year of a strike and boycott against growers of California grapes.

Within the past few months the farm workers began to discover the dangerous effects of pesticides upon the pickers. The treatment of the afflicted workers has now become a major concern of the Organizing Committee.

The growers claim that the pesticides are safe, and

*braceros—literally means day laborers

The banner reads 'We shall overcome' in Spanish; the speaker is Cesar Chavez. (Photos by Jon Lewis)

'Farm workers of all the races have their way of life in common. It separates us from those inner towns, but it can unite us in our own.'

—Jon Lewis, 'From this Earth'

that the farm workers are using the pesticide issue to promote their boycott.

The UFWOC feels that the growers' reaction is typical of the attitude of the employers toward the legitimate concerns of the grape workers.

LESSON I INTRODUCTION

AIM: FARM WORKERS ORGANIZE TO IMPROVE THEIR LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS

I MOTIVATION

Introduce picture at top of Page 14 in conjunction with the following questions:

1. What kind of home does this child live in?
2. What is the child wearing?
3. What does this tell you about the climate in which the child lives?
4. What things do you find in this picture that you don't find in your house?
5. What in this picture shows you that this family moves around a great deal?
6. Why do you think this family needs a truck?

II CONCEPTS TO BE DEVELOPED

It will be necessary for the teacher at this time to present this information:

1. This child belongs to a migrant worker's family.
2. Migrant workers follow the crops as they ripen in different parts of the state of California.
3. They cannot establish a permanent home. They live in temporary shacks. They have substandard living conditions.
4. Children work. They do not go to school. There are no child-labor laws or compulsory-education laws to protect these children.
5. Working men need unions to protect them, to give them employment, and to improve their working conditions.
6. Up until now, migrant workers in the state of California have lived under these substandard conditions because they have not had the right to unionize. (Exclusion under NLRA)
7. The large grape corporations have prevented them from unionizing.
8. Now grape pickers have decided they must unionize in order to improve their working conditions.
9. They organized a strike..
10. Then they organized a boycott and other labor unions have supported it.
11. Grape consumption has dropped.
12. If the boycott continues to be effective, then the growers will have to bargain with the migrant farm workers union.

VOCABULARY

Migrant	Collective Bargaining
Crop	Standard of Living
Harvest	Living Wage
Labor Union	Consumer
Strike	Boycott

UTILIZE CAPTION

Every California grape you buy helps keep this child hungry. Don't buy California grapes.

SUMMARY

1. The American working man will want to form a labor union to better his conditions even where the law does not protect his right to unionize.
2. The worker employs strikes and boycotts to achieve his aims.
3. The consumer helps the worker by respecting a picket line and boycotting the product.

LESSON II "DECISION AT DELANO"

color film*

I AIM

To reinforce the understanding that labor organizations influence the living and working conditions of workers.

*This film may be obtained by contacting:
UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE AFL-CIO
c/o ILGWU, LOCAL 23-25
275 7th AVE.
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10001
TELEPHONE (212) 929-3239, 929-2896, 929-3094

II MOTIVATION

Use of key questions based on Lesson I.

1. What is a migrant farm worker?
2. What problems do migrant farm workers have?
3. What methods are they using to solve these problems?
4. What do they hope to achieve?
5. How does our boycott of grapes help them?

III PROCEDURE

1. Introduce film: "Decision at Delano."

Synopsis of film

This picture was filmed in Delano, California. There are interviews with actual workers who discuss their working and living conditions. Cesar Chavez, the organizer of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, speaks. This film is appropriate for intermediate grades. Vivid Technicolor and lively background music enhance the film's usefulness.

2. Show film.
3. Discussion.

IV SUMMARY

Summarize film in terms of:

1. How do the workers feel about their working and living conditions?
2. What actions are they taking to improve their conditions?
3. What do they hope to gain?
4. How can we help them?

LESSON III ACTIVITIES

I AIM

To Provide Activities That Will Reinforce Concepts Learned

II MOTIVATION

Further discussion of film: "Decision at Delano."

Lead discussion toward ways in which we can help the farm worker to achieve his goals.

III SUGGESTED LIST OF ACTIVITIES

1. Letter-writing campaign.

A. Send letters to the following telling them how you feel about the problems of farm workers:

a) U.S. Senators and Congressmen
b) Secretary of Agriculture
c) Secretary of Labor

B. Send letters to the following explaining the poor working conditions of the grape pickers and their need for collective-bargaining agreements with their employers.

a) Local storekeepers and supermarket chainstores.

C. Send a copy of your letters and any replies to:

National Campaign for Agricultural Democracy
110 Maryland Ave. N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

2. Supplementary Reading for Pupils

a. Gates, Doris—Blue Willow, Viking Press, 1940—level 5 to 9

The poor and temporary conditions of the migrant workers are explored through the eyes of a young girl, Janey Larkin. Blue Willow refers to Janey's treasured plate that she takes from place to place when her family follows the crops. She hopes that someday she may give it a permanent home where she can really make friends with the people across the road. (A sensitive book.)

b. Lenski, Lois—Judy's Journey, J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1947—level 4 to 8

A delightful story which portrays the loneliness that persists among migrant workers and migrant children in particular. The responsibilities that they must face make them old beyond their years. Their insecurities almost defeat them unless they have the "spitfire" quality of the young lady—Judy of this story.

Illustrations make the text even more readable.

c. Shotwell, Louisa R.—Roosevelt Grady, The World Publishing Co., 1963—level 4 to 7

Roosevelt dreamed of living in one place where he could get to know people and not be an outsider. Moving from one school to another, he had learned "putting into." If you put 3 into 10, for instance, you get 3—but what do you do with the leftover number? Papa said to throw it away and Mama said to save it till you need it. But Roosevelt wasn't so sure.

Excellent look at the life of migrant workers through the eyes of one black boy.

Illustrations help clarify the text and make it easier for children to identify with Roosevelt.

3. Visits to Supermarkets

Arrange for pupil visits to supermarkets and other stores. Pupils may determine if California grapes are being sold. If this is the case, pupils may speak to the store manager, get his point of view, and tell him theirs.

TEACHERS' BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. NONFICTION

a. Allen, Steve—The Ground is Our Table

With photographs by Arthur Dubinsky. Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Company—1966—141 pages

This slender volume is an excellent source book for the teacher. Photographs add to the words and could be effectively used in the classroom.

Moore, Truman—The Slaves We Rent

Photographs by the author. New York, Random House—1965—171 pages

Shotwell, Louise R.—The Harvesters

The story of migrant people—Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1961—242 pages

Wright, Dale—They Harvest Despair: The Migrant Farm Workers

Boston—Beacon Press—1965—158 pages

This book not only chronicles the migrant's story in general terms, but contains vignettes on particular people this reporter interviews, thus personalizing their plight and making the accounts even more vivid and their story more important.

B. FICTION

Steinbeck, John—Grapes of Wrath—1939

Steinbeck, John—In Dubious Battle—1939

Steinbeck, John—Of Mice and Men—1938

'From This Earth'

There exists a profusion of books and pamphlets about the struggle of migrant workers, but none is so poignant or powerful as "From This Earth," a slim volume created by a San Francisco State College student as his master's thesis.

Most of the photographs in this four-page section of the American Teacher come from Jon Lewis' volume. His camera has found and come close to recreating the souls of his subjects—the homeless and hopeless men clutching a bag in each hand who have just arrived from Texas or Mexico to do their time as indentured laborers; the determined countenance of Cesar Chavez; the glint of joy and hope in the eyes of the farm workers when a victory is announced.

The photographs are the overpowering ingredient of this book. Lewis' pen writes quietly in the background, providing just enough information, through the voice of a laborer, to carry you from one picture to the next.

Copies of this volume are precious. Five hundred exist; they were "shaped by one hand, from photography through presswork." They are available for $5 from Jon Lewis, in care of Martha Shaffer, 700 Lake St., San Francisco, Calif. 94118. Hopefully, Lewis will find the means to print more. His book deserves wide circulation.—D.E.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Bernstein, Harry—Los Angeles Times—December 16, 1968—Officials of firms deny farm union pacts cause chaos.

Boutilier, Eugene—Engage—October 1, 1968—The grape strike today—Concern—August 1-15, 1967—Legislation: An answer.

Greenwood, Leonard—Los Angeles Times—November 17, 1968. Farm labor trouble: Some still seek peaceful solution.

Huerta, Dolores—UFWOC negotiator.

National Campaign for Agricultural Democracy—Democracy on the farm: A campaign to extend the National Labor Relations Act to agricultural employees.

State of California, Department of Employment, Sacramento, California—Letter from Stewart Sellers.

United Teacher—February 7, 1968, page 8. Don't buy grapes. Farm workers fight Giumarra.

Williams, Jr., Senator Harrison A.—Congressional Record, October 11, 1968. A speech by the senator on the situation of the nation's farm workers.

TO OBTAIN ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, WRITE TO THE FOLLOWING:

1. National Campaign for Agricultural Democracy
   110 Maryland Ave. N.E.
   Washington, D.C. 20002
2. United Farm Workers Organizing Committee AFL-CIO
   c/o ILGWU, Local 23-25
   275 7th Ave.
   New York, N.Y. 10001
   Telephone: 929-3239,
   929-2896, 929-3094
3. U.S. Department of Labor
   Manpower Administration
   Washington, D.C. 20210
4. The 1968 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
   U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor
   U.S. Government Printing Office
   Washington, D.C.
5. Farm Film Foundation
   Suite 819 Southern Building
   1425 H Street N.W.
   Washington, D.C. 20005

This nonprofit organization has many 16 mm films about agriculture that are designed to increase understanding between rural and urban area residents. These films are available free of charge. An index of available films is available on request.

6. Giumarra Vineyards Corp.
   Delano, California

La Causa distribution center of Chicano materials

BOOKS

NORTH FROM MEXICO by Carey McWilliams; a sketch of Chicano social history; paperback /$2.95/

EL ESPEJO, Octavio Romano, Editor; anthology of Chicano literature /$2.95/

PERIODICALS

INTELLECTUAL PRESENCE OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN, reprint from **EL GRITO** issue Vol. 2 No. 11 /.25/

CON SAFOS, reflections of life in the barrio; magazines 2 and 3 /.50/

LA RAZA YEARBOOK 1968, collections from Chicano Press Association, 1968 /$1.00/

I AM JOAQUIN, an epic poem of the Chicano by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales /$2.00/

EL GRITO, a quarterly journal of contemporary Mexican-American thought; Vol. 1 Nos. I-II-III-IV and Vol. 2 Nos. I-II /$1.00/

ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN, reprint from **EL GRITO** issue Vol. 2 No. I /.25/

FILMS

DECISION IN DELANO, a film of the farmworker's struggle; 50 minutes, 16 mm, color (first showing) /$30.00/

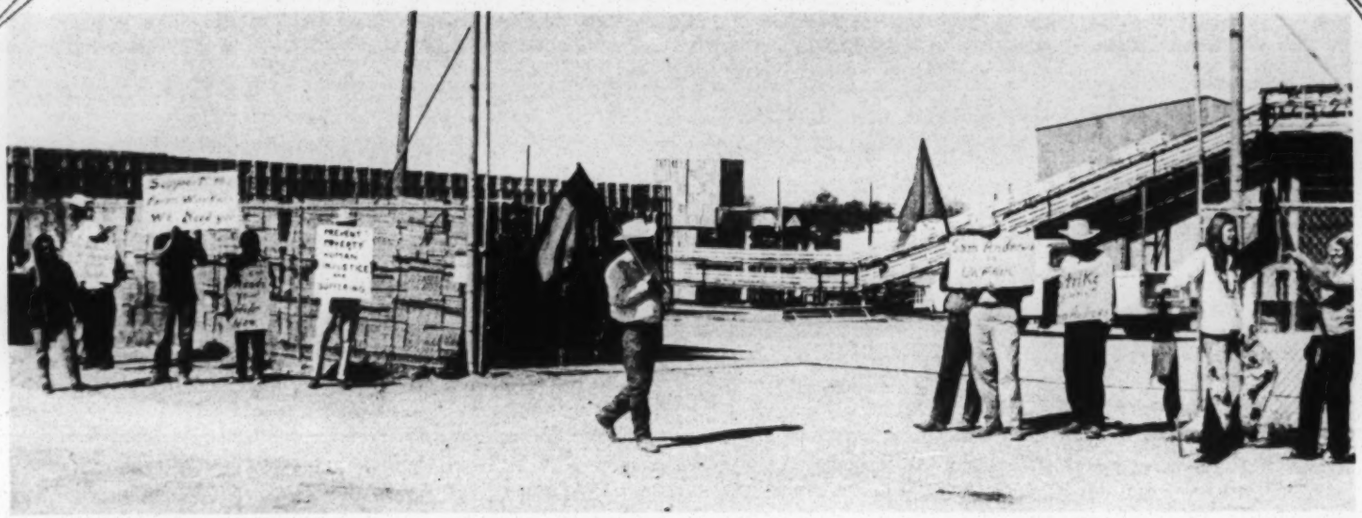
CHICANO COMMENCEMENT, a documentary produced at the mass walkout of San Jose State College 1968 graduation, 20 minutes, 16 mm (first showing) /$30.00/

La Causa Distribution Center—a clearinghouse for educational materials on the Chicano—the Mexican-American—represents a unique concept in that it offers through the convenience of one location, a selection of publications which express the Chicano struggle for liberation. The materials available were selected as a unit which complement one another through depicting our social history, our life in the barrio, and our contemporary thought.

Another important aspect of La Causa is the creation of a development fund to establish a publishing house to produce materials developed by Chicanos.

We invite your orders and inquiries.

LA CAUSA DISTRIBUTION CENTER
1560 Thirty-Fourth Avenue
Oakland, California 94601
Tel: (415) 532-6867



Carrying their strike flag, farm workers man picket lines outside a packing shed. The union has gained strength in recent months.

LABOR

"Farm Worker

A harvest nears for Cesar Chavez

His Mexican-American farm workers are winning new contracts

Success appears to be in sight for California's farm workers union. Growers who opposed the union so bitterly for so long can hardly believe it. Other unions, religious leaders, and socially involved citizens who supported Cesar Chavez' hard-pressed Mexican-Americans are almost as incredulous. But both sides recognize the signs of a tide turning.

"Sooner or later, most farm workers will be working under union contracts," said Hollis B. Roberts, owner of Roberts Farms, Inc. Roberts had just signed a three-year agreement covering one of the country's largest farms—50,000 acres of grapes, citrus fruits, and more walnuts, almonds, persimmons, and clingstone peaches than grow on any other farm in the world.

Until recently, Roberts had denounced the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and its charismatic leader as Communists. He concedes that he met with Chavez only because the UFWOC had struck his peach orchards and—for the first time—"we just could not get people to cross those picket lines and thin peaches." But he insists that he did not sign the contract purely for that reason. After long negotiations assisted by five Roman Catholic bishops (representing all 260 Catholic bishops in the country), Roberts became convinced that he had been wrong about Chavez and his union.

"You know, that Chavez is a truly religious man, a truly religious man," he says. "I think it will work out all right."

Ben Abatti, the largest melon grower in Imperial Valley, also agreed to recognize the union earlier this month. The UFWOC had struck his farm on a Thursday. The high school students who were his only replacements could not harvest melons fast enough to prevent them from rotting. "We became believers that weekend," says Franklin McDaniels, the El Centro attorney who represented Abatti.

Why it happened. Both these union victories were won because many farm workers will no longer cross a UFWOC picket line—a fact that marks an important change in the union's fortunes. In the past, farm strikes often failed because growers could recruit replacements—either natives or "green card holders" (Mexicans who commute across the border)—and because the strikers themselves tended to drift back to work. Growers claimed that the returning strikers were "voting with their feet" against the union. Chavez said hunger drove them back: "They have no reserve funds, no credit. They must work daily to eat daily."

Now the situation has changed. Widespread identification of the UFWOC with "La Causa," the Mexican-Americans' campaign to achieve dignity and material betterment by nonviolent means, apparently has affected farm workers in some areas deeply enough to keep them out when the union calls a strike. Financial contributions, including $3-million from the AFL-CIO since the campaign began in 1965, have made it easier for Chavez to keep organizing. And a countrywide boycott of California table grapes, sufficiently effective over-all to hurt the growers, has fostered a feeling that the farm workers are not alone.

All this has led to a radical change of tactics by the farm owners, who formerly opposed union representation elections for farm workers (exempt from Wagner Act guarantees of voting rights for industrial workers). A group of California's major growers has now retained the public relations firm of Whitaker & Baxter, at an annual fee estimated at $1-million to $3-million, to lobby for a federal bill to create election machinery for farm workers.

The bill would also outlaw strikes at harvest time, a provision roughly parallel to limiting industrial strikes to nighttime when plants are closed, according to labor spokesmen. Senator George Murphy (R-Calif.) is sponsoring the bill, whose chances of quick passage are slight.

'Frankly, we Anglos don't know how the Mexicans think'

New doubts. Meanwhile, most growers continue to insist that they will not permit elections in the absence of a law. But they no longer claim that their own workers would vote against the UFWOC, a change almost as striking as the farm workers' new willingness to respect the union's picket lines. "Frankly, I don't know how they would vote," says Richard Graeser, an Imperial Valley grower. "We Anglos don't know how the Mexicans think."

These major changes in attitude stem from what would seem to be minor changes in conditions. In the past

'Chavez wants to control the food supplies of our country'

five years, the UFWOC has won contracts covering only about 15% of the California wine grape industry, 7% of the table grapes, and a tiny proportion of other crops. Of the 165,000 to 285,000 (depending on season) farm workers in the state, a mere 20,000 are members of the UFWOC, and only half are covered by union contracts.

A typical contract may add only 10¢ to the hourly rate for grape pickers (bringing it to $1.75) plus 25¢ to the rate per box and another 10¢ an hour for union clinics in areas that lack medical care. Other clauses may require growers to tell workers where and when they plan to spray pesticides and what pesticides will be used (opposed by growers as a revelation of trade secrets); provide for the workers' first holidays and vacation fund; and give the union a union shop and a role in setting piecework rates.

In a broader context, however, the small changes loom larger:

- No agricultural union has ever matched UFWOC's record, and many have tried.
- Chavez has won every election he has been allowed to enter.
- UFWOC's organizing pace is increasing. Twenty-two growers have recognized the union within the past two months and all but one have already signed contracts. The union took years to win its first few contracts.
- The grape boycott—which growers had hoped would be hamstrung by the appearance of union-label grapes—shows signs of being strengthened.

A spot check of supermarkets in several cities suggests that boycotters, far from being confused by the new "acceptable" grapes, are rechanneling their efforts to make sure that the grapes on sale are actually union-label fruit. Some markets display the grapes in their original boxes, marked with the UFWOC label, an Aztec thunderbird. And some supermarket managers seem relieved that now they can sell grapes without antagonizing anyone.

The ability to continue the boycott of nonunion grapes has more than symbolic value. Lionel Steinberg, a major Cochella Valley grape grower and the first in his area to sign with the union, estimates that he lost $400,000 last year as a result of the boycott. "It's ridiculous to pretend it doesn't hurt. Of course it does," he says.

Union reaction. Indeed, Chavez' only loss of support has come from a group whose defection probably does him more good than harm with the general public. Extremists who had originally embraced the farm workers' campaign have become disenchanted with the UFWOC's close ties to the National Council of Catholic Bishops, the Migrant Ministry of the National Council of (Protestant) Churches, and various boards of rabbis. They also resent Chavez' emphasis on the Catholic content of "La Causa" and his hard line against activists who would prefer such tactics as crop burning to the slower, nonviolent strike or boycott.

This month, young radicals meeting in Los Angeles formally denounced Chavez' "no-win policy of nonviolence" and deplored his failure to "unite students and workers to fight the . . . oppression now going on."

Only one element appears unchanged in the California farm labor picture. Growers' organizations still insist that the UFWOC is essentially a revolutionary conspiracy. "Chavez wants to control the food supplies of our country for his own personal power," says Charles Woods, head of the Imperial Valley Farm Bureau. Allen Grant, president of the California Farm Bureau Federation, recently told a private meeting of growers that Chavez is using "Communist tactics" to get that control.

High school students were recruited to pick melons during UFWOC strikes.

But if the opinions of many growers have not changed, Chavez' chances of creating a viable union have. California's farm owners and farm organizations are not about to reverse course abruptly or collapse, but neither are the trends favoring the UFWOC likely to cease. It seems probable that increasing numbers of growers will fall away from the farm owners' united front as their fields are struck or as they assess the possibility of a damaging strike. It would take a foolhardy prophet to set a timetable for the process—and an unobservant one to deny that it is under way. The farm workers union has begun to succeed. ■

Drawing the line for auto talks

The United Auto Workers and major auto makers in mid-July will open the year's most critical contract negotiations, and the union says "recessionary" economic conditions will not affect bargaining. Last weekend, the UAW warned the industry that a peaceful settlement will cost more than 8% a year; auto companies are prepared to resist even 8%.

The last time the UAW negotiated during a recession was in 1958. Then the union settled peacefully—at about 2½% a year, or at least 6¢ an hour. This year within the industry, there is a strong feeling that companies will be lucky to sign contracts at three times that price.

Leonard Woodcock, the UAW's new president, will lead union negotiating committeemen in the formal opening of bargaining with General Motors on July 15, Ford on July 16, and Chrysler on July 17. The contracts negotiated in 1967 will run out Sept. 14. Ordinarily the hard bargaining comes in the two or three weeks before expiration.

Procedures. Following past patterns, the UAW and the companies now are jockeying for favorable public positions. A few days ago, employers warned that another big settlement will bring higher prices and increase the problem of competition from abroad. Malcolm L. Denise, Ford's vice-president for labor relations, said the industry "faces serious challenges" and possible job losses because U. S. labor costs are "outclimbing" those in any other country. In reply, Woodcock dusted off an old Walter Reuther "show-the-books" proposal: The union is willing to reduce demands if the companies can show "adequately and acceptably" that they cannot meet UAW demands and make a "reasonable" profit without raising prices.

"We will not go after every dollar we can get," Woodcock said. "It is not our position that the public be damned. But we have to have a substantial settlement." Would 8% a year be enough? Replied Woodcock, "Enough obviously means more than 8%."

Woodcock said industry profits have been good enough to warrant the wage increase—amount unspecified—that the UAW says must be forthcoming to avoid a strike against one of the Big Three. Industry spokesmen disagree. They cite lower sales and profits as reasons for retrenching. ■

PAGINATION INCORRECT

48 Contracts Signed: AFL-CIO News 2-4-72 Farm Worker

11 New Grape Ranches Join Growing Union-Label Ranks

Delano, Calif.—Eleven more grape growers signed union contracts to broaden the United Farm Workers' sweep into the once-closed field of California table grapes.

Union negotiators moved from ranch to ranch to consolidate the spread of union-won conditions to additional thousands of field workers.

UFWOC Dir. Cesar Chavez and Larry Itliong, his second in command, continued to press for meetings with more growers, and to make arrangements for elections at the signed-up ranches. They look to a breakthrough soon in the hard-core of Delano area growers who have been resisting the union under the leadership of Giumarra & Son, the biggest holdout.

Large employers signing union contracts included John J. Kovacevich of Arvin, and Bagdasarian & Co., which markets Mr. Grape, Pasho and Bagdad brands, grown on more than 1,000 acres in the Coachella area.

Other growers signing up were: F. & M. Co., Fresno marketer of grapes under the F & M and Supreme labels; Sammy LoGreco, producing grapes in the Arvin-Lamont area and using such labels as Camelot and Galliano; Tony De Mallo, Fresno; Tony George and Galderas & Son, both of Orosi, near Fresno; the American Produce Co., Los Angeles; Edward G. Camderian, Coachella; the Castellani Co., Fresno, and Ben Mardian, Phoenix, Ariz.

Five other growers are still discussing contract terms and election procedures. After the grape harvest, the union plans to follow the crops into other areas of the highly productive California and Arizona fruit and nut country.

All the contracts have the standard provisions contained in the first pioneering agreements signed by UFWOC negotiators and growers in the series that began Apr. 1 at Coachella.

They provide a minimum wage of $1.75 an hour, plus a bonus payment of 25 cents a box for pickers; 10 cents an hour additional per employe for the union's health and welfare fund; 2 cents more per box for the UFWOC Economic Development Fund, and protection against the use of "hard" pesticides in spraying the fields against insect infestation.

The Economic Development Fund will, as the union plans it, protect members against layoffs or retirement because of age, physical disability or automation of the ranches.

All the contracts bind the growers not to use insect-killing sprays or powders that may cripple or incapacitate employes working in the fields alongside spraying rigs or under crop-dusting planes. Union members have testified to the danger from uncontrolled use of "hard" poisons.

A key inducement to growers is the "bird" that consumers insist on seeing before buying grapes. The bird is the union label or "thunderbird"—an Aztec eagle that has been designed by UFWOC for use on every box of grapes produced under union contract.

Food markets across the country report continuing heavy sales of union-label grapes. In some cities, the arrival of UFWOC label grapes

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11 More Growers Sign Farm Union Contracts

(Continued from Page 1)

beginning with the first harvest in June has been announced in full-page newspaper ads.

Union committees in more than 50 cities are helping promote the sale of union grapes while continuing to push the nationwide boycott of non-union grapes declared by UFWOC in 1967 and supported by the AFL-CIO and its unions ever since.

The farm workers credit the boycott with moving growers to end their refusal to meet with the union and to bargain contract terms with it for the members it represents. They give credit also to workers who refuse to cross union picket lines.

First contracts negotiated by the UFWOC were with wine grape growers in California. This year the union broke new ground in winning contracts with table grape ranchers who previously had refused to sign. To date, 48 contracts have been signed.

At the same time, the union has been chosen as bargaining agent for farm hands at every ranch where a poll has been taken, either by secret-ballot vote, by a check of membership cards against the payroll or by some other method.

The first polls were supervised by a committee of three clergymen, selected by the union and by ranch owners. Since then, the method has varied from ranch to ranch. But in every case the choice of the union was free and enthusiastic, according to AFL-CIO Dir. of Organization William L. Kircher, who has taken part in many of the key negotiations.

M— Farm Labor

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 25, 1970

Subhuman Conditions:

Story of Migrants' Misery Related at Senate Hearings

A pattern of misery and death caused by inhumane living conditions among migrant farm laborers in Florida, Texas and Michigan was drawn in testimony before a congressional panel.

Large families are poorly fed and crowded together in rundown housing projects without heat, clean water or sanitary facilities, the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor & Public Welfare was told.

The result is a heavy incidence of disease, four physicians said in their testimony.

Children have died after drink- the only water available at a migrant camp in Texas, another witness related. And "we have had dogs die from drinking the water, which is filled with garbage, fecal matter and other pollutants," said Efrain Fernandez, who works with the AFL-CIO Farm Workers in the Rio Grande Valley.

The four doctors said that such conditions continued to exist a year after the federal government instituted a $15 million health program for migratory workers.

The testimony of the doctors centered on the conditions they discovered in Hidalgo County in southern Texas. They were among a group of 15 physicians who examined 1,400 members of migrant families in a study financed by the Field Foundation.

They told of children who were often dying of neglect or growing up without hope because malnutrition and disease had left them unequipped physically or mentally to face life.

Most of the children were infected by intestinal parasites and skin diseases and many had ear infections that left them partially deaf, said Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of Charlotte, N.C.

The doctors also said that migrant families had an infant-maternal mortality rate one-third to one-fourth higher than the national average.

"We find destitution and exploitation of men, women and children which we would be ashamed to describe were we not so horrified by their presence," one doctor told Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), chairman of the subcommittee.

A number of large corporations, including Coca Cola, were charged with having "callous disregard" for impoverished migrant workers who harvest the crops.

Coca Cola bought out Minute Maid orange juice 10 years ago and owns or controls about 30,000 acres of Florida citrus groves. Other products of the company include Snowcrop orange juice, and HI-C and Real Gold fruit drinks.

UFWOC Rep. Fernandez declared that the conditions of the migrants — mostly Mexican-Americans — at many Florida and Texas farms were subhuman.

He also said that state and local institutions have tried to suppress the culture of the Mexican-Americans, who have suffered severe psychological damage as a result.

"Our children fall behind in school not because they cannot learn but because the schools do not teach in our language," Fernandez observed. "Our people are taught to believe that our cultural heritage is not worthy of respect—they are taught to be ashamed."

Fernandez also appealed for congressional support for farm worker organizations seeking to help migrant workers.

"We think the solution is in our own efforts to organize and have power over our own affairs. . . . We don't want paternalism," he declared.

The Farm Workers

(Continued from page 1)

Hugh A. Donohoe succeeded him. He had been helping to resolve farm workers' problems even before the strike began. We were and still are lucky because he left Fathers Mark Day and David Duran to work full time with the union. The former is EL MALCRIADO editor and the latter is finance coordinator in the Accounting Department.

Migrant Ministry

The Migrant Ministry and its director Wayne Chris Hartmire, were deeply involved in the initial movement for the farm workers in the National Farm Workers Association. In the joint strike of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, and NFWA, I learned that Reverend James Drake was (and still is) the Administrative assistant to Cesar Chavez. Jim was one of the very few individuals who assisted Cesar in his administrative functions for the last five years. His wife, Susan, helped in different office departments. Phil Farnham was in charge of printing materials for the pickets. Many more from this group came to reinforce the effort. They worked in the offices as organizers and now are scattered all over the boycott centers in the U.S. and Canada. To mention a few, I recall Nick Jones and Virginia, Jan Van Pelt and his wife, Fred Dresser, Lupe and Kathy Murguia, and Gary and Kathy Olson.

The Migrant Ministry was the first church organization that donated money backing the NFWA membership's decision to join the AWOC in the grape strike. This merger helped Cesar Chavez establish an effective Farm Workers Public Relations Media that later excelled the growers' famous multi-million dollar Whitaker and Baxter Public Relations Firm. It was amazing and a mystery how an intricate network of a national and international table grape boycott started and evolved into the most powerful weapon, driving growers to their knees and to the negotiating table. It was known, however, the harvest of union victories resulted from the unprecedented cooperation of the consumers. To achieve peace in the industry and in the marketplace, every effort, dollar, talent, knowledge and skill was successfully coordinated and directed to justify and win the farm workers' cause.

Sons of the Covenant

In all kinds of meetings were those of the Jewish faith. They were adequately equipped with professional talents and skills basically needed and donated in structuring the farm workers' union. They, too, contributed much in broadening its goals.

As individuals, they were among the first ones involved. Fred Ross taught Cesar Chavez the principles of organizing and conducting meetings. The neighborhood house-meetings led to the CSO (Community Service Organization) which the middle-class Mexican-Americans used for economic and political expediencies and killed its original intent. CSO's spirit and ideal were resurrected in a newer service organization, called the NFWA, that eventually brought the Mexican farm worker into the mainstream of AFL-CIO Unions. Fred Ross' tutorship and guidance transformed Cesar Chavez from the Zoot-Suit leadership in the "Sal Si Puedes" streets into the directorship of the most famous farm workers' movement in the world.

With the help of a Catholic nurse, Peggy McGivern, Dr. Jerry Lackner started the Terronez Memorial Clinic; with Jerry Cohen, and later, Chuck Farnsworth and Bill Carter, the Legal Department was formed; the Service Center Legal Counsel was originally led by Dave Averbuck and now is headed by Frank Dennison; Jerry and Jane Brown started the Boycott Department; Marshall Ganz and Jessica Govea organized the boycott centers in Montreal and Toronto, Canada. Marshall is a talented organizer and negotiator and was consulted over critical union decisions. Lawyer Gary Bellows took up union cases without pay and David Fishlow edited EL MALCRIADO. Under-graduate legal student Peter Williamson helped others research for the Legal Department last year. Now a lawyer, he is serving a branch office of the UFWOC in San Juan, Texas.

Elaine Elinson represented the farm workers in the international grape boycott in Europe and was succeeded by Donna Haber, who still leads the European boycott. Freddy Silberman, Mike Cushman and Jennifer helped me in London, England and Victor Pestoff and Britt Marie, Ester and Christine, in Stockholm, Sweden.

Representatives of the American Jewish Congress and Rabbis came to Delano giving us the idea of a kibbutz (community). In our jurisdictional quarrel with the Teamsters Union, the committee that brought us together consisted of a Protestant minister, a priest, and a rabbi, who was chairman. There were many more helping in different ways, from boycott to finance.

Catholics

In the Catholic side, Bill Esher was the first editor of EL MALCRIADO. At that time he was working with Mary Smith, Marcia Sanchez, Donna Haber and some other students. Le Roy Chatfield, with nurse Marion Moses, researched for the Robert Kennedy Medical Plan and later became the plan's director. He was also instrumental in the purchase of "Forty Acres," the homesite of the farm workers' union. His wife, Bonnie, helped mostly in the Service Center. Andy Imutan with Luming proved himself as one of the top boycott organizers in Boston, Maryland, and New York City.

With medicine in carton boxes on an impoverished grapebox table in Dolores Huerta's garage, Peggy McGivern treated sick strikers. Her sympathetic understanding and care in her work helped develop the Terronez Memorial Clinic. As Peggy joined the boycott staff, Marion Moses took her place and still manages the clinic today. Marion toured the United States and Canada and spoke to diversified groups stres-

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Solitary Prophets

(Continued from page 5)

sentenced to death obtained clemency. They all met their death courageously. Ammon writes: "Their spirit lives wherever there are young people who choose, as Camus tells us we must choose, to be on the side of the executed rather than on the side of the executioners, if we are not to be executors ourselves."

The next chapter is a sequel to the preceding one, since it deals with John Peter Altgeld, governor of Illinois; he did pardon three other men who had been sentenced for the Haymarket bombing besides the five who were hanged. He was accused by his political enemies of being an "anarchist," a "demagogue," "un-American," "apologist for murder," etc. He had never been a clear thinking radical, Ammon writes, but he had consciously placed himself in power where he was able to do something for those weaker than himself. He died a poor man, because he refused "to have anything to do with shady deals," and had made the necessary sacrifices.

There is a connection between Altgeld, protesting against the breaking of the Pullman strike by President Cleveland, and the hero of the following chapter, Eugene V. Debs, who was jailed for his participation in the strike. He was later imprisoned because of his opposition to World War One and exchanged notes with Ammon, who was serving a similar sentence. His words in court in 1918 were:

"While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

Another chapter of the book presents Clarence Darrow, "lawyer of the damned," who saved so many men including Leopold and Loeb. Besides referring the reader to a number of major works concerning Darrow, he gives some highlights of interest. He met Darrow in 1920 in New York.

In the chapter devoted to Yukeoma the Hopi, he treads familiar ground, his interest in the Hopi Indians having been one of the dominant interests in his action as a defender of the underprivileged. Of the courageous leader of the Indian people, he says: "The grand old man of the Hopi personifies man as a part of nature . . . he fought against the opinion of the mass of Americans, as did Thoreau and Garrison." And further: "'Let my people go!' has been the cry from the time of Moses and the Pharaohs to the time of Martin Luther King."

Speaking of John Taylor, third President of the Mormon Church, who died in 1897, Ammon deals once more of a land and a community which he knows well, having lived in Utah since 1961 and studied Mormon history, while working at Joe Hill House, up to his death. If he brings Taylor close to us, he does so even more in his portrait of Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who is truly a man of our time and of all times. Ammon, like most people of his age, remembered well the tragic day of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, which shook not only America, but the entire world.

Malcolm X, whom Ammon next describes, was his and our contemporary and his memory is fresh among us. Ammon says of him: "He had the logic of Darrow and the charisma of Debs. He had the courage of Mother Jones and Vanzetti." In spite of Malcolm X's vivid portrayal, we regret that the author decided not to include in his book another great black leader who was destroyed: Martin Luther King.

Of the two women portrayed in the last chapters of the book, Dorothy Day and Helen Demoskoff, the latter was, perhaps, the easier to describe, because she was the champion of one cause, the Doukhobors' ideal of peace and community, within one society. Their history started in Russia with their refusal to carry arms and obey the State, but Helen's courageous struggle took place in Canada; it was against the laws of that country that she protested and was sentenced there to eleven years of prison. Ammon knew her well, having met her since 1941, and often visited her at her farm in British Columbia; his last visit was a year before his death, when he was writing his book. He says of her: "Helen Demoskoff, a Son of God, a Daughter of Freedom, a rebel and a friend of rebels—in her remaining days a true one man revolution."

Dorothy Day has many causes to defend, all of them closely connected and interwoven: peace and the works of mercy, community life and the Green Revolution, the brotherhood of men in all societies and nationalities, and civil disobedience wherever the infringement of "mother state" is felt. She has told her story and that of Peter Maurin in *The Long Loneliness* and *Loaves and Fishes* and still tells it as it continues to develop and is noted in her "pilgrimages." Ammon has told of her and of his years at the Catholic Worker in his autobiographies. The chapter in *The One Man Revolution* has many references to these books, previously published, as well as many personal reminiscences. Dorothy has also often written about him, and her last tribute to him was written soon after she had attended his funeral in Salt Lake City. There is not much that can be added to what she said of him and of their cooperation, when they agreed as well as when they disagreed, always remaining congenial in all that is essential.

This reviewer remembers Ammon well at the time he was at Chrystie Street or visited Peter Maurin Farm on Staten Island to give talks in the grove. She remembers him selling papers at the gates of Fordham University, and standing up as his own witness at his trials after his arrests for protesting with Dorothy against civil defense. Speaking of others in *The One Man Revolution*, this one man radical fighter himself comes very much alive again.

Bread Not Bombs

(Continued from page 1)

graphed us, and decided to charge us with disorderly conduct (a violation) and obstructing governmental procedure (a class A misdemeanor). They didn't consider us very dangerous, not even bothering to supervise us in the street while they decided how to take us to the Tombs where we were quickly arraigned. Tom Cornell had retained a lawyer from the American Civil Liberties Union to represent us, and three of us were released on our recognizance. Bill Dorfer and Steve Kurzyna, who is only sixteen, were held on a fifty-dollar cash bond, because they faced charges from a sit-in at Varick Street in June. Bill refused bail out of conviction and a desire to use his time in the Tombs for repentance. It took us four hours to bail out Steve, who was immediately transferred to Rikers Island, since he was a minor. Bill let us bail him out after a hearing on Wednesday so he could participate in other actions.

Our vigil continued for the next three days with some people arriving and some people going, up to thirty during the days and up to fifteen sleeping out at night, even during a rainstorm. On Wednesday, a Selective Service employee came up to Tom and told him that he was resigning his position because of our vigil and wanted to throw down his own leaflets during the liturgy. Plans were also made for another action during the liturgy, spilling blood on the steps of Varick Street to symbolize the blood shed in Hiroshima and Vietnam.

Father Don Cooney came from Philadelphia for the liturgy, a simple responsive reading followed by a celebration of the Eucharist. During the liturgy, Bill Dorfer, Paul Frazier, and Ken Curtin, a red-haired young man whose father had been a policeman for twenty-eight years, each threw a gallon of steer blood on the street and were immediately arrested. Then from three or four windows in the building people making the "V" sign threw down leaflets, printed at government expense and numbered from government machines, which read, "1970 Years: How Long Must I Weep?" Centered on the page was of drawing of Jesus weeping with a crown of thorns. About twenty-five other employees also threw down signed cards reading, "Gold, Frankincense, Myrrh." In order to prevent the employees who had supported us from getting into trouble, we picked up the cards and leaflets all around the block.

We then gathered at 100 Centre Street to wait for the arraignment of our three brothers at Night Court who were charged with creating a health hazard (a class A misdemeanor) and disorderly conduct. While waiting for the arraignment, the arresting officer told us that they had had to consult the Police Department's legal section to decide what Bill and Paul and Ken would be charged with. "We could have charged them with four or five other things, but. . ." The officer assured us that none of the charges would stick anyway. Before the arraignment, the D.A. tried to make a deal with our attorney that the charges would be dropped if we cleaned up the blood. We couldn't go along with that and furthermore, we had chosen blood with anti-coagulant in it so that it would remain on the streets as a constant reminder to the employees of our protest and our presence. Our lawyer argued well and the three were released on their own recognizance.

It's hard to describe how happy we were about that. The twenty-four of us who were waiting in court streamed out of the room to greet them, some saying "Power to the Pope," eating the last of the bread and passing around a bottle of wine Tom had bought. The vigil was over but our work wasn't, we had court appearances and future actions ahead of us. We did not end the war, we had not atoned for Hiroshima, but we had influenced some people and given others something to think about. We had done something small, but we had done it peacefully and, in doing it, we had rededicated ourselves and given witness to the fact that nonviolence works. Slowly but effectively.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Farm Workers

(Continued from page 7)

sing the dire need of a farm workers' clinic. She also spoke on the danger of pesticides to health and welfare in agriculture.

Robert McMillen, one of our lawyers, has been our legislative watchdog in Sacramento. Father Joe Melton assisted us in Delano and in Coachella Valley for several months. Doug Adair, former EL MALCRIADO editor, is on the Philadelphia boycott; and Father Victor Saladini, who was arrested for trespassing in Borrego Springs while picketing, now is working in the New York boycott after assignments in Montreal.

Putting It Together

I might have erred in aligning names with certain groups, thus dubbing one for the other. But the general effect still remains the same. It's just like pulling out a dollar from one pocket and slipping it into the other. My point is that those people mentioned above have made significant contributions in building the union even though they weren't farm workers.

The farm workers' right to organize and bargain collectively is a dead issue. It was replaced by the "boycott" splitting most intimate friends, families, communities, churches, the country and the world. The Catholic Church wasn't immune to the contagious and dramatic discussions of the new issue. Out of painful deliberations was fired a correction shot re-directing the Faith to its original course of intent and commitment to the helpless poor. The results were gratifying and radiate brilliant lights of hope for more victories for mankind.

In the Bay Area, around 800 priests were asked to support and be involved in the grape boycott. U.S. priests and laymen, numbering 35,000, passed a resolution endorsing the boycott. Many priests and nuns visited Delano incognito. If they didn't completely hide their true identity in slacks, plain shirts, blouses, and sweaters, then they would tell me who they were. All were enthusiatically for the "Huelga" and the "Cause."

From the National Conference of Catholic Bishops was the "Committee of Bishops." Auxiliary Bishop Joseph F. Donnelly was chairman; Archbishop Timothy Manning, Bishop Hugh A. Donohoe, Bishop Walter J. Curtis and Bishop Humberto S. Medeiros, members. Monsignors Roger Mahony, Director of Catholic Charities, and George G. Higgins, Director of the Department of Urban Life, were with the mediating Bishops Committee. Working with them was the Reverend Lloyd Saatjian, a Protestant minister from Palm Springs. He was soft-spoken with a pleasant, understanding personality.

With this combination of mediators, the first table grape contract was signed between the Lionel Steinburg and David Freedman Company and the union. At the press conference in Los Angeles, Steinburg said, "I am a Jew and this is the first time that I am being baptized by a Protestant minister and the Catholic bishops. I believe this marks the beginning of mutual understanding between the industry (agriculture) and the union for the benefits of both parties."

The signing of the contract between Steinburg and the union was truly a breakthrough and a historic landmark in the negotiation for table grapes. In a very short time since then, the union has signed over 70 contracts from a 15-acre family farm to a giant Tenneco Agribusiness whose assets in land area aggregate to 1,762,000 acres. Hundreds of farm workers flocked in, and still do, to the protective fold of the farm workers' union—many more than we'd won during the past five years.

The mediators approached the problem in the most simple and practical way. Industry and union have their peculiar needs to survive. The solution was always found in a compromise balancing the risks and benefits between the two parties.

The Catholic Church, through the Bishops Committee, in conjunction with the Protestant denominations, gave its true spirit and love for a new life that were dormant for centuries. Under the farm workers' movement (following the courageous leadership of Cesar Chavez), the Delano grape pickers asked for a just share in the multi-billion dollar harvest in U.S. agriculture for all farm workers. This is the goal of the struggle. It's moral because it's right. But the essence of the Movement goes far beyond the horizon. It proposes to liberate the human spirit for the enjoyment of life to the fullest extent.

Hope's Enterprise

(Continued from Page 3)

than that, for they form a pattern of a particular kind. I mean that they are the **type** of truly functional decentralized responsibility. They are libertarian and sensitive. They are political in the fundamental (to me, most valid) sense that the organized activity exists exclusively, and visibly, for the purpose of meeting common needs. All this, certainly, is writ small, yet it can be classed among the impulses that keep alive the idea of non-violent social revolution.

That's my long-range interest, and I do certainly urge it on others. It may be, however, that the short, that is immediate, view is far more compelling. The neighborhood is a meat-grinder. We know that heroin is being pushed in the public school. We know—and this is the newest development—that neighborhood addicts are recruiting twelve and thirteen year old kids into robbery gangs. The police know too, and are nearly useless. Nor has anyone failed to observe that the chief products of the public school are ignorance, apathy, and collapse of self. All this is what **Cuando** is contending with. On the one hand, they're snowed under. On the other hand, their achievments are impressive. (Which is how things are those days.)

I find it impressive:

1) that **Cuando** exists;

2) that for more than a year they have conducted an after-school storefront Children's Center, staffed by volunteers and paid for out of their own pockets;

3) that for more than two years they have conducted athletic programs and weekend outings (Frank Baez, Melvin Cadiz, Daniel Torres);

4) that they have conducted a successful voter registration drive (David Munoz);

5) that they have initiated clean-up campaigns; have cleared a vacant lot for play; have collaborated with an architect on the design of a mini-park, and are trying to bring it into existence (John Corsale); have agitated (and are) for playground lights, for landlord and NYC responsibility, and for some form of official and community response to the drug problem;

6) that they have held one very successful block festival, and are trying to make it an annual event;

7) that they have formed a school, have recruited students, and have been able to inspire three teachers to take on exhausting responsibilities.

The expenses and labors of **Cuando** have been borne by the members themselves, all of whom work hard for a living . . .

Obviously, there is a spirit here that touches others. Perhaps it can be proposed as a model of hope, 1970 style, i.e., the enterprise looks impossible, it won't divert our larger rush to disaster, all powers (including the unions) are either by policy set against it or profoundly indifferent, **and yet** one is moved (even excited) in the presence of **Cuando:** their endeavor is admirable, their people cheerful, practical, and good, their example invaluable, their labor productive. Hope, then, is this: that under the enduring condition of expecting nothing, one is heartened by the creation of positive good.

Cuando is approaching Foundations for long-term (one year! two years!) support. In the meantime, the teachers (and children too, since lunches are provided) must eat, materials must be purchased, trips must be paid for, more children must be reached.

I know that everyone who reads this letter receives, every week, dozens of urgent and truly important pleas for help. I don't know what to say about this, except here's another. I needn't stress that it's urgent. I do want to stress, however, that **Cuando** is unique. Its concerns are the basic functions of social life. It is a life-support organization—for which reason its claims on our assistance are of the clearest and most legitimate kind.

Cuando is tax exempt. Cuando, Inc., 39 E. First St., N.Y.C., 10003.

A Farm With A View

(Continued from page 2)

spoke about Erikson, presenting a scholarly but interesting account of Erikson's psychological development and background. Workshops held during the morning and afternoon hours analyzed various aspects of the new man. Saturday night a Mass was concelebrated by several priests, with the Gospel read by a Lutheran minister. Later that night a witnessing session was held, in which those participating shared experiences and insights.

The last talk of the Pax conference was that of Dorothy Day, who spoke on THE NEW MAN AND THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION. This new man, of whom St. Paul speaks, who is truly reborn in Christ, is characterized by love of holy poverty, love of God, love of neighbor, and dedicated service of others for the love of God, is truly peaceful, truly humble. It is this new man whom we are enjoined to become. Most of us are very imperfect instruments and have gone such a little way on the path of becoming Christian that only God Himself could measure our minuscule progress. But there are others who can serve as exemplars. Among those Dorothy cited are: Peter Maurin, founder of the Catholic Worker, a truly dedicated man of great humility and love of poverty; Ammon Hennacy, Cesar Chavez, Martin Luther King, and Ralph Abernathy. Dorothy also reaffirmed her faith in non-violence, and used Cesar Chavez' recent victory against the powerful growers of California as evidence that non-violence does work. In this age of frequent bomb scares and terrorist attacks, it is terribly important to hold on to this faith, this hope in the Christian non-violent way.

On August twenty-second a conference on ecology was held here at the farm. Lauren Surget, who does experimental and research work for the Bell Telephone Laboratories, spoke on the grave and almost immediate hazards of environmental pollution, and spoke of his own hope that man—again, the new man, the truly transformed man—might survive solely by reason of his transformation, a transformation which Lauren felt had already begun. Following a discussion period, Clarice Danielson gave a good report on Robert Ardrey's provocative and fascinating book THE TERRITORIAL IMPERATIVE. Clarice enlivened her account with several dramatic stories of animals behaving in truly cooperative, non-competitive ways, or through ritualized patterns of behavior giving harmless outlet to aggressions without inflicting death on another member of the species. If man were a little more humble, he might learn a few lessons from animals, who are far less destructive of their own kind, far more regardful of the web of life, the interdependence of all forms of living and non-living matter.

On the night following the ecology talks, some slides illustrating the dangers of specific insecticides and pesticides were shown. A group from Philadelphia, including our friend and co-editor, Charles Butterworth, attended this conference.

On the Sunday of our ecology weekend, Father Jude Mili who now lives in West Virginia, came for a visit and said a beautiful Mass in our living room.

Discussions during these torrid weeks of summer, when we have such an influx of company, have hardly been limited to formal occasions. There have been times when discussions in our living room or dining room became so perfervid and vociferous that those of us who are older and have reached a preference for quiet, flee to our rooms and barricade ourselves behind whatever sound-proofing we can find. But the young people talk on. For that is the way of the young. Even so, sometimes they may attain clarification of thought.

Now that summer is ending, we do not intend to give up all discussion. Helene Iswolsky and Kay Lynch have been planning third-Sunday-of-the-month discussions for the coming months. The first of such third Sunday afternoons will begin in October. On this occasion Walter and Miriam Jarsky, who live in our community but who spent the summer visiting Miriam's parents in Europe, will speak on certain European communities where they also visited.

What with visiting children and visiting dogs, discussions are not the only hubbub about the place, a fact which some of our numerous cats have remarked with catty acerbity. Visiting dogs aside, however, our dog population is growing, and if they cannot overtake, will at least annoy the cats. Now that the Jarskys are back with their Blondie, we have three dogs living with us. The latest canine addition is a leggy coon hound pup which was given Johnny Hughes early in the summer. Named Grapes because her markings supposedly resemble grapes, she is a charming, affectionate pup, though some nights she may be heard baying at the moon. But who knows, perhaps she has really treed a raccoon, which would please John Filliger, since raccoons are too fond of his corn.

As always, there are many persons doing many tasks to keep things going hereabouts. Stanley Vishnewski began the day by going for the mail, then tackled some correspondence. Elaine La Pointe and Larry Evers cleaned the living room this morning. Mike Sullivan spent part of the day repairing the windows in Father Jack English's room. But Dominick Falso, who on another occasion prepared a most delectable Italian meal for us, cooked for our supper a superb minestrone. Young people come and go, sometimes working, sometimes talking, sometimes strumming guitars and singing. But Susan Pollock appears ever and anon, and always thereafter there is yogurt for our health and enjoyment. To all who do the major tasks and all who do the minor, we say a major "thank you."

The arts continue to thrive among us. Joe Geraci writes every morning. Rita Corbin continues to design her beautiful cards. Emily Coleman has suspended painting for the moment but will, I think, resume soon. Marge Hughes has learned to play the autoharp beautifully. Audrey Monroe—Joe and Audrey are visiting us this week—is taking up the same instrument, and she and Marge will soon be playing duets.

To all curious readers and all critics: we are no Utopia, but imperfect instruments who fail many times over. We have our problems, our difficulties, our personality clashes, even our lunatic fringe, which is sometimes hard to detect and harder to suffer. The beauty of our fields and woods is marred in places by the decaying hulks of old jalopies and other debris of our consumer civilization. Our poison ivy grows ranker than our flowers. But still we share some beauty, some prayer, some suffering, and much need, and so are bound together.

Last night we felt bound together as Peggy Conklin was carried out on a stretcher to the waiting ambulance. Peggy had fallen into a state of unconsciousness almost like death, but Daniel, Elaine, Marge, and Father Andy revived her before the ambulance arrived. Now today in the hospital, Peggy is better, and we hope will soon be home again.

We are glad that Father Jack English is with us now and able to spend much time with Peggy, for they are old friends, and Peggy sets much store by Father Jack. Father Jack himself is still recovering from a serious coronary which he suffered earlier in the summer.

Katydids and crickets sing on a night in early September. The rain has stopped, but the moist pungence begins to smell of fall. We move toward October, toward the great Feast of St. Francis. St. Francis of Assissi, pray for us and for all our Brother Creatures.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Migrant

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union News
October, 1970

The Farm Migrant: No Escape From Peonage

By DR. RAYMOND M. WHEELER

(Editor's Note: Dr. Wheeler, a Charlotte, N.Y., physician, was a member of a team of doctors studying the problems of migratory workers in the South, particularly Florida and Texas. Following are excerpts from his testimony before the Senate Migratory Labor Subcommittee).

WE SAW countless families with large numbers of children, isolated from the mainstream of American culture and opportunity, possessing none of the protections of life and job and health which other Americans take for granted as rights of citizenship.

If the farmworker is injured in the field or if he becomes ill from exposure to pesticides (we heard of and saw many instances of both situations), he does not receive Workman's Compensation. If he is sick or cannot find work (and there are many days when work is not available) he does not receive unemployment insurance.

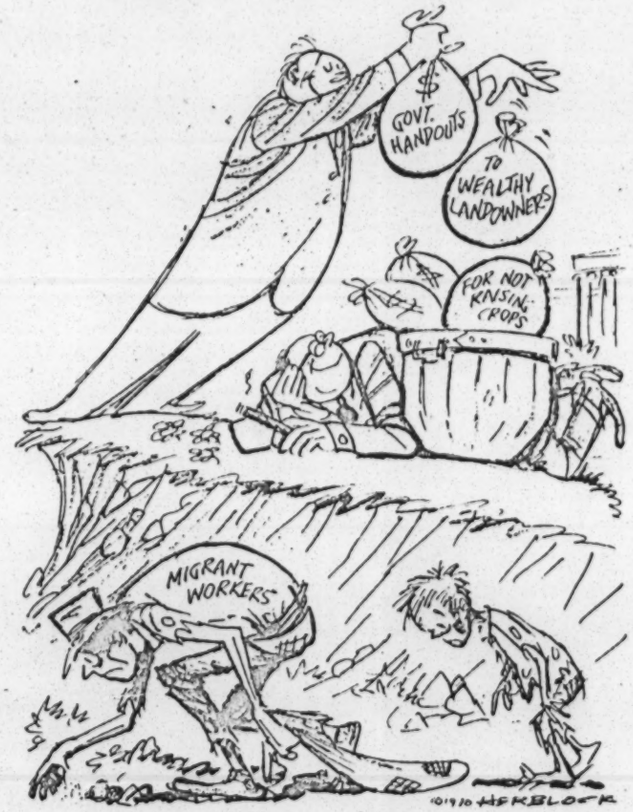
There is no realistic minimum wage to guarantee him adequate pay for his work. If Social Security payments are deducted from his wages, few records are kept by the crew boss on which he can later base a claim. He has no health or hospital insurance to provide him with minimal medical care and he does not earn enough to purchase it.

The farmer is not even prohibited from working young children in the fields if the parents, desperate for enough money to buy food and shelter, choose to take their children out of school or bring along their pre-school age children to pick the vegetables.

WE SAW housing and living conditions horrible and dehumanizing to the point of our disbelief. In Florida and in Texas, we visited housing projects, built with public funds, which defy description. We saw living quarters constructed as long cinder-block or wooden sheds, divided into single rooms by walls which do not reach to the ceilings.

Without heat, adequate light or ventilation, and containing no plumbing or refrigeration, each room (no larger than 8 x 14 feet) is the living space of an entire family appropriately suggesting slave quarters of earlier days.

Can you imagine the effects on a child living in such a situation — the physical discomfort of the heat, the cold, the dampness? The absence of fresh air and the crowding greatly increases the likelihood of transmission of contagious disease. This is why so many have tuberculosis as well as chronic respiratory infections . . .



The Harvesters

IN ALL of the areas we visited, the nearly total lack of even minimally adequate medical care and health services was an early and easily documented observation . . .

A few statistics substantiate our observation. The migrant has a life expectancy 20 years less than the average American. His infant and maternal mortality is 125 percent higher than the national average. The death rate from influenza and pneumonia is 200 percent higher than the national rate, and from tuberculosis, 250 percent higher than the national rate. The accident rate among migrant farmworkers is 300 percent above the national rate . . .

High blood pressure, diabetes, urinary tract infections, anemia, tuberculosis, gallbladder and intestinal disorders, eye and skin diseases were frequent findings among the adults.

Almost without exception, intestinal parasites were found in the stool specimens examined. Most of the children had chronic skin infections. Chronically infected draining ears with resulting partial deafness occurred in an amazing number of the smaller children. We saw rickets, a disorder thought to be nearly abolished in this country, and every form of vitamin deficiency known to us that could be identified by clinical examination was reported.

I doubt that any group of physicians in the past 30 years has seen, in this country, as many malnourished children assembled in one place as we saw in Hidalgo County, Texas . . .

IN FLORIDA and Texas, the farm worker remains a valuable asset to the owners and operators of the huge farms which produce food and fruit for the nation. Without them, corn and tomatoes would rot in the fields and oranges and grapefruit would shrivel on the trees.

There is no way that these farms can be operated without the migrant work force which moves about the area, harvesting the beans and squash this week, moving on to gather the avocadoes another week, in another county. Mechanization has not yet devised a way to replace them.

What is different in Florida and Texas from the rest of the rural South is the deliberate, cruelly contrived, and highly effective system which has been devised to extract the maximum work and productivity from other human beings for the cheapest possible price.

Every effort is directed toward isolating the farmworker from the rest of society, maintaining him at the lowest level of subsistence which he will tolerate — then making certain that he has no means of escape from a system that holds him in virtual peonage. And to that end, the grower has the full cooperation of the Federal government, the state, and the local community.

THE

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Atlanta 3, Ga.
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Farm Workers Church

The Farm Workers And The Church

By PHILIP VERA CRUZ

Before the grape strike started in September, 1965, about 95 per cent of the Filipinos and Mexicans in the Delano area were Catholics. They would go, and still do, to St. Mary's and Guadalupe Churches: each church conveniently located for the growers and the farm workers.

The Slavonian, Italian, Irish, and other Catholic growers attend St. Mary's Church to pray for more bountiful harvests and profits, for the expansion of their ranches. They believed God favored their prayers because in a few short years many of these farmers became millionaires. Filipinos and Mexicans also go to Mass at St. Mary's. Like other good Catholics, they go to Church for moral and spiritual inspiration.

However, several foremen, contractors, bar and cardroom operators discovered it was profitable to rub shoulders with the powerful people in town. In fair weather, the growers sometimes discuss their labor problems outside the Church door. When a contractor stops by, the growers ask for his expert advice on the quality of the labor supply. By instinct and experience he knows that some groups of workers yield more profit than other workers when given board.

With unquestioned authority the contractor would reply, "The wetbacks and green carders are much better than the local workers."

Then he would explain that "they (wetbacks and green-carders) work harder because they are afraid to be fired. They have no place to go and nothing to eat."

"That is very true," a grower remarked. "My boys are kind of mixed up—I mean local, green-card, and wetback workers. They like drinking, card games, and cockfights. All are broke. Once in a great while one might complain. I tell him to like it or leave. But he has no money nor any other place to stay. Nobody dares to open his big mouth again."

"But it's against the law," objected a more decent grower. "I don't want my labor camp raided. Those boys worked hard for their money. When caught they are jailed and fined. That's not right."

Irritated, a big rancher answered, "The hell with the law! Those stupid fools don't know any better. But they have the right to use their money the way they want. Because they have nothing, they work harder and stay longer on the job. They have no choice left. But if you make money in business, you are right; on the contrary, wrong. Worry about your business but not the workers. Justice is the eternal hope of the wretched souls. It's just a beautiful dream that will never be realized."

Most of the farm workers went to Guadalupe Church. They were poor, but more sincere and honest in their religious belief. There was no thought of gaining any material advantage over their fellowmen. The priest liked to see them all in the Mass, but he was scared to look at their "Huelga" buttons on their lapels.

The Bishop in Fresno favored the rich growers. His action was in accord with the anti-union priests in Delano. The old man was retired not because of his mistaken judgment but of his age. His successor, Bishop Manning, visited Delano with expressed "concern" and therefore, "to listen to your problems with the growers." Bishop

(Continued on page 7)

THE CATHOLIC WORKER

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Interview With Cesar Chavez

The morning following his release, Cesar was interviewed at his home by El Malcriado. The following are Cesar's recollections of his 20-day stay in jail.

EL MALCRIADO—How do you feel after going to jail for civil disobedience?

CESAR—Well, it was partially civil disobedience. It wasn't a real classic case of civil disobedience. I was sentenced to an indefinite period. So I couldn't look forward to a year or two; I didn't know what was going to happen. Really what the judge was saying is that it is up to me to get out of jail if I called off the boycott. That put the responsibility on me to say: No, I'll never call it off. It wasn't the classic civil disobedience case but it was a very good case. It was hard but now that it's over, I feel elated.

EL MALCRIADO—What was your relationship with the other inmates?

CESAR—I made a lot of friends, inside with the inmates, did a little organizing and spread the word around quite a bit. I wasn't too successful in convincing anybody about non-violence inside, but they are all with us. This includes blacks, whites and chicanos. The saddest thing is that the people who are in jail by and large are poor people. Only poor people go to jail and stay there. Also men who don't have anyone on the outside who really cares for them. Or who have someone on the outside who cannot really help them. It's very, very sad. Mostly young people. The routine . . . they put them in jail, they book them. Then they bring them into court and have the hearing and bring them back. It's like a completely different world. I couldn't help feeling sorry for them. At least I had something on the outside going for me and I had the conviction of the cause. But they don't have any of those things. I learned that there is a very serious problem on the whole question of parole. Parole, I think, is a damaging, unconstitutional and damning thing for people. It gets a guy, puts him on parole, and they'll never let him go.

EL MALCRIADO—Did those on the vigil keep you company?

CESAR—Yeah, I never felt alone. For one thing at night I could hear their singing. I heard the mananitas. Oh great! I was asleep you know. They started singing and the jailer opened the front door. I heard this rapping on the bulkhead "Wake up . . . They're singing!" Then I heard the chicanos in the jail gritando (yelling) you know. "Eran las mananaitas," about the second verse and ool, you know how they feel really good. So I just opened my pillow and blanket. It's the first time they gave me mananitas, you know. Well, they were for the Virgin and the chicanos were all over the jail. Four-thirty in the morning gritando, you know, gritos de la raza, all over. It was really great. The poor guys on the vigil sacrificed more than I did. See the determination? The growers said they were going to do the same thing. They lasted a day. But the people were really beautiful. The visitors were a tremendous support. I talked to about 150 the 1st Saturday and about 300 the 2nd Saturday. I talked to a lot of women, really very sincere. It gives you a tremendous feeling. I was very happy that Coretta King, Ethel Kennedy and Bishop Flores came. They did a lot of good for me spiritually and an awful lot of good to the people.

EL MALCRIADO—What did you think of our opposition's violence during Ethel Kennedy's visit?

CESAR—It's a clear example exactly how violence, whoever does it, really hurts their cause. Those guys really

(Continued on page 7)

Rita Corbin

EASY ESSAYS

By PETER MAURIN (1877-1949)

INDOCTRINATION

In Houses of Hospitality
unemployed college graduates
will be fed, clothed, sheltered,
as well as indoctrinated.
Unemployed college graduates
must be told
why things are
what they are,
how things would be
if they were
as they should be
and how a path
can be made
from the things
as they are
to the things
as they should be.
Unemployed college graduates
must be told
how to create
a new society
within the shell of the old
with the philosophy of the new,
which is not a new philosophy,
but a very old philosophy,
a philosophy so old
that it looks like new.

ON FARMING COMMUNES

When unemployed college graduates
will have been indoctrinated
they will be moved
to Farming Communes.
On Farming Communes
unemployed college graduates
will be taught
how to build their houses,
how to gather their fuel,
how to raise their food,
how to make their furniture;
that is to say,
how to employ themselves.
Unemployed college graduates
must be taught
how to use their hands.
And while time is on the hands
of college graduates
their heads don't function
as they should function.
On Farming Communes
unemployed college graduates
will learn to use
both their hands
and their heads.

FIVE DEFINITIONS

A Bourgeois
is a fellow
who tries to be somebody
by trying to be
like everybody,
which makes him
a nobody.
A Dictator
is a fellow
who does not hesitate
to strike you over the head
if you refuse to do
what he wants you to do.
A Leader
is a fellow
who refuses to be crazy
the way everybody else is crazy
and tries to be crazy
in his own crazy way.
A Bolshevist
is a fellow
who tries to get
what the other fellow has
and to regulate
what you should have.
A Communitarian
is a fellow
who refuses to be
what the other fellow is
and tries to be
what he wants him to be.

THEY and WE

People say:
"They don't do this,
they don't do that,
they ought to do this,
they ought to do that."
Always "They"
and never "I."
People should say:
"They are crazy
for doing this
and not doing that
but I don't need
to be crazy
the way they are crazy."
The Communitarian Revolution
is basically
a personal revolution.
It starts with I,
not with They.
One I plus one I
makes two I's
and two I's make We,
We is a community,
while "they" is a crowd.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON NON-VIOLENCE NEEDED

The United Farm Workers, O.C., Stockton Area Office (covering San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties, California) is setting up a department of non-violence. The director of the Stockton Area Office is Andy Imutan, Vice President of the United Farm Workers, O.C. Future plans include training courses in non-violence and a library on non-violence. Readers of the Catholic Worker and members of all groups are asked to donate books or material on non-violence or to send names and publishers of relevant books to:

UNITED FARM WORKERS, OC.
620 WEST ANDERSTON STREET
STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA 95206

Crossing India

By EILEEN EGAN

This is the third of four articles on the visit to India made by Dorothy Day and Eileen Egan in the course of a round-the-world peace pilgrimage made possible by the invitation to Australia by the Rev. Roger Pryke, editor of NONVIOLENT POWER.

Underneath us, the River Hooghly, choking with silt, moved sluggishly in a barely perceptible tide. Around us, on the Howrah Bridge leading from central Calcutta to the Howrah Railway Station, we felt the inexorable onrush of a tide of human beings. They were crossing the bridge on foot, padding their sandalled way by the tens of thousands to their homes on the west bank of the Hooghly. It was the end of a work day for these numberless marchers, mostly men, whose long white tunics and flowing dhotis gave the effect of an assemblage of hurrying ghosts. It was the end of our stay in Calcutta for Dorothy Day and me. Our path led Northwest to New Delhi.

Mother Teresa of the Missionaries of Charity, who had met us at Dum Dum Airport on our arrival, took us to the station in the ambulance. It was the ambulance that carried doctors, food and medicaments to the communities of lepers in and around Calcutta, and that also brought the dying to the Kalighat Hostel. Twilight had merged into darkness by the time the slow-moving traffic had reached the other side of the bridge. To me, it was a wonder that we had made as good time as we had at a peak traffic hour. Howrah Bridge, already nearly a century old, is the one bridge over the Hooghly, a river cutting through a city of between 7,000,000 and 9,000,000 souls.

As we walked toward the station, men old and young fastened burning eyes on us and plucked at us with arms thin as twigs. Inside the station, there seemed to be no beggars or homeless people squatting in corners. During my earlier visits Howrah had given shelter to an untold number of the homeless, some of whom had come to die at Kalighat.

A short muscular man approached Mother Teresa. He was wearing a dark red tunic, or kurta, over a dhoti. His dark eyes lit up with delight as he chatted with Mother Teresa. He took off a dirty cotton scarf, carefully wound it in a circle on top of his head, and hoisted our two suitcases on his head.

"That man seems to know you, Mother. Do you know him?" I asked.

"Oh, yes. Ashokri is a good man. He works hard for his family."

We were standing in the center of a platform packed so tight with people that the hawkers of fruits, snacks or newspapers had to push their way through the massed bodies. They screamed out their wares in shrill cries that hardly carried above the noise of arriving trains, the announcements on the raucous loudspeaker and the din of hundreds of conversations. We had over an hour to wait for our train, so we started to talk to Ashokri. To our surprise, he knew some English. He was not a Bengali, having migrated from a place called Chapra in Bihar.

"I have my matric," he told us. A matriculation certificate is the equivalent of a high school diploma. With Mother Teresa helping, he explained that after coming to Calcutta from Bihar, the only work he could get was as a Howrah porter.

"I have three children," he said. And then he smiled. "They are students. All three of them. My eldest boy is in the tenth class, the middle one is in the

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ON PILGRIMAGE

By DOROTHY DAY

Underneath a picture of Angela Davis which appeared in the "Daily World" a few weeks ago, there was a caption, "All generations shall call her blessed." To continue to quote scripture, she has been "counted worthy to suffer dishonor" for justice sake. Angela Davis is a Communist, in this case and it is a name for vilification nowadays, though the early Christians, working for the common good became communists in a very literal sense. "Property, the more common it becomes, the more holy it becomes," St. Gertrude said in the middle ages.

That quotation from the Magnificat used by the Communist daily, reminded me of the Scottsboro case during the depression, when we were all fighting the death sentences of nine black youths in the South. I used the headline on the front page of **The Catholic Worker** "The Scottsboro Boys are the Children of Mary," which is the name of a pious association for youth in the Catholic Church. This caused great controversy among our readers although I explained in the body of the text that they should read in John's Gospel how Jesus from the Cross, called out to Mary, his mother, "Behold thy son," and to the apostle John, "Behold thy mother." The Gospel account continues, "and from that time, the apostle took her for his own." So we are all children of Mary.

Certainly in the light of this teaching, since Christ is our brother, Angela Davis is our sister, and we love and esteem her as such. We cannot and must not prejudge her case any more than we can the case against Fathers Phil and Dan Berrigan.

Angela Davis is a beautiful young woman, a graduate of Brandeis University, and at a time when jobs even in the academic field were scarce, risked her livelihood by openly stating her faith in the kind of social order which she thought would bring justice and a better life for her black brothers and sisters. We all know the flagrant discrimination which keeps the black in the slums, the first to be fired, the last to be hired; unable to achieve the status of college students and so the first to be drafted for the ever extending war in Southeast Asia where our mad violence has laid waste the land and slaughtered its people. And then we decry the violence of a class conflict. Father Daniel Lord, the Jesuit once pointed out the main objections to the Communists. They wanted to do away with private property, they instigated class war, they denied God. And I could always point out looking around me at the homelessness of the destitute, the ever worsening slums, the expropriation of small homes for highways and other public projects, including luxury housing—that we Americans are the most flagrant deniers of private property for the masses. And as for war used as a means to subdue our enemies, we have glorified it and continue to try to glorify it as a holy crusade against Communism; as for denying God, how often do we deny Christ in our destitute brothers, or in those of a different color, race or creed?

According to our boast as Americans we consider everyone innocent until he is proved guilty—or we are supposed to. And what a travesty we see. From the time a man or woman is arrested he is treated by judge, and court and jail attendants as though he were guilty. The very heavy bail prejudges him guilty and liable to jump bail at the first opportunity. The poor are judged because they are poor and since they cannot raise even a fifty or hundred dollar bail bond, they are kept for long months awaiting trial.

Last winter, Sister Donald Corcoran, a Benedictine nun from Minnesota who was working with us went out during the Christmas season in snow and sleet and picketed and kept vigil one night at the Woman's House of Detention, where Angela was being held for the months while her lawyers tried to prevent her extradition to southern California, where the case is prejudged and by its very presence an incitement to violence on the part of the police. Of course there is many another incitement; poverty, injustice, unemployment and discrimination, are already incitements to violence. I should not say "poverty." I should say **destitution** which is what the "poor" American suffers today, ninety-nine per cent of them, whether they are Afro-American, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, Filipino, Indian or any other shade of color. Or just poor white.

Angela Davis is already judged because she admits she is a communist. She was also a teacher of philosophy at a California university and losing her job because she was a communist.

And yet today Catholics can boast that the Vatican has started an Institute of Marxist Studies. It makes me want, though it is rather late to do so, to enroll in the Marxist school here in New York. Of course we should all study Marxism, instead of thinking always of the dangers of such knowledge of a philosophy and economic theory which has dominated today the thinking of much of the world.

Black Studies

I was looking back today in the Catholic Worker past, thinking of how much we had to do with the situation of blacks, how much contact we had with them. From the very first issue in 1933 we have covered the story of discrimination as to jobs.

We were living then in an Italian, German and Irish neighborhood, so there was no close contact in New-York. But as Houses of Hospitality began opening up, we had houses in Houma, Louisiana, Memphis, Tennessee, and Baltimore. The Baltimore House was crowded with blacks coming up from the south looking for jobs. They filled

(Continued on page 6)

Tivoli: a Farm With a View

By DEANE MARY MOWRER

Now on the brink of February, the early afternoon sun shines warm on the new-fallen snow covering the slippery surface of January's accumulated ice and snow. Clare Danielsson and I, lured by the sun to take holiday from the monotonous winter confinement of the house (Clare, who teaches, gets out regularly, but even teachers enjoy the pleasure and freedom of a Saturday walk) made our way cautiously along the narrow snow-banked path towards the pig and chicken quarters.

The pig, drunk with sunshine perhaps, greeted us with exuberant grunts and cavorted about his enclosure with a porcine nimbleness that might have aroused admiration in a goat. The chickens were snug inside their house, but as we approached we heard the hens singing with their accustomed sweetness.

Then, hearing our voices, the rooster crowed for us. "Where is Spring," he seemed to say, "Where is Spring." The dried brown leaves, still hanging on a nearby oak, made another kind of music as a winter breeze set them rustling.

And "Grapes", Johnny Hughes' coon hound—grown longer now, leaner, taller—so wrapped herself about me that I thought for a moment she was two dogs rather than one.

Then dog and pig and chickens, Clare and I murmured a peaceful wintry paean to the sun, the bringer of warmth, the promise of Spring.

Today, February first, the arctic air mass, which began moving into our area yesterday and brought our temperatures to sub-zero levels last night and early this morning, has kept me indoors warming my wintry mood with the memory of a meditative moment in the sun.

A casual comment on the radio caught my attention, as I twisted the dial in quest of a better weather forecast. February, the unknown commentator said, is derived from a word which meant *to purify*. And as most Catholics know, February is the month when we celebrate the great Feast of the Purification of Our Lady. That Feast we will keep tomorrow, the second of February.

Lent, too, usually begins some time in February—this year Ash Wednesday falls on February twenty-fourth—and this is certainly a period of purification, as are the preparatory weeks between Candlemas and Ash Wednesday. What better month then, than February for us to begin to purify ourselves, to purify not only ourselves but also our environment, which we human beings have for so long despoiled and polluted?

Thinking with a kind of winter-weather gloom about the great problems of pollution which confront us—the problems of earth, air, water, human pollution, I thought of the walk David Wayfield and I took to the river yesterday afternoon, the last day of January, the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany.

The great Hudson River, which our farm with a view overlooks, is so much a part of our lives that many of us must, from time to time, make pilgrimages to its banks to inquire of its news, its tidal movements, its deep-channeled quest of the sea.

Snow in the growing cold crunched under our feet as we walked. In the woods nearby several bluejays set up a wild alarm of shrieks and activity. Somewhere not far away, starlings and sparrows gossiped about the scarcity of grain in the snow-covered fields.

But when we had crossed the tracks and stood overlooking the river, there seemed to be no sound at all. Not even the cracking of the ice on the river. Only the music of silence which is like the breathing of earth. We stood in snow, and the river was sheathed with snow-covered ice, but ice with a rough uneven surface with great blocks of ice overlapping each other, frozen in mid-leap.

Down underneath the ice, the water flowed, bearing its heavy burden of pollutants which we human beings have forced upon it, silently pursuing its ancient course to the sea. I was glad that the ice gave the river a temporary freedom from the great oil barges and tankers, which, when the ice breaks up, will once again make this river their roadway, polluting the air with noise and the water with oil.

The thought of the tankers reminded me of the great spillage of oil which has taken place along our coasts as the result of collisions and other accidents. I thought of the ecological damage resulting from off-shore drill-

(Continued on page 5)

36 East First

By KATHLEEN DESUTTER

Perhaps winter reveals time's truest face. There are the holidays, sometimes holydays, when earth and heaven seem not so very far apart—for an instant masks can be removed, gifts and smiles exchanged, and the faces one has seen every single day appear suddenly beautiful. Between the freezing and the melting and the freezing again, a reminder: make of neither fire nor ice an idol. And in the quiet stillness of nights covered with snow, the silence itself can teach us once more how to "love the questions themselves."

For the questions, the questions sometimes come down hard. Mary Hughes' death early this month touched us all, even those who did not know her well, very deeply. And a few weeks later came more tradgedy, when Tony Biczewski was found dead in his apartment, apparently having suffered a fatal seizure. Friends will remember Tony's handsome, smiling Argentinean face, as well as the many good meals and times he was part of at the Worker. It is said that Rabbi Nachman, in order to persist in his struggling, thought every morning that only this one day was still left to him. May the memory of these and all our friends be strength for us to live.

Hospitality

The need for houses of hospitality is as great today as it has ever been; this we learn from William Stringfellow and Anthony Towne as well as from all the "ambassadors of God" who make a home at the Catholic Worker. The absence of and need for shelter for the poor and homeless become only too clear during the winter—trashcan fires and building hallways are ephemeral relief at best from this city's deadly cold. Genuine hospitality, like most important things, comes only at the cost of personal sacrifice. Higher taxes and patched-over welfare systems are neither causes of nor solutions to the fact that the rich grow richer while the poor remain poor. The "gentle revolution" toward a new society will surely come only as we care for one another daily, learn to know each other as brother and sister.

St. Joseph's House

An unusual "straightened up" look came over the Catholic Worker early this month, as all pitched in to make straight the paths to the fire escapes on each floor. As faithful as Arthur Lacey's teasing or Frank Donovan's smile (but not nearly so welcome), a serenic wailing of city fire trucks has become part of every night in this neighborhood over the past months, and it is impossible to be too cautious about fires in these buildings. One big task was the mailing of back issues of the paper to the dozen or more CW houses across the country. Louie, Brother John, Wong and Marcel work faithfully on the paper every day, with help from Charlie, Larry Burch, Julia, Mr. Anderson and others. At times I'm convinced, were we on the banks of the Mississippi rather than the Hudson, the entire second floor (distributing floor and office) would rise up, take afloat

(Continued on page 5)

THE FARMWORKERS' STRUGGLE

London, Joan and Henry Anderson. So Shall Ye Reap. New York, 1971: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. $6.95.

Starting in the 'fifties, urban Americans have been made increasingly aware of the plight of the farmworker, and the long struggle to establish a farmworkers' union to bargain with agribusiness. Much writing on the subject has been devoted to the personality of Cesar Chavez, or otherwise limited in scope to the present unionization drive and the conditions of poverty and discrimination against which the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (UFWOC) is fighting. Joan London and Henry Anderson have made a beginning at placing the present leaders and issues in the context of the century-long contest between California farm owners and the poor, non-white workers who have for so long made fortunes for others and fed the rest of America.

They effectively explode the mythology of California agribusiness, which claims to qualify for benefits and subsidies given to small family farms, and give a truer picture of how the state's profitable agriculture was built up. The irrigation system itself was first developed with the skills of Chinese immigrants, who were put to work in the fields they had made valuable. Later came Japanese, Mexican, Filipino, and, most recently, white, Jamaican, East Indian and Arab workers.

From the early ethnic struggles of Chinese and Japanese, to the militant strikes led by Wobblies just before World War I and Communists in the depression, the people in "shoe string" farm communities reacted to bad pay, working conditions and housing by trying to negotiate collectively with their bosses for a better break. But they lacked strong, united leadership based in the different ethnic groups, and faced vicious attacks by vigilantes and "law enforcement" officials who helped the growers import scab labor to break strikes.

The 'fifties and early 'sixties saw a series of attempts to organize the farm workers by Catholic priests, the National Agricultural Workers' Union, and the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers' Organizing Committee. The complex story of these years' failures brings home two clear points:

(1) The big time AFL-CIO bureaucrats had little interest in the farm worker. Ernesto Galarza, a persistent organizer, recalled: "One time I was at a meeting with three or four of them. It was at one of these plush motels. It would be beneath their dignity to gather in a workingman's place. There they were, around the pool, overflowing their swimming trunks, wallowing around in the water for all the world like a bunch of great white whales. I felt like Captain Ahab making the discovery of his life! If I had had a harpoon handy, I would not like to be responsible for what might have happened."

(2) Local, state and federal agencies —even those which were supposed to help working people—were always on the side of the government. While the Nixon-Reagan-Murphy crew were the most obvious enemies of farm labor, the Democratic Party and President Kennedy's Department of Labor betrayed the movement as well.

The UFWOC of the late sixties succeeded where others failed with the leadership of Cesar Chavez and Larry Itliong, a Chicano (Mexican-American) and Filipino who had themselves worked and organized in the fields for many years. The new union is careful not to depend on support from government agencies, and instead to build a community base with services like a credit union, insurance, and a gas co-op. While support from the UAW and AFL-CIO came through in large amounts, UFWOC has had to fight Teamster bureaucrats who sign "sweetheart contracts" with growers who want an easy way out.

London and Anderson show the sharp contrast between the approach of UFWOC and that of the "labor fakers." Unfortunately, they also try to fit the farmworkers' movement into a quest for something they call the "American dream," as when they say the farmworkers want "only those things which the American economy has demonstrated it is quite capable of conferring upon other workers: reasonable wages, reasonable safety and other working conditions, reasonable fringe benefits, reasonable job security, and, underlying all, a reasonable voice in determining what is reasonable." But recent years have seen millions of "other workers" thrown out of work, applying for food stamps, and sold out by union bureaucrats, government officials, and bosses. At the peak of Vietnam war casualties, more Americans were being killed on the job than in Southeast Asia! The authors fail to link the oppression of farm workers to that of other workers, who during the 'fifties' faced the same attacks on leaders who stood up for the rank-and-file.

Similarly, not once is rascism mentioned, although we can only understand the farmworkers' movement as part of the movement of Chicanos, Blacks, American Indians and other minorities for self-determination and against white racism. As a result, no clear explanation is given of why it is that white small farmers, whose objective interests lie in organizing collectively against big agribusiness rather than opposing the union, remain antagonistic to the mostly non-white workers. Nor is there any mention of racism in the refusal of white government officials to respond to farm workers' pleas for proper enforcement against growers' illegal practices.

Instead, the authors emphasize the supposed "great capacity . . . for endurance" of the Mexican who "shrugged" and felt "it was out of one's own hands." When unionists ignore the orders of hostile police, it is chalked up to the "inspiration from Thoreauvian friends of the movement." This stereotype ignores the long history of uprisings and strikes of the Mexican people, exemplified in the Revolution of 1910-1918, in which **campesinos** seized land for themselves and defended it. U.S. farm workers did not have to wait for white liberals to show them how to resist orders of racist sheriffs and judges. There is a strong, uncritical emphasis throughout the book on the virtues of non-violent leadership—including two priests and a farmer who were quite unsuccessful —but very little description of the experience and activity of the masses of farm workers, who in the beginning voted to strike over the reservations of Cesar Chavez.

It is suggested that for UFWOC to succeed, important factors will be the support of organized labor and influential liberals like Robert Kennedy, and a legal climate such as existed under the Wagner Act in the late 'thirties. But London and Anderson ignore these factors, both of which were absent, in blaming the failure of unionization in the early 'thirties' on revolutionary leadership. Similarly, they claim "the IWW's goals would ultimately have repelled most farm workers, who seek only decent wages and working conditions, and a voice in setsing them, rather than any revolutionary changes in society."

All of this ignores the question of whether the Di Giorgios, Nixons and Rockefellers will give up a fair share of the nation's wealth while they still control the land and industries, and pull the strings of government. The "American dream" seems impossible in this system of capitalism, in which racism is used to "divide and conquer" working people, unionists are threatened with joblessness, and people get not what they deserve but what they can fight for and defend together. More and more people are coming to see that only "revolutionary changes" can give working people a real voice in their lives, and decent income and working conditions for all. A young Chicano grape picker put it best when he said, "Our problems won't really be solved until we ourselves control the farms."

Tim MacCarry

BLESSED·ARE·THE·POOR·IN·SPIRIT·FOR·THEIRS·IS·THE KINGDOM·OF·HEAVEN·BLESSED·ARE·THOSE·WHO·MOURN·FOR·THEY·SHALL·BE·COMFORTED·BLESSED·ARE·THE·MEEK·FOR·THEY·SHALL·INHERIT·THE·EARTH·BLESSED ARE THOSE·WHO·HUNGER·AND·THIRST·FOR·RIGHTEOUSNESS·FOR·THEY·SHALL·BE·SATISFIED·BLESSED·ARE·THE·MERCIFUL·FOR·THEY·SHALL·OBTAIN·MERCY·BLESSED·ARE·THE·PURE·OF·HEART·FOR·THEY·SHALL·SEE·GOD·BLESSED·ARE·THE·PEACE-MAKERS·FOR·THEY·SHALL·BE·CALLED·THE·SONS·OF·GOD·BLESSED·ARE·THOSE·WHO·ARE·PERSECUTED·FOR·RIGHTEOUSNESS·SAKE·FOR·THEIRS·IS·THE·KINGDOM·OF·HEAVEN·

Rita Corbin

Farmworkers Versus Pentagon

By KATHLEEN DESUTTER

Fort Hamilton

On Martin Luther King Day last month, over 200 supporters joined Cesar Chavez and local UFWOC organizers in a demonstration at Fort Hamilton (Brooklyn) to protest the Department of Defense's strike-breaking efforts against the lettuce boycott. Figures supplied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that the government has significantly favored the Bud Antle firm (which has refused to sign or negotiate contracts with the UFWOC) in its lettuce purchases for the armed forces. The figures released show that in fiscal 1969 (July) the Department of Defense purchased $840,000 worth of lettuce from Antle ranches; in fiscal 1970 (July) the figure for such was $730,000; but in the first three months alone of the present strike, these purchases have totaled $750,000. Percentage-wise, it amounted to 9.9 per cent in fiscal '69, 8.3 per cent in fiscal '70, and 29.1 per cent in the first quarter of fiscal '71, which is to say, the defense department has tripled its purchases of lettuce from Antle since the strike began.

Consequently protests at military bases have sprung up the country over, and will continue as part of the farmworkers' struggle. Fort Hamilton was a particularly apt and uncommonly welcome base for our demonstration that cold winter morn. As we marched and sang outside its towering stone entrance pillars, we thought of the group of "G. I.'s United" inside, who had just issued a proclamation stating they would boycott the base commissary in solidarity with the farmworkers, and refuse to eat Bud Antle lettuce.

Foley Square

A cup of coffee and an hour later, we proceeded to Foley Square and the Municipal Court building. Here the demonstration grew to include striking telephone workers, members and leaders of many local unions, and several political officials. Looking out over this motley, noon-hour crowd, Cesar Chavez began his speech with a most logical question: "Often we are asked, why is it that so many groups who don't agree on other points come together in support of the United Farmworkers?"

"Ours is a gentle revolution," Cesar responded, "and our supporters know we're not here today and gone tomorrow, that we'll struggle to the end" . . . "The power of nonviolence is so immense," he continued, "that no power can stop it. We are willing to fight and to fight hard, but we are also willing to love. That is what the whole struggle's about: that men know each other and themselves as human beings."

The rally's finale came when Cesar and a union lawyer entered the court building to issue a federal lawsuit naming Secretary Laird, Bud Antle and Major Walter Higgins (commanding officer at Ft. Hamilton). The suit seeks a preliminary injunction to enjoin and restrain Laird and Higgins from engaging in lettuce purchasing activity in excess of amounts bought prior to the strike.

Post-Prison Poems

By JACK COOK

Soupline Revisited

As if two years ago today
(We meet again outside the Worker)
Were but a prolonged yesterday,
He and Blacky, his still sole partner,
Forget the cold and downward way.
"Hi, Man," "You've been gone a bit," he sighs.
My hand reaches out in warmth and play—
But strange scene! Our eyes suddenly die—
To see, to touch where lost fingers cry.

In Deerfield, Massachusetts
For Tricia and David

I celebrate the gentle ways
Your snowbound quiet home affords;
This little house so richly filled
With all that is needed, ennobled, and loved;
My tension-twisted First Street soul
Unwinds, and, as the drifted byway
Smoothed by the noxious snow-mobile,
My churning mind now softly rolls
In easy rhythm through dark and day.

David, we are miles, we are miles
From the prison life we shared;
Yet as Ahab felt still his lost leg,
So we, too, though free, remain barred—
From the common pursuits, the ruts, and files
Upon files of those who ingenuously beg
Accomplishment, as in iron cradles they climb
A weekend mountain; then wind down—sleek pegs
Seeking refuge in safe and sanitary holes.

O, Gentle ones, stay loved and loving still.

Jan.'71

+ + + LETT

From Puerto Rico

December 14, 1970

Dear Dorothy,

You probably remember me because I have been in touch with Pat Jordan. I talked to him for about three hours last summer when I was in N.Y.C. We talked about our struggle for independence and the perspective of using non-violence (we called it **militant pacifism** in Puerto Rico) as our tactic. Lately there has been much discussion among militant people on the whole subject of militant pacifism.

The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) have accepted militant pacifism as their way of struggling for independence and socialism. PIP is trying to be a political party and at the same time a movement of liberation. **"Peacemakers"** and **"A Quaker Action Group"** have been very much interested in our struggle for independence. Last summer I attended the first orientation program of the "Peacemakers" at North Carolina. About a month ago, PIP sponsored a seminar on civil disobedience and militant pacifism which was given to us by **Jean Goss** and his wife from the **International Fellowship of Reconciliation.**

I just wrote to Cesar Chavez expressing my solidarity with him for refusing to call off the lettuce boycott and choosing to remain in jail instead of betraying "La Causa." I wanted too that he know how our people are struggling against U.S. Imperialism. We have and are developing the following campaigns:

1. against the obligatory military service—Puerto Ricans are forced to serve in the Army of the U.S.A. since 1917. This campaign is so developed that nothing happens to the young men who refuse induction.

2. against the presence of **atomic** bases in our island. The U.S.A. controls 13% of our agricultural land for military purposes.

3. against the use of a tiny island called **Culebra** (about 20 miles east from Puerto Rico) as a **target** by the Navy of the United States.

The third point is the one that I am more interested to talk to you about today. Since April of 1970, the people of Culebra, the Puerto Rican Independence Party and other Puerto Ricans (in P.R. and in the U.S.) have been protesting against the constant use of Culebra as a target for the Navy of the United States and the navies of almost all Latin American and European countries. The people of Culebra and PIP have taken the following actions:

1. invasion by PIP of Navy target practice in Culebra for one day as an act of civil disobedience against a Presidential decree.

2. ultimatum given to the Navy people in Culebra by the people of Culebra.

3. a march of protest by the people of Culebra in Puerto Rico to make the **colonial** government of Puerto Rico and its people conscious of their problems.

4. a hearing in the U.S. Congress about the problem.

5. invasion by PIP of the Navy target area for four days.

6. another march in P.R. protesting the presence of the Navy in Culebra.

7. protest the decision of the Congress of the U.S. that the Navy should continue using Culebra as a target until the Department of Defense prepared a study about other possible spots for their target practice or the possibility of moving the 800 inhabitants of Culebra to another place in P.R.

8. 5 boats of Culebrans stop the Navy from making detonations of the old unexploded bombs buried in the ocean of Culebra, because this explosion was killing thousands of fish and destroying the the breeding places of fish.

9. last Saturday (December 12, 1970) about 500 Puerto Ricans living in the U.S.A. took a trip to Washington to protest the presence of the Navy in Culebra.

A Quaker Action Group, Puerto Rican Peace Center (the group that I work with), PIP and the Sane Committee of Culebra are going to sponsor a project in Culebra in early January. We are planning to build a chapel in the main target in Culebra as a symbol of **resistance** and **peace** in the face of the Navy shootings. I hope you will be interested in our project and would like to participate in some way.

Ivan Gutierrez del Arroyo

Through an oversight, we neglected to include the source of the article on "Socialism in Tanzania," translated from the French, which appeared in the January **Catholic Worker.** It originally appeared in the December 17, 1970 issue of **Temoignage Chretien,** the left-wing Catholic weekly published in **Paris,** and was reprinted by permission of the editors. The author, Denis Martin, is a young French writer who recently returned from Tanzania. We take the opportunity to call the attention of C.W. readers to this excellent journal, which was founded during the Resistance and each week provides informed commentary on political, ecclesiastical, and cultural matters. Its circulation in this country is apparently small (although some of our more perceptive journalists, like I. F. Stone, are faithful readers) and we are convinced it has a much wider potential audience. For information on subscriptions, write to: *Temoignage Chretien,* 49, faubourg Poissonniere, Paris 9e, France.

From Milwaukee

January 25, 1971

Dear Dorothy,

After a year in the state's maximum security prison, it seems only natural to be enthusiastically involved in a project like the Independent Learning Center. Many of the men I met in prison were from the neighborhood, working-class white and chicano, from which our school draws. Many of the men trapped in the revolving door of prisons began with problems our students now face.

ILC is a "free" school designed for the needs of low income, high school youth facing unbearable obstacles in the public school system. ILC is more than just a school for those involved. It is a whole style of living, focused on learning. Sometimes a staff member or student will spend over 12 hours a day in the school. We are open from 8 AM to 10 PM. There are no rules or requirements. A student can pick the subjects of his interest from about 30 course offerings, ranging from working in a Printing Co-op, Third World Studies, Math, Biology, Remedial Reading, English, Social Issues, to many more. Much use is made of the city as a learning tool. We regularly attend movies, meetings, plays, etc.

A first question asked by many who first discover us is how we are funded. The fact is that, although we are applying for private and government grants, we are not funded by anyone as of now. Since our beginning last fall, we have been making it financially with a little bit of aid from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, VISTA, a local government agency, and from our friends. We will be sending out our first appeal letter soon. We charge no tuition. One of the lessons we are learning is how to humanly survive independently in a capitalistic society.

Are we a legitimate high school? Thanks to the efforts of a local, private, Catholic high school our students are fully accredited for their participation in ILC.

The students are discovering that learning is fun; our staff and teachers are learning that working without financial profit is rewarding. And together we are growing.

If your friend in Worcester, or anyone else you know, is interested in knowing more about the school, there is material available which we can send. Our new address is 1437 W. Lincoln, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53215.

Peace,
Bob Graf

PS The Ex-Con Group plans are progressing slowly. However, soon we are sending over a thousand books and records to the State Maximum Security Prison.

From Baltimore

VIVA HOUSE
26 S. Mount Street
Baltimore, Md. 21223
December, 1970

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

A letter long over-due. In a small way we are still attempting to relate to the struggle in this country, and Baltimore still represents but another mirroring of the injustices perpetuated by the richest and most fire-powerful country in the world. You are many brothers and sisters who deserve more than our thanks for bearing with us and supporting us. Also, we would like to share with you the news of our last two years. We have not written a letter such as this since we first opened Viva House in October, 1968.

Our first days that October brought us in contact with the Catonsville 9, convicted felons for burning draft file trash in the public streets. We were able to share the house with them as a resting place during a week of momentous trial days. This experience helped to set some direction for the house, and provided insights into the "grotesque," that is, into the American system of injustice, which is today further—it pinpointed where poor people here and everywhere are trampled upon by Amrican Mother Church and Father State.

During the last two years we developed strong fellowship and community with the Catonsville people—Marge and Tom Melville, Mary Moylan, John Hogan, Dave Darst (died tragically in an auto accident last year), George Mische, Tom Lewis, Phil and Dan Berrigan. All of them helped us to grow. The days spent with these people before they were jailed (Mary is still "at large," to use their phraseology) were both beautiful and difficult. They all came at the issues from different viewpoints, and personalities; this helped to concretize and humanize many realities. One evident fact was agreed upon unanimously—the American way (the way of Nixon-Agnew, the way of an un-poor Church in bed with an exploiter State in complete disregard of the Testaments, the way of middle America clinging to properties, false securites, and the fable of electoral process) is crushing people and must be toppled with new imagination and alternatives.

It has become clearer to us, as it has to many Catholic Workers, that feeding, clothing, and sheltering people, as well as holding all property in common, are merely basic human responses to the inhuman condition, "goes without saying." The more enormous task is one of identification and confrontation. No one desires to view the children of the children of today's generation lining in the streets for bread, clothing, or shelter ad infinitum. On the contrary. If a poor person gains some knowledge of who is breaking his bones and spirit, he might refuse to be used any longer. He might, in fact, stand like the tree planted by the water—immovable. The American Giant is also firmly entrenched; he has dug in for the long haul and means to protect all the property he acquires, acquired, or will acquire. So it is extremely important to help in the identification of the enemy, and then refuse to accept his way of death any longer.

As we view things, the works of mercy are not "fantastic expressions" of Christian charity. They are merely expressions of humanity. Thus they are basic, but not solutions. We feel strongly that nothing but a revolution, a metanoia, a change of mind and heart will bring about what Nixon euphemistically calls "a just peace." To talk about reform or adhering to American law, which in the main protects property rather than people, is to talk absurdly. The need for new communities of resistance and new communities of life-style—building a new society in the monster's belly is fundamental. We have not taken up guns nor armed ourselves to the teeth, because we still do not see that as any solution. The rhetoric which urges poor whites and blacks to "kill a pig today" is not only **not** a solution, but this country is so powerful and so devious that it would (as a friend puts it) napalm the rebellious city slums while private industry raked in fantastic profits on the rebuilding. We still feel that non-violent resistance, which includes discriminate destruction of property, is still a workable alternative and has the best possible chance of winning the minds and hearts of the people. Of course many of you might view non-violence as naive or irrelevant, and we would welcome responses to this. At any rate, all of this—basic response to the human condition, the need for human resistance, and the formation of new communities is in the Christian tradition; it is in the tradition of Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day. More important it is in the human tradition.

After the trial we began living in community with those severely damaged by the American way of life—the rag-tag real; the winos who came at all hours, at any hour; the addict who needed the house TV set for funds and the addicts who got to feeling so good they burned a mattress and tossed it out the third floor wind; the mothers who came with their babies while the husband was imprisoned or just off the scene; those just released from hospitals or jails with no jobs and no money; and people in need of a simple meal or a place to relax. Meeting all of these people crystalized what the Catonsville people talked about and helped us to understand what this country was really about. During the time from November, 1968 to December, 1969 the number of people coming to the door for food or relaxation increased to such a degree that our house was too small for the numbers. So, in September, 1969 Willa, myself, and Tom Lewis (one of the Catonsville 9 and an artist who lived with us and worked on an eye-opening portfolio about prison and America) decided that we would concentrate all our efforts into providing a "living room" atmosphere for all the people who visited us each day.

After many weeks in the streets and long hours of discussion with regard to the relevance of a storefront, we located a place in a commercial area five blocks from our house and began building — Viva House — a Catholic Worker Community to serve the people—the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love.

Our goal from the outset was to make this a people's place and to create an atmosphere that would bring people together and lend itself to the discussion of important issues. So we converted three rooms into a kitchen, a clothing room, and a community dining room. Tom Lewis painted two huge signs on the outside that read "VIVA" and

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"CELEBRATE LIFE;" he also gave the inside walls a real expression of Viva with his silk screens and etchings. Phil Grimes worked with us last December and January and wrote Bobby Seale's Parable with Gren Whitman's sequel on the main wall. The parable is one for all times and all places and has created much discussion among the community; it deals with a hog who enjoys a necessity of life, water, and then will not allow his brothers and sisters to do so. So the parable is a vivid portrayal of life around the globe.

At present we are open at the storefront from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m., Monday thru Friday. We have coffee and cookies (Al Lewis provides us with Nabisco treats) on a help-yourself basis and then serve a robust soup around noon. Thus we have attempted to do away with a dreary soup line and hopefully open up new areas of communication. Our clothing room is open to encourage the women to stop by. Willa tries to pursue with them some of the real issues of womens' liberation. Society certainly needs to hear the voice of women and women certainly need the support of their sisters. Without engaging in heavy dialogue, we've been able to talk about the inhuman conditions in peoples' lives and then search for the causes. Poor people know existentially about the burdens "right on" their backs and they speak of them all the time. So it is only a further step to learn who makes the burden so heavy and why they are forced to carry it. This is the first step in the identification and confrontation of the enemy. It is the beginning of "self-help" and revolutionary change.

Our house on Mount Street is now a community house with everyone sharing in the communal experience. Frank, a social worker, Chris, a worker at a neighborhood day care center where our daughter Kathleen enjoys herself, Joe and Jim, who operate the storefront with us, and Willa, Kathleen and I form the body of the community. The entire experience is opening up vast areas for growth.

Again we thank all of you, but particularly we are extremely grateful to Mary Brawley who helped us in the rough early months, to Pauline Lewis, who prepared some tremendous meals for the people, to the Baltimore Anawim Community, which has done much to keep us going, to all those who cooked the holiday feasts at the storefront, to all our donors, particularly an anonymous donor who gave us the impetus to begin and continue the storefront.

So, after thanking all of you, we again seek your continued support. Our financial resources are decreasing rapidly and the storefront bills increase every month. The rent is $125; the gas, electric and heating bills run as high as $60 a month during the cold months; at present more than 100 people come in for coffee and we serve more than 70 meals each day, (these figures have risen every month since we opened) so food and supplies are costly; the four of us who work at the storefront do this full time and work odd jobs (when we can find them) to pay part of our living expenses. Thus, our operating the storefront depends entirely upon donations. We would enjoy hearing from you and be assured that you are more than welcome anytime. All power to a change of mind and heart in America!!!

With love,
Joe, Jim, Frank, Chris
Willa, Brendan, Kathleen

From England

Taena Community
Whitley Court
Upton St. Leonard
New Gloucester, England

Dear Dorothy,

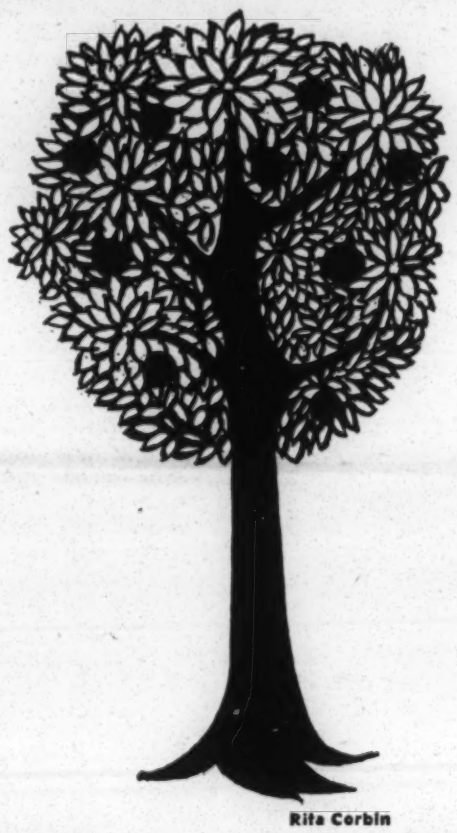
I often think of writing to you, especially when the **Catholic Worker** arrives, but when I start there is always the same difficulty of sorting out what there is to say.

We hear so much about America in the news: I am always reminding myself that there is another more important America which one hears of in the **Catholic Worker**, and that there nothing could ever be as cold as it sounds on the news. The same sorts of things go on in England, but on a smaller scale and their effects are more subtle, and what one has to rebel against is less obvious. It is probably why we tend to become apathetic.

Things here at Taena haven't changed much. The Bishop has now given us permission to have Mass in our own chapel once a week, and we are served by one of the monks from Prinknash. We recently had a very happy Mass with several First Communions: we had a large congregation of visitors, and we (including the children) were able to take part in the readings, the bidding prayers and in the singing. We also had a most enjoyable breakfast party afterwards.

We now have an Indian working on the farm. He seems to have settled down quite well, and we enjoy his company a lot.

Apart from the weekly Mass and a weekly meeting in each other's houses on Saturday evenings, we have no organized community as such, but I'm



Rita Corbin

beginning to see how being related "at home" is the way to be related in the world. Sometimes it seems that everything in society nowadays militates against this happening, and that modern society only requires one in a functional capacity; and that moments of real being are less often possible.

Recently we were able to go to two meetings conducted by a Zen Buddhist monk who was visiting the Community near here. Altogether we spent only four hours there, but it made a great impression on me. I came away with the notion of wholeness. Everything is Zen; it can't be split up by us into good and bad. What I have to do will come out of my seeing, and not out of my superficial intellectual involvement. A lot of it is what June says, and a lot is what Sebastian Moore says, viz., that God is the meeting, not that God is in the meeting, not that God can be so to speak injected into life to improve it but that God is the whole of life, and is to be found by us in it, exactly as it is. On a beautiful day like today when to step outside is like stepping into Paradise, it isn't difficult to believe—but there are other days.

People like you who have been in prison seem to know about these things better than we. I remember that book about a concentration camp by Primo Leir and called IF THIS IS A MAN: one is taken through the most horrible situations that one could possibly imagine, and yet one is never drawn into resentment or hatred—one is shown what is, and out of it comes an extraordinary charity.

I think most of us are suffering the consequences of having put the intellect on a pedestal.

I think the move in England towards Comprehensive Schools will foster our appreciation of man as a whole again. We have a new one that has recently been opened in our district and all our younger children are going to be able to go there. It is a most exciting development.

We all send you our love and very good wishes. We read the **Catholic Worker**, and we think about you a lot although we so rarely write.

With very much love,
Hilary and Ron

Community For The Retarded

We are a family that has spent the last several years living in a village community for mentally retarded adults, and are now interested in establishing a hostel for these folks within commuting distance of an urban area. This home as we visualize it would initially accomodate our own family, plus volunteer staff and 10 or 12 handicapped residents in a sort of extended family relationship. This would provide a home away from home for those whose own families are no longer able to meet their needs, because of the death or disability of the parents. We feel that we could provide a homey atmosphere, and tension-free environment that is so essential if these folks are to be able to function in the work a day world. With this kind of supportive family background society can become a source of stimulation instead of a source of failure. In this sheltered residence they may continue to develop their own personality and social skills through vocational work and recreation. We would expect to utilize the resources of the community not only for its employment potenitial for these folk, but for cultural and recreational activities as well.

We would expect to staff this home exclusively with volunteers. Would any readers of the paper like to join us in this venture? Is there an existing religious community that would be interested in our services in an auxillary role? Would a diocese or religious community allow us the use of a building to initiate this project?

We are willing to relocate anywhere to bring this dream to reality, and we would like to accomplish this during the summer months so as to interfere as little as possible in the children's education. Our address:

Hostel Box 33
Tivoli, New York 12583

Tivoli: a Farm With a View

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ing, the damage that will undoubtedly ensue from the great pipeline to be placed in Alaska.

I thought of the immense wealth of the oil companies, of the billion-dollar families that have been founded on and flourish on this oil, of the many who work for the oil companies, of all who use the oil—for heat, for power, for the multiple industrial uses of oil. So many of us are involved. Even here at the farm, we enjoy the heat of an oil-burning furnace.

I thought of the lands from which the oil is taken, and of the people who dwell in poverty there and have no use of the oil and derive no benefit from it. Yet once the great oil companies have totally depleted the land of this fossil fuel, there will be no more for the descendents of these poor people, nor for any of us.

The great geologic cycles of time that result in fossil fuels take eons of time, and are beyond, I think, even a computer's calculation. The responsibility of the great oil companies to today and our immediate future seems heavy and obvious.

Oil spillage not only ruins our coasts and kills vast flocks of shore birds, but also destroys immense quantities of living creatures in the sea. When we add the damage of oil pollution to the many other dreadful pollutants we have cast into the sea, we begin to see what the scientists mean who say that if we do not halt this polluting, the vast ocean will become a dead sea where no life can grow, where no longer will there be a huge storehouse of food to feed the hungry generations of man.

Then indeed millions of human beings will need to fear famine. Yet this need not be. The oceans can be saved, can become the reservoirs of food which will feed future generations if we—enough of us human beings—insist that the terrible polluting be stopped.

The great industrial and military complexes which have been responsible

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and aptly rename itself "The Showboat."

Harry Woods, who recently briefed a T.V. audience on the Catholic Worker, has found himself in a curious position. On our regular Friday morning trips to Hunts Point Market for vegetables; you could often catch him muttering "I am actually boycotting someone I usually **beg** from!" (referring to the House of Bud, distributors for Antle who carry only scab lettuce and are refusing to cooperate with the UFWOC). Marcel, sporting a different hat for each occasion, has taken to wearing a button with a smile on it, so that in case he's not smiling, it can smile for him (Walter's considering getting a bushel of such buttons). Ever-Irish John McMullen, who needs no button for his smile, has added barley to his variety of soup bases. And Marty Arundel won a prize for turning the tables on joker Earl Ovitt when he bestowed upon him an autographed copy of **Fat Power.**

A bit of "culture" visited First Streeters the past weeks, as Noreen Toth sang in the Master Institute Chorus and listeners enjoyed works of Bach, Handel and other Baroque artists. And to the dismay of Mary Galligan's Scottish ears but the pleasure of some others, we've had our own "country and Western" music from Carolinian Walter on several occasions. Scotty of course always adds his own music. Though he slows down more every day, his physical stamina continues to astonish the medical world, and he laughs all too knowingly when reminded of his multiple proposals of marriage.

There seemed to be many hands around the house this month. Eric Spencer, from Colgate, added a real lift to the spirit and work the weeks he was with us. Connie Parks came down from Detroit for a week, and Jean LaRose, Dana's sister, visited one weekend. Just after Tom and Jeremy Gill left behind the California sun for a taste of NYC's winter, Paul Quinlan returned to Oakland after several months at the Worker. We wish you grace in your searching, Paul. Chuck Matthei, whose commitment to peacemaking challenges us all, has been in town for several weeks.

Friday meetings brought much of interest along with Jonas' sassafras tea. One evening Chris read essays from **The Green Revolution**, and from the lively responses of workers and scholars one would have thought Peter Maurin himself were present. Father Pierre Conway, an old friend to the Worker, analyzed the worker-priest concept. And from Cooper Union came Professor Richard Bowman, who described the many different types of "religious searching" he and his students have discovered on the Lower East Side. The man and his message conveyed a deep, simple unity that all people have in the face of their common seeking.

January takes its name from Janus, a Roman god and patron of beginnings who was to have had one head but two faces. It has been the month, for instance, when Apollo 14 took off and a "conspiracy to save lives" was arrested. We watch with Merton for the sign of Jonas, when "what was vile has become precious, what was cruel has become merciful," and rededicate ourselves to living every moment in such a way that this sign might emerge.

CROSSING INDIA: GANDHI'S INFLUENCE

(Continued from page 1)

fifth class and the smallest is in the third class."

I noticed that his hair was streaked with grey, though his round face was fairly young. He must be close to forty, I thought.

"I have to work long hours, but I can earn 200 rupees in a month."

He was proud of his achievement. I realized that he was one of the more fortunate men among the hundreds of thousands who had been sucked into the great dark maw of Calcutta from the surrounding countryside. Not many of them made $27 a month and had all their children in school. Mother Teresa knew people in all parts of Calcutta and she never mentioned how they had met. I often wondered at what point of need their lives had been touched by the works of the Missionaries of Charity.

As we settled ourselves on the hard slab of a seat in our compartment, Dorothy Day said happily, "I am looking forward to this train trip across India. I am glad we could not fly."

Mother Teresa said, "You have plenty of room here in this compartment. Even the Third Class in these big trains is mostly quite empty. I often sleep in the luggage rack on a long journey."

I knew her habit of hoisting her small body onto the hammock-like rack for a quiet sleep after she had finished writing letters—her invariable task on the train journeys that took her to visit Missionaries of Charity in twenty cities of India. I had no heart for the train journey and was only forced into it because Dum Dum Airport was under water, a casualty of the floods that paralyzed Calcutta during part of our stay.

I was still enveloped in the anguish of Calucutta, in the dead of the leper hostel at Dhappa where human flesh putrifies before one's eyes, in the stupor of the countless men, women and children who live and die on the streets and alleys, in the despair of the shack dwellers whose mud and straw shelters had been turned into mounds of slime by the pitiless monsoon deluge. I had resisted until the last moment buying the train tickets for Delhi. I had hoped that a speedy plane trip and a plunge into activities in Delhi would help lift the hopelessness that weighed me down. But when all flights were cancelled, there was no choice.

Mother Teresa gave us a bag of apples for the trip and stood to wave us off, a tiny white figure in the press of people on the Howrah platform.

A waiter took our order for breakfast, explaining that at eight o'clock the next morning a dining car would be attached to our Kalka Mail train. Then our beds were readied, meaning that two upper berths were opened out. The berths were covered with a leather-like material that was hard and unresilient.

The two women who shared our compartment took out their coverlets and blankets and made themselves comfortable for the night. One was a young woman with Chinese or Tibetan features, the other, an older Indian woman whose grand-daughter was brought to her berth as soon as it was made up. Dorothy Day stretched out on her bare slab without a murmur.

I climbed to the upper slab, noticing that the dust of the plains had begun to sweep in through the window. A fan in the ceiling, just above my face, swirled the dust around like light brown snow. As soon as the lights were put out, the compartment door was opened, and another current of dust entered from the open windows in the corridor.

There was no breakfast at eight o'clock because the dining car never met up with the Kalka Mail. We looked out at the groves of mango trees and at an occasional neem tree with fingerlike leaves. Rice paddies in uneven shapes gave way to stretches of land with herds of cows and goats.

They were watched by men naked except for loin cloths. One of them stood like a statue, braving the molten sun under an enormous black umbrella.

In one long field, a white-clad farmer followed two stark white bullocks in ploughing a furrow. We passed village after village, squat and dun-colored. When the homes were thatched, they seemed to cling to the earth like large mushrooms. The roofs of many village houses were of orange-red tile, brightening the landscape like bunches of marigolds.

I always looked for the mandir, or temple, and sometimes spotted it. The temple of one neat village, near Etawah, stood alone at some distance from the houses. The fluted bulbous dome shone like a yellow balloon against the pale blue sky. Despite the encrusting dust, which was swept up every few hours by a railroad employee, I began to be glad that I was crossing India by train. I thought of the villages I had known on earlier visits. There was often poverty, but not the death-in-life poverty of Calcutta.

There was beauty, too, in the naked, darting children, in the graceful women and their brass waterpots, in the red mark that a woman carried along the middle part of her black hair.

This was the mark signifying that her thoughts should be concentrated on her husband and that her fidelity should be total and eternal. There was beauty in the way the men worked with their animals, and above all, in the way they carried out the sacred custom of "cow protection." This was not merely superstition, but, as Gandhi put it, cow protection stood for "the protection of the dumb creation of God."

I thought back to Calcutta and of the victory I had won over myself. When Mrs. John, a dying Anglo-Indian, was being brought to the Kalighat Hostel, I had been able to help carry her. She was resting on a light wicker chair which was borne by two Sisters.

By an effort of will, I had supported her legs from the ambulance to the pallet in the Hostel for the Dying. That one small act made me feel better about my stay in Calcutta.

My thoughts were interrupted by the noise of our entry into a busy station—Allahabad, the holy city at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna rivers. Here at last we could order breakfast from good hawkers or from the station canteen. It was close to 11 a.m. For Dorothy Day, who needs an early cup of coffee to start moving in the morning, this must have been the hardest day of our whole journey. I had longed to spend some time in this ancient pilgrimage city and was disappointed that all we could see from our carriage window were some far-off roofs and nearby crows pouncing on scraps of refuse on the platform.

At Kanpur, a number of other passengers were consigned to our compartment. They included a Parsee woman with high-bridged nose who spoke perfect English, a beautiful, liquid-eyed Punjabi girl in purple pants, turquoise overblouse and flying filmy scarf, and, much to our surpise, a boy of about twelve. Ours was a woman's compartment, but the boy's mother explained that because of his age, he was assigned this place during the day-time ride. He was a Sikh youngster, too young for a beard and full turban. His uncut hair was secured in a top-knot covered in white material and tied with a white butterfly bow. Sikh, Assamese, Parsee, Punjabi, Orthodox Hindu from central India—here in one compartment we had a sampling of the dazzlingly wide spectrum of India's racial and religious groups.

Instead of proceeding to Delhi, our train was switched to a siding where we sat for a steaming hour. There had been an accident and the tracks ahead had to be cleared. We got to know our compartment mates. The young woman with what I took to be Tibetan or Chinese features was an Assamese doctor, on her way to Delhi to "stabilize" (her word) her appointment to a government hospital in Manipur. She was tall and slender and her dark grey silk sari was splashed with orange and yellow flowers. The Indian woman with the seven-year old grand-daughter spoke no English. At six o'clock in the morning, she had sat upright with a prayer book in front of her to begin a low chant of a chain of mantras. Her husband, who came in from another carriage, introduced her to us and offered to share with us the wicker basket filled with vegetarian foods that they had prepared for the journey. We took some rich honey sweets.

We talked with the Parsee woman about our stay in Calcutta. The Parsees came to India from Persia in the 7th century, taking refuge from the Moslems who overran their country. They have preserved their Zoroastrian reverence for the elements such as fire and water. There is a never-extinguished fire burning in their temples not unlike the sanctuary lamp in Catholic churches. Reincarnation is not part of their system of belief. Instead they see the soul as facing a Last Judgment. Each soul must cross a bridge which narrows for the sinful one until he falls into the kingdom of darkness, but expands for the righteous one so that he reaches the kingdom of light. The Parsees are well known for their social welfare and educational initiatives, especially in Bombay. When we mentioned that we had seen the work of Mother Teresa, the woman became animated. She not only knew about her work, but felt somewhat involved since her nephew had been the winner of the white Cadillac raffled by Mother Teresa.

"You know," she reminded us, "that the Cadillac was given to Mother Teresa by Pope Paul when he came to Bombay for the Eucharistic Congress. We all took tickets because the money would go to the care of lepers. My nephew could never use such a car, he sold it and gave a part of the sale money to Mother Teresa."

As we talked on, we found out that the Parsee family to whom I had been closest during my second stay in India were also close friends of hers. I wondered if perhaps most Parsees in India either know, or knew of each

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On Pilgrimage

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every room of the old house we had rented which had formerly been headquarters of the longshoreman's union. There were many homeless and unemployed so we were certainly overcrowded and perhaps a health hazard. One of our friends donated his truck and moved in with the two young men who were running the house and there was not a day when we were not taking some of our poor friends to the hospital. There were four young men running the house and many a time they donated blood. They gave up their beds and slept on the floor to accommodate these destitute ones. What is more they endured danger and abuse. A number of times men had to be gently disarmed. They had the courage born of crisis and the sense of safety which comes from a deep religious faith. "Were you never afraid?" I asked Jim Rogan once. "When I had to take a knife away from a man, I sure did shake a bit afterward." He told me another time, rather sheepishly, that one night when he had been sleeping on a bench he awoke to find a man urinating on him. It was to show his contempt—that was the hideous part of it—the contempt, the resentment, the bitterness of the poor.

The house was eventually closed by court order as a public nuisance. The boys had already been in court a number of times. When the young men were brought to court, priests from the Josephites (Father Phil Berrigan's order) testified for them, especially when the charge was that they were running a disorderly house. Nevertheless the house was closed. Whites and blacks together under one roof was not acceptable at that time in Baltimore. Jim Rogan went into a conscientious objector camp which, to the benefit of all concerned, was a "camp" within the Alexian Brothers Hospital in Chicago. He took his training as a male nurse there. He used this training some years after his marriage to go to Durban, South Africa with his wife and two children, and work in a hospital for Africans and Indians for three years.

The Houma house was closed also because it was interracial. The young priest who started it, Father Jerome Drolet, made a vacant lot into a ball park and had interracial teams competing thereon. He also was indiscreet enough to invite men off the road into the rectory to take showers and partake of hospitality there, which was not at all acceptable to his pastor. So he was transferred and the house was closed. Perhaps he was kicked upstairs to study sociology at Catholic University in Washington, D.C. I am not sure. He has since had the courage to face a crowd, a mob (with his only companion a Protestant minister) which was trying to build up the lynching spirit against a lone black man and his two children who were trying to enter a white school when attempts were made to integrate it.

The Memphis House also is closed now. It was run as a day care center for babies of the neighborhood whose mothers were cotton picking in Arkansas and Mississippi. I stayed there also when it was against the law for whites and blacks to share the same house. The house was closed when the girl who ran it moved west. She was a young black nurse, and a skilled writer. She married and has a family of her own now.

Our contacts continue. Right now in the house of hospitality at First street two black women help mail out the paper, and Jimmy, whose she long hair I am always threatening to comb for him, is an interesting artist whose pictures we have never been able to reproduce in the CW because they are in wild color and certainly on the psychodelic side. Marion has a dog, where she lives down the street who has a strong and ominous bark. She named him Heathcliff. Minerva is always bringing treats to us all from her own home in Seagate—where she has a number of grandchildren who visit us too. Her recent treat was a big pan of cornbread dressing for our Christmas turkeys, and the other day she came in with a plate of fried chicken and hot biscuits, a meal not enough for the House, but enough for the women on the third floor.

In Harlem itself there are Joe and Audrey Monroe who spend many a week end and holiday with us at Tivoli. Joe was the one who triggered the demonstration at Morningside Park over Columbia University making a deal with the city to get a piece of that Harlem public park for their gymnasium. He was the one who sat on the bulldozer and led the demonstration and was arrested with eighteen others. During the occupation of one of the Columbia buildings during the student strike, Joe and Audrey organized a mobile soup kitchen and brought food to the blacks in Jackson Hall. They should have written about this but it is like pulling teeth to get people to write of their adventures and our activists do not include good interviewers right now. Elaine Freeman, a beautiful young woman with five children in the Tivoli slum, is a writer too and has contact with a number of those at the farm. We are a good school of non-violence, I often think, with class war (workers and scholars), race war, war of the sexes, war between young and old, children and parents, always breaking out in small ways in our midst.

"Black studies" into our own situation in the United States, our history, culture and religion is going on apace. We are calling attention to the emerging Africa, right now to such leaders as Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, and Milton Obote.

In This Column

It all goes together somehow—the things I write of in this column, things that have happened in the past, things that are happening today. The past looks unutterably horrible with its lynchings and the tale has been told again and again of blacks burned alive, dragged behind cars through the

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Crossing India

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other. She asked us if we had friends to go to in Delhi. When we mentioned that we were worried as to whether we would be met since we did not know whether our wire had been delivered, she offered to have her husband and family take care of us until we had found a place to stay. Fortunately it was not necessary. When we arrived in Delhi, we were met by Debora Schack of the Grail Team and Ad Perquin, nutritionist on the Catholic Relief Services staff. We were the classic dust-begrimed travelers and were glad to be driven to the International Guest House of the YMCA. We had completed the 900 mile trajectory in 25 hours.

Most visitors to New Delhi make their way to the Rajghat, the cremation-place of Gandhiji. Dorothy Day and I sat and prayed under a veranda facing the shrine-area. In front of us, lettered large were the words of the Gandhi Talisman, and they seemed to become part of our prayer. It began: **Recall the face of the poorest and the most helpless man whom you have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he be able to gain anything by it? Will it restore him to control over his own life and destiny?**

Gandhi's message ended with the confident assertion that if the action were truly in the direction of self-rule for the neediest and most spirtually starved of our fellowmen, then all our doubts about ourselves and our work would disappear. It was the hottest time of the day as we rested there, but the stream of people never abated. It was a healing time for us to see the reverence for Gandhi in this peaceful, open place. We had just come from a city where there was an active campaign to smash the pictures of Gandhiji, to vandalize Gandhi libraries, and to do everything possible to erase Gandhian teachings from the minds of the young. New Delhi was in this respect an antidote for Calcutta.

Across a wide road from the Rajghat is the Gandhi Museum where we saw a large photograph of Gandhiji lying dead, his breast pierced by three bullets. As the bullets smashed through his body, his mouth had framed his last word, "'Hey Ram," "Oh God." We had an appointment with the Secretary of the Gandhi National Memorial Trust, located near the Gandhi Museum. Devendra Kumar Gupta, the Secretary, took us into his plain office and served us a cold drink. The Catholic Worker was well known to him and he was happy that Dorothy Day had finally reached India. He was a tall man, dressed in plain white khadi, or homespun. We asked him about the weaving of khadi, a self-help activity basic to Gandhi's program of village uplift and self-rule.

"The khadi program goes on," said Gupta. "About 200,000,000 rupees worth is now produced annually." (The rupee is seven and a half to the dollar.) "Let me show you our newest spinning wheel."

He took out a compact spinning wheel and started to operate it. Dorothy Day was enthralled and related how her daughter Tamar had learned to spin and weave as a little girl. Dorothy practised on the little spinning wheel until she could work it.

"With this charkha, any villager could learn to spin. This is the smallest. It has only one spindle. There are some that have four spindles."

I thought of Gandhi sitting at his charkha trying to spur village India to meet its own needs so that the economic ties of colonialism could be broken. One of his rules for satyagrahi, those who took part in nonviolent campaigns, was, "He must be a habitual khadi-wearer and spinner. This is essential for India." The charkha became the symbol of Indian independence and is the central design of India's green, white and orange flag.

Gupta went on to talk in a measured way about the Gandhian social programs very much alive in India.

"You know that the work of Vinoba is spreading. It keeps alive the spirit of Gandhiji, **sarvodaya,** the welfare of all. The gift of land, the **bhoodan,** launched us into a much more revolutionary step, the **gramdan,** gift of village. The title of all the village land is turned over to the village assembly. The owner can still cultivate it and can will it to his heirs, but he must not sell it without the agreement of the village assembly. One-twentieth of his land holdings will be surrendered to the landless of the community.

"Every family or working person is asked to donate yearly one-fortieth of his produce or work-time to a village fund. When three-quarters of the villagers including the owners of more than half the local land, are agreed on this course of action, we have a **gramdan** village.

"Nearly 100,000 of our villages are already **gramdanized.** But then we have about 580,000 villages in India. By far the greater number, over 40,000, are in the state of Bihar.

"These **gramdan** villages may be seen as islands of compassion where each member of the community is reminded daily of his loving dependence on every

other member. We set in a **gramdan** village how a meeting house, a nursery, a village store, a school, a mlik cooperative can be started through voluntary cooperation."

"But islands of compassion are not enough. We must find ways toward the kingdom of compassion. Perhaps Bihar, where Vinoba's work has brought the most fruit, can point the way. If most of the villages in Bihar, for example, make a declaration of **gramdan,** then there can be a gift of state. At that point, there would come into being a sort of social compulsion for the non-cooperators to cooperate. But there would be no other force or compulsion. The basis would be compassion, not compulsion.

"We started with the village. That is where more than four-fifths of our people are. Following Gandhi, we begin with the lowest and the least to build the new structures of the new society."

As Gupta spoke, his eyes were fixed on Dorothy with a gaze of warmth and compassion. I thought of Gandhi who went about the villages of India with the message of the Sermon on the Mount, telling people to practise mercy and compassion with each other, and also with their oppressors, the representatives of the British Raj. The kingdom of compassion that Gupta was talking about was none other than the kingdom of love, for mercy and compassion are only love responding to need, love going out to meet the needs of the person loved.

But Gupta was not anchored to a cloud. He had worked in a village himself and knew the tensions of day-to-day living.

"We need a group trained to resolve fights and tensions nonviolently. We have a real beginning in the Peace Brigade, the Shanti Sena. The first Shanti Sainiks were part of Vinoba's **bhoodan** teams, but in the past few years, people outside the bhoodan movement have volunteered. The Gandhi Peace Foundation, a part of the Gandhi Trust, is taking over the training of Shanti Sainiks in nonviolent techniques in various cities."

We asked him what sort of activities the Shanti Sena would engage in.

"I will tell you a personal experience," he replied. "I was at a meeting when a man appeared who belonged to the community to which Gandhi's assassin belonged. The group was en-

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A Farm With a View

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for such terrible forms of pollution must not only stop polluting but also bear the major cost of cleaning up areas they have polluted.

Surely the struggle against pollution is one where youth is most needed, where the energy, intelligence, daring, and idealism of young people will almost certainly result in victory. For if they lead in such a struggle, they will be surprised how many older people will follow, how easily the generation gap can be bridged in such a cause.

Let them throw away their brain-damaging drugs and their masks of apathy or nihilism. Here is a cause, a challenge, a dedication on which their future depends, their future and the future of their children and their children's children's future.

Here in the struggle against pollution is reality, is relevance. Let them hold up, as the great mythological hero, Hercules, once did, the weight of the world, the fate of Earth's survival. Let them, by destroying the ugly dragons of pollution, by making Earth fair and fruitful again, "give beauty back to God."

But now, today, it is the first of February, and an arctic air mass holds us in the prison of winter. We are a large family this winter, and so have more problems. We have more children, ranging from under a year to fourteen.

As one might expect, some noise and confusion attend the order of our day. Nights, too, sometimes, though we also have our pleasanter periods. What with winter cabin fever, there seem to be more personality clashes among us; and the traditional wars between the sexes, the young and the old, the workers and scholars, become more noticeable.

Our Catholic Worker community is, I think, a kind of microcosm of the larger society about us. Whatever the problems found there will probably be found among us. We almost always have persons living with us who are afflicted with alcoholism or mental illness.

In the past few years we have had more of the alienated young in our midst. At times we see the development of the sub-culture phenomenon, with its emphasis on underground activities, hostility towards authority and the old, glorification of drugs. Drugs are, of course, strictly forbidden in our community, since we have no way of coping with this problem.

Sometimes drug users do show up in our midst, but when discovered, they must leave. It is sad that anyone should have to go, but it is even sadder that anyone should take an unfair advantage of the beautiful freedom which is such an important part of the Catholic Worker tradition.

There certainly ought to be more halfway houses to help those who want to give up drugs. It has often seemed to me that this is a work which more religious orders might undertake. Some of them seem to be looking for something more relevant. What could be more relevant than helping the drug addict?

Not all the young people who come to us are alienated. Many are very helpful. Betsy Blakeslee is such a one. Betsy, who plays the guitar and sings sweetly, is also an enthusiastic organic gardener, and brought up many fresh vegetables last summer.

Last fall, she helped with the canning and preserving. Now she is one of Marge's principal assistants in the kitchen, and even succeeds in giving Alice Lawrence the day off she so much needs. Betsy's cooking and baking are not only good but good for one, according to the teaching of the health-food experts.

Another person who helps keep us up to par in health is David Wayfield, who not only bakes good whole wheat bread but also makes yogurt.

As always, there are many persons who deserve much credit for keeping things going during the difficult winter months. Marge Hughes, who is in charge, deserves much credit, but she has, thank God, a number of helpers. We thank them all.

Stanley Vishnewski and Hans Tunnesen have been making good recoveries, Stanley from his heart attack and Hans from his fractured arm and shoulder. As for the rest of us, we have our ups and downs with colds, viruses, etc.

In the month of January, we were all much saddened by the death of Mary Hughes. She was buried in the Catholic Worker plot in St. Sylvia's cemetery in Tivoli. Monsignor Kane and Father Andy Crusciel said the burial service.

Then Dennis Cox played and sang two songs, which Mary, I think, would have loved. There were present members of the Hughes family, many of Mary's friends, many from our community, and some who had known Mary for most of her life: Charlie and Agnes McCormick, Bob Ludlow, Anne Marie Stokes, and Mary Boyd.

The grave had been dug by men from our community; and Dennis's music hung over it like a wreath of song.

It is night of the first of February, the month which means *to purify.* Tomorrow is the Feast of the Purification. We move towards Lent. *Agnus Dei, miserere nobis.*

Interview With Cesar Chavez

(Continued from page 1)

lost points. The day after it was on TV, how bad the guys were. A lady came to the vigil in a Cadillac and gave $25. They wanted to take her name and address and she said no, I trust you: I'm giving you $25 because I think I understand one thing—I want to become an American again. I can't give you my name because my son is a grower." You see, that kind of spirit, that kind of discipline, nobody can reject. You can't beat it.

EL MALCRIADO—During the confinement, how did you feel physically and mentally?

CESAR—Physically very well. Psychologically I was prepared. Spiritually I knew I was going to jail. So I just made up my mind that I was going to go and not be suppressed. I said that they could have my body here but my spirit's going to be free. It took me a couple of days to get used to the routine. You see, all of a sudden I'm in jail—I'm confronted with just an upside down of my life schedule. On the outside I'm going 16 hours a day every day. I had to schedule my time inside so I would use it wisely and make the best out of my stay. I just settled down and said I got to work myself out of it, and I did. In fact the almost three weeks in jail did not seem like a long time. I lost about 15 pounds, eating about a quarter of what I would usually eat outside.

EL MALCRIODO—What are your thoughts about possibly going back to jail?

CESAR—I don't want to go back, but if I have to I will. To commit civil disobedience I wouldn't have had a hearing. I would just tell the judge I'm guilty, give me the maximum time. Although I wanted to do that, I had to consider the union. If it had been me personally I think that I would have pleaded guilty and asked for the maximum time.

EL MALCRIADO—What is in store for our future?

CESAR—Back to the grind.

ON PILGRIMAGE

(Continued from Page 6)

street, castrated and hung, fingers cut off and kept as souvenirs, stories to match the horrors of Vietnam and Brazil today. Only a few years ago students kidnapped, beaten and buried, two of them white youths and the other a black, was not the last atrocity in this tale of suffering. I remember the black who ran a little cleaning establishment who was locked in his shop which was sprinkled with gasoline and set afire a few years ago. It took him a few days to die. And how many black students and slum youth shot to death this last year!

It is hard to be complacent about gains made. Such gains for instance on my last visit to Natchez two summers ago when we could drive around in a car together, black and white, eat together at restaurants, visit the tutoring projects where black and white worked together. But destitution continues, the war goes on in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. And how many other wars are we responsible for, providing armaments for the world as we do.

I speak of past horrors, but who knows about the conditions in the prisons today, the beating and the torture which goes on. Where there is continuing suicides of young Puerto Ricans who have been beaten cruelly and who despair of any justice. Riots take place in four city prisons at one time, yet conditions remain the same and more terrorization continues. We can be glad that there are some among the whites, like the Berrigan Brothers who with all the others who have had jail experience are witnesses and accusers of the injustice of our so called justice, who are suffering side by side with their brothers.

We have a letter in this issue from Bob Graf, one of the Milwaukee 14, about the school for ex-prisoners which has been started in Milwaukee and which we will write more about as we learn more about it.

We would suggest too that more books be sent to prisoners, books such as Julius Nyerere's speeches and writings. There are two volumes of them, published by the Oxford University Press. In them are teachings for us all. Others beside me have found the similarity to Peter Maurin's writings, nobility of thought, the practicality, the simple directness of style. Keep asking for them in book stores. They are in paper back as well as hard cover.

As I am writing this I remember that in Dar es Salaam in Tanzania last September I was invited to speak to a class of sixteen Tanzanian young men who were studying journalism. They were to ask me questions, and then write an interview with me as a visiting American, an editor and writer myself. The best interview was to be reprinted in the local paper, the largest paper in Tanzania. I enjoyed the encounter with these young men, which enabled me to know something about them by the very questions they asked, and their response to my answers. And indeed a few days later an interview was printed. I had all but forgotten this meeting, and certainly did not see the significance of it until I read a report of a visiting English economist who was analyzing the economy of the country and its resources. Tanzania is an agricultural country, 95% of the population living in villages. How to build up the villages rather than the city where slums build up is one of the problems. This economist says it is not only the question of better farming methods and increasing the food supply, building schools and clinics, but it is also a cultural problem. He advocated the production of small local news sheets with contents appropriate for people living in poverty . . . Apart from the news, the poor need small pamphlets with printed matter and visual supports which describe down-to-earth possibilities of self help and self improvement—how to build a small feeder road; how to improve one's house; how to feed one self and the children; how to paint, make music, and further develop the culture.

I wondered after I read these things if the British journalist who was teaching this group recognized the gulf which separated the city man from the country man, the antagonism between the student and the worker and so on. We see it all the time around the Catholic Worker. I have often thought, when heating systems, plumbing and electrical systems failed, it was the "worker" who could teach us to survive.

I would hate to see groups of Tanzanian journalists alienated from their people and its needs by western journalism—"giving the people what they want," recording history rather than making history.

As I Write

As I write, Arthur J. Lacey calls me to tell me of the death of Tony. He was an epileptic, he drank, he had been in the Bellevue psychatric ward once or twice and he was a person we all loved. He used to cook for us Sundays when he finished his week's work elsewhere. He was a good cook and earned his living. He had a little apartment on Allen Street where many of our single men live. He had a girl, hoped to get married. This was a new development and I did not know her. Tony was a Russian, born in the Argentine, or just raised there, I do not know which. Today his girl who had not seen him for a week asked one of our men to go with her to Tony's apartment to find him, and there they did find him—dead. He had been dead five days, the medical examiner said.

And as I write, I must record here too, the death of Mary Hughes, 23 years old, who was living in the East Village, but who had grown up with us on Staten Island. How tragic is the death of the young. Neither Deane Mowrer nor I could write last month, so hard it was to put even this stark fact down on paper.

We in America are being afflicted for our own sins, and for the sins of our country. To me that phrase, "My country right or wrong," means that we are all responsible. We are our brothers' keeper. It was the first murderer who said "Am I my brother's keeper?" Mary was a little victim of our cruel time. And there is so little we can do, so little we have done, to bear one another's burdens.

The Primacy of the Spiritual

It is certainly borne in upon us, day after day, how little it is that we do, or can do. But we are not alone. I remember that sense of shame at turning to God, as I lay in a cell at Occoquon, Virginia, so many years ago. I wanted to stand on my own feet. I thought there was something ignoble about calling for help in my despair, at my first taste of real destitution, of utter helplessness in the face of the vast sufferings of the world. I read the Scriptures, as Ammon Hennacy did. It was the only book we were allowed in jail. But I was ashamed and turned away in the pride of youth for another dozen years. Then it was in gratitude that I turned to Him again, for my own happiness, for the beauty of the sea and the sand, for the smallest shell, the tiniest creature, the gulls, the sky and clouds. It is easier to praise God then, to thank Him, to call upon Him, and to learn that He does indeed answer.

But when we are able to bear some small share of the sufferings of the world, whether in pain of mind, body or soul, let us thank God for that too. Maybe we are helping some prisoner, some black or Puerto Rican youth in the Tombs, some soldier in Vietnam. The old I.W.W. slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," is another way of saying what St. Paul said almost two thousand years ago. 'We are all members of one another, and when the health of one member suffers, the health of the whole body is lowered." And the converse is true. We can indeed hold each other up in prayer. Excuse this preaching. I am preaching to myself too.

January and February are those months when winter seems interminable and vitality is low. In the face of world events, in the face of the mystery of suffering, of evil in the world, it is a good time to read the book of Job, and then to go on reading the psalms, looking for comfort—that is, strength to endure. Also to remember the importunate widow, the importunate friend. Both are stories which Jesus told. Then to pray without ceasing as Paul urged. And just as there was that interpolation in Job — that triumphant cry—"I know that my Redeemer liveth," so we too can know that help will come, that even from evil, God can bring great good, that indeed the good will triumph. Bitter though it is today with ice and sleet, the sap will soon be rising in those bare trees down the street from us.

Crossing India

(Continued from page 7)

raged and was ready to express its rage against this one man. They would not be calmed. There was only one thing I could do. I put my arms around him so that if they attacked him they would have to attack me. The man was saved.

"At one of our market towns, two groups separated by an old dispute decided to settle it with **lathis** (metal-headed sticks). They started at each other when a Vinoba worker stepped into the middle, begging each side to stop the violence. He was knocked down and hurt for his efforts. When the fighting men saw him lying hurt and helpless, their anger petered out. One of them said, "He was hurt because he wanted to prevent us from hurting each other." They found another way to work out their dispute.

"What sort of people will you recruit for Shanti Sena?" I wanted to know. "Young people, city people, rural people, university graduates?"

Gupta's answer went beyond such categories.

"We want people who are socially conscious but not politically aligned. But I do not need to tell you that most people who are socially conscious are already politically aligned. We need a group of people in the Shanti Sena who can love both sides and are willing to suffer the consequences. I feel that those who come to the Training Camps at Indore or Gauhati, and to

the smaller courses around the country, have this as their objective."

I mentioned that Narayan Desai, Secretary of the Shanti Sena, had made a deep impression by his talk and by his very presence at the War Resisters International Conference held at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, in September 1969. Desai's Training Manual for Instructors and Organizers of the Shanti Sena had been photocopied for some of us who heard him.

"Of course," Gupta explained, "the Shanti Sainiks will not be resolving conflicts on a full-time basis. They will be involved in village uplift, health programs and cooperatives, perhaps well-digging. But they must also be ready at any time to be the reconcilers. If there are Shanti Sainiks in the area, they are sure to be called upon. Recently, the police called on the Shanti Sena in the case of a fight between two unions. The Shanti Sainiks had established their credentials for objectivity. They were able to play a part in resolving the conflict."

"There are so many divisions in our society. There are 100,000 groups and sub-groups in our society, for example, who do not intermarry. Lines of sympathy, or lack of sympathy, are clearly drawn within such groups. It is not enough to wait until conflicts and even riots break out and go in to provide relief. We must be there to stem riots before they break out. We must be there as peace-builders and as community builders. We must work with the least in our society, with the landless, the rejected. In an acquisitive society, the poor are like defeated players in a bad game. The social sanctions of a non-acquisitive society would not bear down on the poor. They would not feel so defenseless. Through their gift of work, they would be part of the village assembly in a **gramdan** village. They would feel part of a whole network of gramdan villages, of that network of compassion that Gandhi brought to birth in **sarvodava.**"

Gupta had a special gift for Dorothy Day. It consisted of the entire life of Gandhi in a series of colored lithographs, in size about four by three feet. They had been produced by Indian artists during the Gandhi Centennial year of 1969. Gandhi was born on October 4, 1869. He took them out, one by one, and showed them to us. In all there were thirty of them. His lean, striking face had a special light of its own as he described in a few words the steps in Gandhi's pilgrimage. Then he presented to the Catholic Worker and Pax a set of Gandhian publications printed during the Gandhi Year. Among them was a life of the Mahatma in comic book style, complete with bright colors and conversations lettered in white balloons.

Devendra Kumar Gupta thanked Dorothy Day for coming to New Delhi and for her long work for the spiritual values that are the seeds of peace and human brotherhood.

"We believe," he said, "that it is only through the spiritual force in man that he can rise out of the morass in which he finds himself. All people who feel the importance of this spiritual force must join hands."

As we drove past the Rajghat, I thought of those groups of Indians training for service in the kingdom of compassion, for nonviolent resolution of conflict by Gandhi's method of accepting suffering rather than inflicting it. At the back of my mind, nightmare scenes intruded of the young people of Bengal, the Naxalites, meeting to fabricate the pipe bombs that blinded and killed policemen, and to plot the beheading of the minor landlords of the villages. The Naxalites pattern their activities on those of Mao. They feel that only by bringing down by force the rotten around them can they impose a new and better structure. Jayaprakash Narayan, a powerful Indian leader and long-time supporter of Vinoba's **bhoodan** and **gramdan** programs, put the choice before the Indians as follows: "There are only two ways, Vinoba's and Mao Tse Tung's."

Vinoba's way was Gandhi's way, as Gupta had described it. It had achieved much, the collection of 4,000,000 acres and the distribution of 2,000,000 of those acres among half a million landless Indians. This was more than twice the achievement in land reform by the various State Governments of India. And of course, much more is involved than a mere transfer of land from possessors (not always rich) to non-possessors. What is involved is a revolution in human relationships and in the social structure.

But little is known of the actual achievements of this revolution aside from the dramatic pictures of Vinoba marching through the land begging landholders to consider a landless poor man as another son.

Devi Prasad, who worked with Gandhi and now heads the War Resisters International, attributes this lack of knowledge on our sick concept of what constitutes news. Prasad points out:

"Firstly, the information media are not interested in something which happens gently. They must see flames and tanks before they are convinced that something is happening. The same is unfortunately true about the consumers of the media. They have got used to expecting 'hot stuff' all the time. Secondly, man has lost faith in himself as an individual. Therefore, he fails to see revolution being carried out by ordinary people like himself, especially a revolution without bloodshed."

4-24-72

Migrant Workers Get Labor Agency's Aid After Task Force Discloses Exploitation

4/24/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The Labor Department began a 13-point program to curb widespread exploitation of migrant farm workers after finding that one of its agencies failed to prevent such practices.

Labor Secretary James D. Hodgson announced the program after releasing results of a 10-month study on how the Rural Manpower Service Agency, along with other governmental employment services, works with the nation's migrant workers.

A special departmental task force, which prepared the study, indicated that Rural Manpower Service appears more intent on serving farmers than protecting migrants' rights.

The report claimed pervasive abuses of minimum wage, child labor, housing and sanitation laws. The task force also reported widespread racial discrimination, including segregated housing, transportation and job-referral procedures, and discrimination by national origin, sex and age.

Mr. Hodgson said the government had allocated millions of dollars to help thousands of migrant workers "move out of their traditional work and into nonfarm, steady employment."

"However, it is clear to us that our corrective measures have not been strong enough and in some cases have not been fully carried out," he said.

Mr. Hodgson said, as part of his corrective program, he has ordered consolidation of the Rural Manpower Service and the department's employment service to offer a "broader spectrum of services to rural workers and employers."

He said steps will be taken to insure compliance with minimum wage, civil rights and child labor laws and to improve housing, transportation, sanitary and safety conditions, among other things.

The 18-state study was conducted after migrant-worker groups complained the agency permitted illegal actions by farm owners. The migrant-workers groups urged that Rural Manpower Service be abolished and its $23 million in federal funds be turned over to a "worker service" staffed by and oriented toward the migrants. However, Mr. Hodgson indicated the agency would be retained and made more effective.

Farm Workers Union [1972]

More Is at Stake Than Unions in the Crusades on Farms

By GUY HALVERSON
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The national boycott against iceberg lettuce begun earlier this year by the UFW—like the union's successful table-grape boycott several years ago — has once again taken on all the trappings of a relgiious crusade. In fact, however, much more is at stake than just unionism.

Indeed, say some economists, the issue is in part the very structure and future of much of American agriculture. To many experts, forced unionism would profoundly alter much of agriculture as it is now known in the U.S. After the grape boycott, for instance, some growers converted from table grapes to other types of low-labor grape products. Some ceased operations altogether.

To date, Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers, marching out from their new headquarters at Keene, Calif. (with 58,1000 dues-paying members in 1971) is well on its way toward becoming a major political and social force in both the Western states, and notionally as well. As of late May the union had contracts in six states, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado and Florida, covering roughly 37 different crops. Underlining the union's political clout. Sen. George McGovern not only endorsed the lettuce boycott at a rally here last May, but hailed Chavez as "one of the greatest living Americans." The Senator said Chavez had been "anointed to bring good news to the poor."

EMOTIONS FLARE—PRO AND CON

Farm unionism is an emotional issue. Passions rise, pro and con. Impartiality is often downright difficult to come by. Definitive statistics are often unavailable to the outside observer. All told, there are roughly 3 million farm workers in the United States —from young children to college students to so-called "migrants" to full-time, professional field hands. Some 270,000, by U.S. Agriculture Department estimates, leave their home counties at some point and thus can be classified as "migrants," the bulk of them working in the Southwestern-Western United States and as far north as Michigan.

Throughout the nation they travel, payment varying from crop to crop, region to region. Their life, well cataloged now by both press and television, is often grim. Unemployment (depending on bad crop

to all non-UFW lettuce grown in the United States. About 90 per cent comes from California and here in Arizona. Of this, about 70 per cent is harvested from contracts with the Teamsters Union — yet is still subject to the UFW boycott.

Top Teamster officials see the UFW boycott of their lettuce as an out-and-out assault on their membership. A number of their contracts in the Salinas Valley are 25 and 30 years old. Some analysts even belive that the Teamsters — their backs increasingly against the wall — may be forced to eventually take on the UFW in a jurisdictional battle.

To date, the UFW has six contracts, representing about 5 per cent of production. The remainder, about 25 per cent, is harvested by non-union pickers.

SECRET BALLOTING REJECTED

Although the union now represents only about 2,000 out of the state's 30,000 or so field workers, top Arizona Farm Bureau officials believe that one main upshot will be to drive producers toward mechanization.

Whatever their reasons, Chavez and his union consistently refuse the secret ballot in union elections, though some contracts were ratified after signature. Indeed, in one incident, where a secret ballot was held under supervision of the Federal Mediation and Concilation Service, Chavez was overwhelmingly defeated. For that reason, critics assert, the UFW continues to favor a closed-shop type of agreement whereby the grower signs a contract directly with the union and the union then handles all work passes. Thus, in Florida, Coca-Cola signed over some 1,200 farm workers en masse at its Minute Maid properties.

For its part, the market-oriented American Farm Bureau Federation, through its state bureaus, is actively supporting state legislation outlawing secondary boycotts and promoting secret elections for farm workers. Five states now have such laws: Idaho, Texas, Wisconsin, Kansas and Arizona. A similar bill was passed in Oregon but subsequently vetoed by Republican Gov. Tom McCall. Bills have been introduced or mulled in Colorado, Washington, New York, Wyoming, California (the latter, by a voter initiative). A somewhat similar bill is also under consideration on the national level but is given little chance for congressional pass-

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Passions rise, pro and con. Impartiality is often downright difficult to come by. Definitive statistics are often unavailable to the outside observer. All told, there are roughly 3 million farm workers in the United States —from young children to college students to so-called "migrants" to full-time, professional field hands. Some 270,000, by U.S. Agriculture Department estimates, leave their home counties at some point and thus can be classified as "migrants," the bulk of them working in the Southwestern-Western United States and as far north as Michigan.

Throughout the nation they travel, payment varying from crop to crop, region to region. Their life, well cataloged now by both press and television, is often grim. Unemployment (depending on bad crop years) and underemployment recur, while farm workers as a whole find themselves more and more displaced by sweeping technological advances on the farm. (800,000 fiield workers alone were displaced between 1950 and 1970.) In many states workers find themselves excluded from jobless benefits and workmen's compensation for injuries, while child labor — perhaps the bane of the profession — continues unabated.

Looking ahead, experts argue that farm unionism is most likely to strike deep roots in the Southwest and parts of the South, such as Florida, where large labor forces are required. The corn belt, wheat and cattle areas, on the other hand, where smaller "field forces" are required, offer little inducement to organizing, though Chavez himself concedes a beginning organization in Ohio and Michigan. Some observers believe that Chavez even envisions eventually moving into norther Midwest "small-farm" areas.

CORPORATIONS HOLD SWAY

Though some farm officials says unionism would just plain destroy agriculture by eventually curbing the economic muscle of the "family farm," studies establish that most farm field laborers continue to be employed by large family units and giant corporate interestes. At the same time, some 93 per cent of all farms (according to a 1970 Agriculture department study) hired either no laborer or what amounted to less than one hired hand for a year.

For now, the main issue is whether or not Chavez can succeed with the lettuce boycott, now extended to about 40 cities, while consolidating and holding previous contracts despite rising criticism from some farm workers themselves. Despite UFW zeal, the lettuce boycott appears to be meeting far less enthusiasm at the marketplace than was the case with the table grapes — notwithstanding all the fervent endorsements on national television during roll-calls and by sign-waving at the Democratic national convention in Miami Beach.

Efforts to organize farm workers long antedate Chavez. As far back as 1946 the American Federation of Labor charted the National Farm Labor Union. The effort failed however, as most strikes were broken either by court-ordered injunctions, use of alien labor or, occasionally, by brutal police action.

Under the National Labor Relations Act and the subsequent Taft-Hartley and Landrum Griffin Acts, farm workers are specifically prohibited from the right to strike and bargain collectively. For growers, though, that means not being protected from illegal strikes or secondary boycotts; both outlawed in industry.

SOCIAL RELIGIOUS CONNOTATIONS

The UFW continues to dismay critics, both by its virility and momentum, and for its social, political, and religious connotations (the banner of the Virgin of Guadaloup is in almost every street procession). The UFW also promotes consumer co-ops, credit unions, and medical clinics, as well as better living and educational facilities for farm workers.

The current UFW boycott now extends some 1,200 farm workers en masse at its Minute Maid properties.

For its part, the market-oriented American Farm Bureau Federation, through its state bureaus, is actively supporting state legislation outlawing secondary boycotts and promoting secret elections for farm workers. Five states now have such laws: Idaho, Texas, Wisconsin, Kansas and Arizona. A similar bill was passed in Oregon but subsequently vetoed by Republican Gov. Tom McCall. Bills have been introduced or mulled in Colorado, Washington, New York, Wyoming, California (the latter, by a voter initiative). A somewhat similar bill is also under consideration on the national level but is given little chance for congressional passage at this time.

RECALL EFFORT PUSHED

Through no Arizona governor has ever been recalled, the UFW is pushing a recall against Republican Gov. John R. Williams for his part in passage of the new Arizona law, which became effective this month. The measure considered a "model" by anti-UFW groups, outlaws the secondary boycott, provides for an impartial labor-relations board to supervise union elections, ensures secret balloting, and provides growers with the option of obtaining a 10-day injunction at harvest time. There would then be a compulsory and binding arbitration. The UFW argues that the mere presence in Arizona of large numbers of alleged Mexican nationals would give growers control of the "secret elections," while undercutting their strike effectiveness by the 10-day injunction.

Drive out to Phoenix UFW offices at Santa Rita Church with national organization director Jim Drake, and you quickly sense the fervor of "La Causa." Dozens of Chicanos mill about, many of them young, in animated discussion, or working on the recall drive. Posters and revolutionary handbills dot the walls.

"Will the recall succeed?" organizer Drake is asked.

"The odds," he says slowly, weighing each word, "are about even. They (the growers) have all the money and the entrenched power. We've got the time. Those are the kinds of odds we like."

For their part, however, top state officials, as well as the growers themselves, expect the recall effort to fail.

As we talk, a pretty, articulate young Phoenix schoolteacher who identifies herself as Pam Regan (not her real name) comes toward us. Though voting for President Nixon four years ago, the young woman (who has heard of the boycott from her students) has decided that she can no longer just sit by. "I've watched this thing now for months. I've just got to help," she says.

Several days later: flying a commercial 727 jet above Phoenix toward Chicago, this reporter remembers that small incident with Pam Regan — and the charismatic appeal of the UFW. The union tactic is simple: Chip away middle class, middle-ground support and polarize the community into two camps.

Many analysts believe that the anti-Chavez growers of the Southwest, whatever the merits of their case, have had difficulty in communicating their viewpoint to the general public. The growers have discovered again and again that it is difficult to dramatize protecting the status quo against a movement which has the public image of a "crusade."

For the antagonists — Pam Regan, Jim Drake, organizer Rudy Tarazan of the UFW, the Teamsters Union, and the apprehensive officers of the Arizona Farm Bureau, as well as the growers of Arizona — the issue of agricultural unionism has become wrapped in the mantle of a self-righteous war of "good versus bad." But behind the emotionalism and the rhetoric, the very structure and well-being of much of American agriculture may be at issue. About that, too few questions are being asked.

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FRESH GROUND BEEF LB 65c

BUNKER HILL BEEF STEW 23-OZ. CAN 69c

LIBBY VIENNA SAUSAGE 4 4-OZ. CANS $1.00

DUFFEY QUAIL SAUSAGE LB. 65c

CRISPRITE BACON LB. PKG. 75c

16-OZ. BOTTLES 6-BOTTLE CARTON PEPSI 6-BTL. CTN. 39c PLUS DEPOSIT

DUNCAN HINES CAKE MIXES YELLOW, WHITE, LEMON SUP., ORANGE SUP. 2 19-OZ. BOXES 79c

LIBBY'S FRUIT COCKTAIL 3 16-OZ. CANS $1.00

FRESH WHOLE FRYERS LB. 29c

McKENZIE FROZEN CROWDER PEAS 18-OZ. PKG. 49c

MINUTE MAID FROZEN ORANGE JUICE 12-OZ. CAN 49c

CRISP ICEBERG LETTUCE HEAD 19c

FLORIDA ORANGES 5-LB. BAG 69c

PILLSBURY SM OR BM BISCUITS 2 8-OZ. CANS 19c

SHURFINE FROZEN MIXED VEGETABLES 24-OZ. PKG. 49c

STRING BEANS LB. 29c

YELLOW ONIONS 3-LB. BAG 49c

ATLANTA:
305 Ashby St., N.W. Ashby Plaza
1003 McDaniel St., S.W.
1025 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.

ATLANTA:
559 Boulevard, N.E.
1552 Murphy Avenue, S.W.
1021 Fair St., S.W.

ATLANTA:
568 Chappell Road, N.W.
1795 Lucille Ave., S.W.
RIVERDALE

SOCIAL CIRCLE
WOODSTOCK

UNION CITY
JACKSON

HENRY S. REUSS
5TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN

COMMITTEES:
BANKING AND CURRENCY
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
JOINT ECONOMIC

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

November 2, 1960

Dear Friend:

As a person interested in the problems of migrant farm labor, I am sending you a copy of "The Migrant Farm Labor in America" which contains a good summary of the most information in this area.

I am doing this at the suggestion of the Wisconsin Citizens Committee on Migrant Labor which is concerned about the welfare of these people.

Sincerely,

Henry S. Reuss

Henry S. Reuss
Member of Congress

Enclosure

86th Congress
2d Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

THE MIGRANT FARM WORKER IN AMERICA

BACKGROUND DATA ON THE MIGRANT WORKER SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY

PREPARED FOR

THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

UNITED STATES SENATE

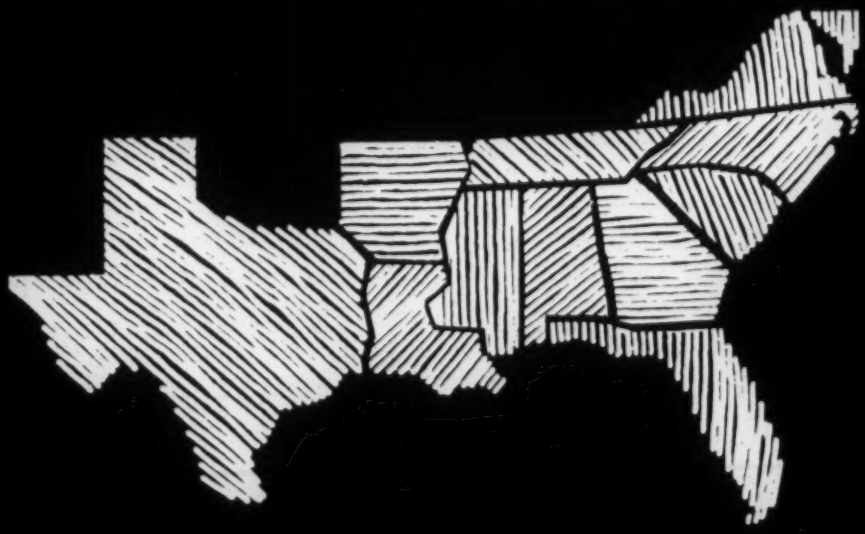
Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
48875 WASHINGTON : 1960

FROM
CONGRESSMAN HENRY S. REUSS

equal opportunity in farm programs

AN APPRAISAL OF SERVICES RENDERED BY AGENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE



A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights

1965

co-chairmen
FRANK P. GRAHAM, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
executive secretary
FAY BENNETT

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

March 14, 1966

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a moving account of a grass roots effort by some 5,000 agricultural workers to secure rights that workers in other industries have had for decades.

Thousands of grape pickers in the Delano area of California have been striking for higher wages and union recognition for six months.

This pictorial report, The Grape Strike, describes the issues at stake in Delano and shows why a million and a half hard-working Americans demand lives of dignity based upon economic independence.

We ask your help in distributing this report among individuals and organizations concerned with the problems of farm labor.

Sincerely,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
Co-Chairmen

P.S. Although we put no price tag on our literature, we have slim resources to meet the printing and mailing costs. We would be grateful for a contribution from you or your organization to help meet these costs, particularly if you wish to order a quantity of the pamphlets. Enclosed are an order slip and a return envelope for your convenience.

The New York Times.

FEBRUARY 22, 1966.

An Up-From-Poverty Wage

The Fair Labor Standards Act has been revised several times since its original passage in 1938, but it still covers only about half of the workers who are employed for a wage or salary. Now dormant in the House of Representatives is a bill to increase the present minimum wage from $1.25 an hour to $1.75 over a period of years and to extend the law's coverage to eight million additional workers.

The Democratic leaders in the House are not pushing the bill, because their private count suggests that they could not beat off crippling amendments to the bill in its present form. There is also dissension within the Administration on the issue. Although Secretary of Labor Wirtz joins organized labor in strongly supporting a higher minimum, the Council of Economic Advisers fears that too sharp an increase may spur inflation.

The council's concern does not center on the lowest-paid workers, who would be immediately affected and whose claim to an increase is undeniably just, but rather on other workers all the way up the pay scale who would clamor for fresh increases to maintain their relative advantage. Their demands would not necessarily be just but they would be hard to resist and would be inflationary.

Some economists argue that a higher minimum wage and wider coverage tend to squeeze out marginal firms and to speed up the move toward automation wherever feasible. These adverse effects hit hardest at the unskilled workers and the teen-agers looking for work, two groups the Government is trying to help. However, these side effects would be diminished if trade unions relaxed their opposition to indirect Government subsidies to marginal firms in the form of training grants and other help for their employes.

Sentiment on Capitol Hill appears to be moving toward a sensible compromise that would raise the minimum in two stages, first to $1.40 and then to $1.60. Such an increase would bring help to the low-paid workers who imperatively need it without setting off a sharp wage rise all along the line. In any event, the conflict over the exact size of the increase should not obscure the necessity for extending coverage, particularly to the long-exploited agricultural laborers. It is a disgrace that many thousands of full-time workers still earn wages so low they require public relief payments to feed and house their families.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

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NEW YORK, NY
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1966

GI
RED C
FU

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Emory Via — This might be pertinent for your Fla. meeting. Jac

89TH CONGRESS 2d Session } SENATE { REPORT No. 1549

THE MIGRATORY FARM LABOR PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

1966 REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

UNITED STATES SENATE

MADE BY ITS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

PURSUANT TO

S. Res. 188

(89th Cong., 2d Sess.)

A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING A STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF MIGRATORY LABOR

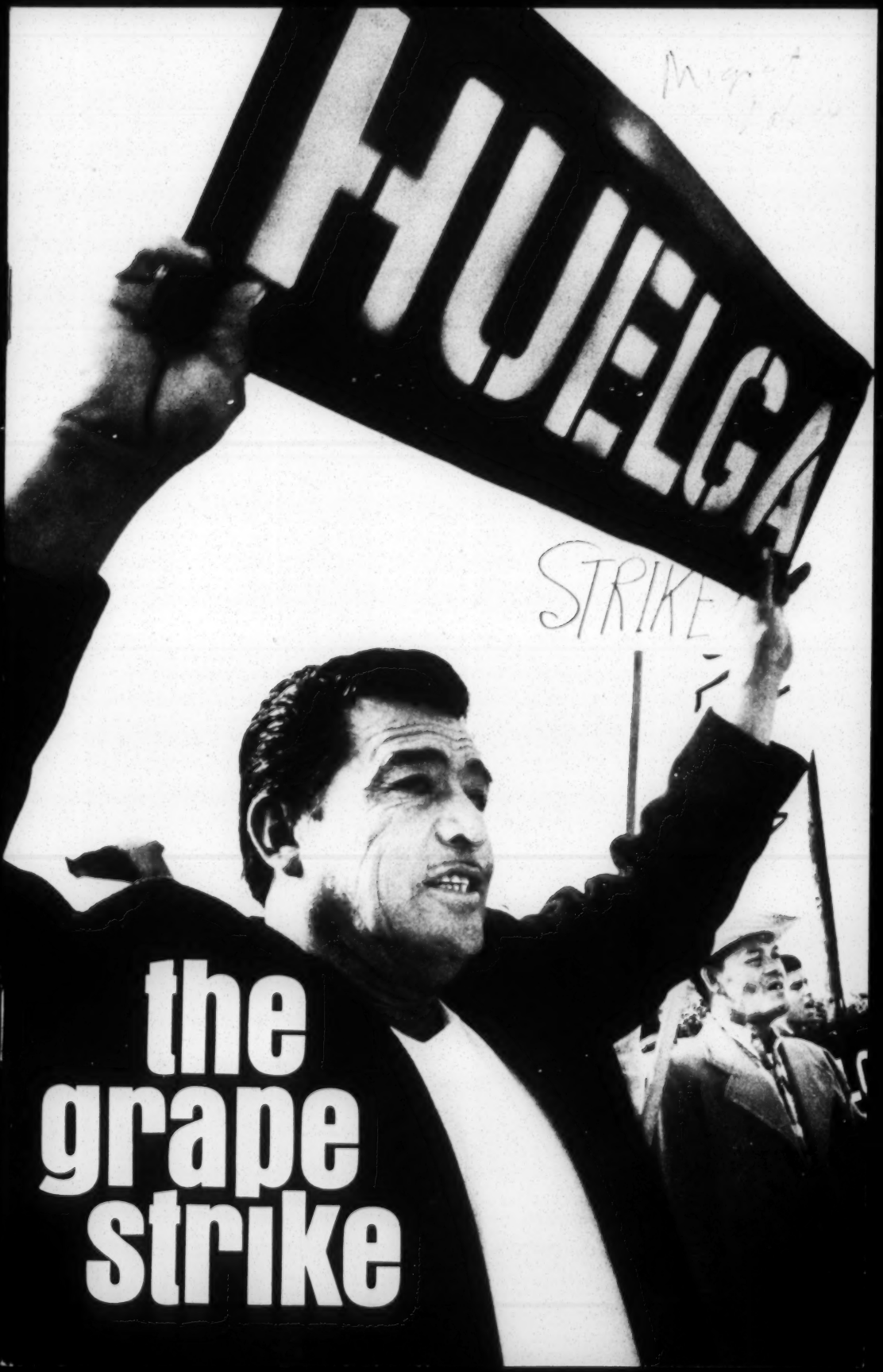
TOGETHER WITH

INDIVIDUAL VIEWS

AUGUST 30, 1966.—Ordered to be printed

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

64-271 WASHINGTON : 1966



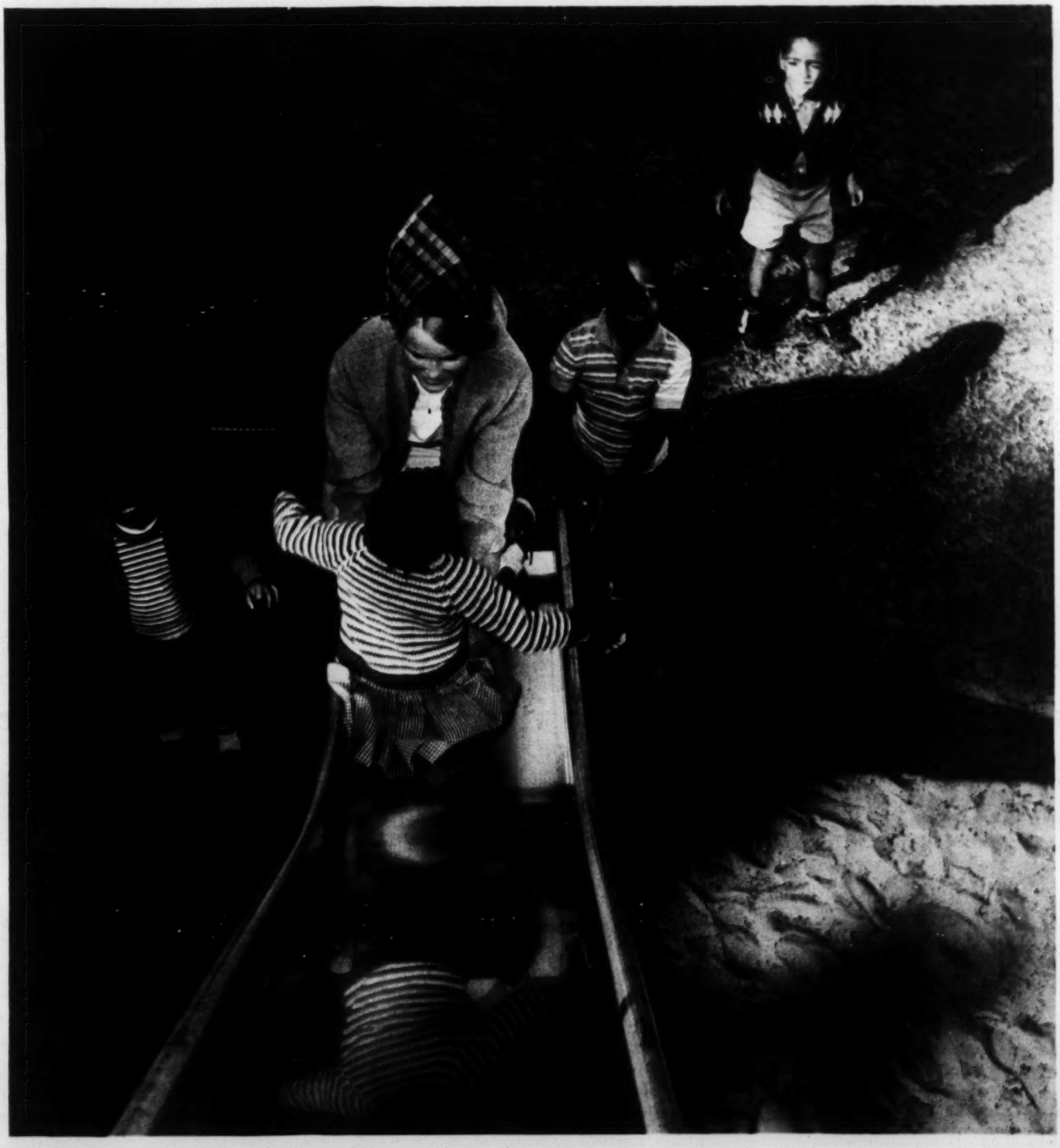
the grape strike

ACTION

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FLORIDA MIGRANT PROGRAM

COMMUNITY ACTION FUND

VOL. 1, NO. 2 JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1966



Program Provides Off-Season Employment For Farm Labor

agri SDN 2/16/66

STONEVILLE, Miss (Special) — More than 6,600 Mississippi farm workers were routed to 17 states for off-season agricultural employment in 1965 through a program that was developed by Delta Council and the Mississippi Employment Service.

Aimed at providing additional job opportunities for seasonal farm workers on an off-season basis, the program was initiated in 1950 when Delta farmers, Delta Council officials and Mississippi Employment Service representatives met with Florida fruit and vegetable growers.

The out-of-state movement of farm workers developed from these meetings was recognized as the first organized effort of its kind in the United States and served as a pattern for an expanded program that now routes Mississippi workers to Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and Wisconsin.

ON FLORIDA FARMS

Reporting on the program, B. F. Smith, executive vice president of Delta Council, said that 2,024 Delta farm workers were in Florida at the present time employed in citrus fruits and vegetables.

Workers for the program are recruited through local offices of the Mississippi Employment Service. They are interviewed, furnished with information concerning skills needed in the kind of work they will be performing, and in some cases they are shown training films.

Crews are then routed to prearranged destinations in demand area where arrangements have been made with employers. Government inspected housing is provided and some family groups and college students participate in the program.

Smith said that the state employment services in both supply and demand areas have done an outstanding job and that every able-bodied worker desiring a job is offered the opportunity to participate in the program. Radio announcements, newspaper advertisements and handbills are used to acquaint workers with job opportunities.

In 1964, 5,754 Mississippi farm workers were routed to 19 states for seasonal farm work and earned an estimated $3,740,000. More than 5,000 state farm workers have participated in the program each year since 1954. Most of these workers have returned to Mississippi after the end of the work season.

Smith said that underutilization of agricultural workers during off seasons is common throughout agricultural areas and that the program had been originally initiated to help provide longer periods of employment for Mississippi farm workers who were interested in earning more income.

"The program has also helped the economy of demand areas by providing seasonal labor that is needed to cultivate and harvest crops," Smith said.

Migrant Labor — Fla

UNITED AGRICULTURAL WORKERS OF AMERICA

PRICE PROPOSALS TO NORTHERN GROWERS - April 17, 1966

CROPS	SIZE	CREW LEADER	WORKER
1. Beans	Hamper	$1.05	$ .70
2. Potatoes	Field Bag	.35	.10
	Graded Bag	.28	.10
(total.53)	100 lb.Bag	.15	.10
(total.49)	50 lb.Bag	.11	.10
3. Tomatoes	5/8 Bu. and Haul	.30	.15
	" and not Haul	.23	.15
	Pick and leave		.15
(Green ripe)	Box little over bu.	.60	.30
4. Corn (all equip.furn.)	5 doz. bushel	.35	(pull.10).09 pack
(no equip.furn.)	" " "	.45	" .09 pack
5. Carrots	5/8 bushel	.25	.15
6. Turnips	Bushel		.25
7. Onions	5/8 Bushel	.20	.15
8. Cucumbers (field run)	Bushel (farmer haul)	.50	.30
	(Crew leader haul)	.60	.25
	Pickle type	.80	.45
9. Cherries (Grower haul)	8 qt.	.40	.30
	10 qt.	.50	.35
(Grower haul)	14 qt.	.85	.70
10. Apples (Golden Del.)	Bushel	.39	.30
(McIntosh)	"	.39	.30
(pie apples)	"	.31	.22
11. Strawberries	8 qt. flat mkt.	1.05	.80
	cap	1.30	1.00
12. Peaches		.30	.20
13. Sweet Potatoes	Bushel	.30	.10
14. Cabbage		.30	

UNITED AGRICULTURAL WORKERS OF AMERICA

The Miami Herald

Monday, May 9, 1966 PB Complete State News

Section B

Migrant Labor — Fla.

SOUTH COUNTY SCENE

WENDY ROGERS

Viet Nam's Far Away

"One big reason so many young people today go around carrying placards against the war in Viet Nam is to cover up that yellow streak down their backs."

"It's amazing to me how these young people can spout so profoundly about the horrors of war without having any real idea of what it is like."

These comments were made locally during the past week by disgusted adults.

And there is the recent case in a neighboring county in which annulment proceedings were initiated on grounds that the husband's sole purpose in getting married was to avoid being drafted.

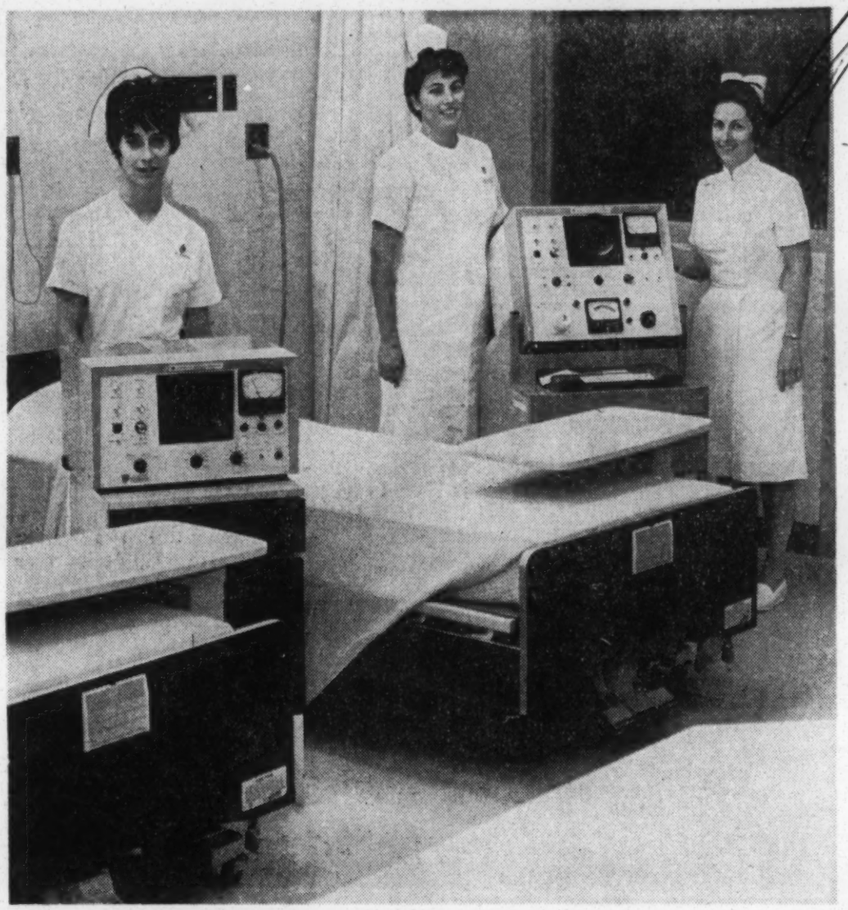
No harsh words are needed. Such an act speaks for itself.

★ ★ ★

YET FOR every publicity-seeking draft card burner, for every draft dodger who ducks behind a placard, there are the thousands who do respond to the call to duty, who, whether they like it or not, or whether they are scared or not, are prepared to serve. And, there are even some protesters who are sincere in their beliefs, right or wrong, who cannot be classed with the "cowards."

But while adult America's criticism is so frequently turned on the young "way-outs," in this tragic situation, there could be substantially more self-scrutiny on the part of the adults who are so quick to condemn the attitudes of others.

It is easy to criticize others, and easier still not to become personally involved in something that seems



Hospital Opens Its Intensive Care Unit
. . . Nurses Judith Ammerman, Joan Dellinger and Helen Dicken display heart-monitoring machines

Intensive Care Unit Is Opened by Hospital

By TOM SMITH
WPB Bureau Chief

ATLANTIS — An intensive care unit with lifesaving heart-monitoring equipment for the critically ill is now in operation at the new John F. Kennedy Memorial Hospital.

The unit has 10 beds, one of the largest in this area. Already, eight beds are occupied — and hospital officials say the lives of several patients have been saved by the modern electronic equipment.

One machine, the cardiac monitor commonly called "the Pacemaker," checks the rapidity and [illegible] of heart

helped develop the techniques used in the Lown Cardioverter.

According to Dr. Lown, 450,000 people die each year of coronary occlusion, commonly called heart attack. He says monitoring equipment in all hospitals would save 45,000 critical heart patients annually.

In a study at a Philadelphia hospital, 10.8 per cent of the patients in a section using monitoring equipment died, while in other sections of the hospital 21.7 per cent died.

At JFK Hospital, the intensive care unit is staffed by specially trained nurses. The costs to the patient are higher than in other wards of the hospital. Hospital rules for this unit are also more stringent.

No flowers or gifts can be delivered to a patient. Smoking is forbidden. No radios or television sets are allowed because of the noise and confusion, and also because of the lack of space in the intensive care unit. Relatives of patients may visit only for five-minute periods every two hours.

DARE Report Updated

Growers Facing Major Problems

Machines And Labor Big Issues

By JOHN VAN GIESON
Herald Staff Writer

BELLE GLADE — Farm labor problems are among the major problems forecast for Florida growers over the next nine years by a University of Florida Agricultural Extension Service agent.

F. F. Jamison, head of the service's vegetable program of the Developing Agricultural Resources Effectively Committee, said, however, that no problems facing Florida growers appear serious enough to prevent steady growth to 1975.

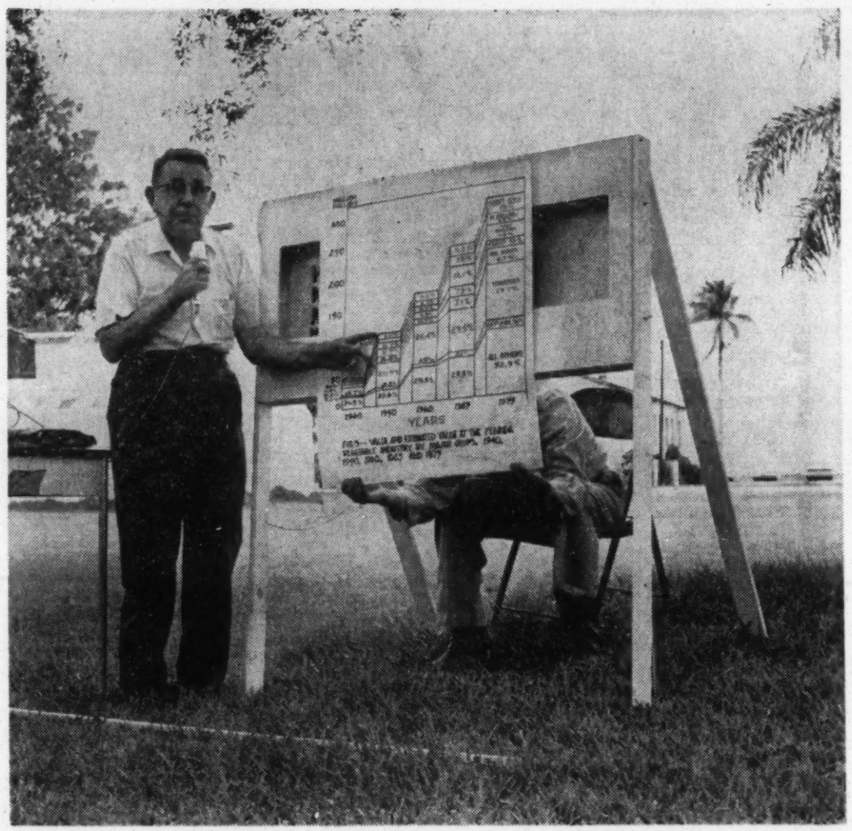
Speaking at a Vegetable Field Day at the Everglades Experimental Station, Jamison updated a 1964 DARE report on statewide conditions for about 200 growers.

He said these would be the major problem areas facing them until 1975, the period covered by the DARE study:

MECHANIZATION — "The decrease in the availability of labor and increasing costs means there is a need to develop additional mechanical equipment. Harvesting is an area that has been mentioned, but I would not exclude other production areas."

Jamison said many problems of developing mechanical harvesting can be solved by the creation of strains of vegetables better adapted to machines.

LABOR RELATIONS



—Herald Photo by JOHN VAN GIESON

F. F. Jamison Charts Progress for Florida Growers
. . . University of Florida man said business will bloom

A Look at 'Super TV' --What It Means to You

By ROBERT RENO
Herald Staff Writer

Its proponents say better color reception is one of CATV's [illegible]

are scared or not, are prepared to serve. And, there are even some protesters who are sincere in their beliefs, right or wrong, who cannot be classed with the "cowards."

But while adult America's criticism is so frequently turned on the young "wayouts," in this tragic situation, there could be substantially more self-scrutiny on the part of the adults who are so quick to condemn the attitudes of others.

It is easy to criticize others, and easier still not to become personally involved in something that seems very far away from "home."

At the last City Council meeting in Boynton Beach, the chamber was full of people.

★ ★ ★

THERE WERE plenty of people, for example, to stand up and say how vital it was to them that such-and-such a project should not be passed because they didn't want more traffic going by their house, because they didn't want their business to suffer from the opening of a nearby street, because they didn't want to even think about the long-range possibility that commercial structures could arise near them.

Whether they were right or wrong is not the point. But, the people were concerned about something that affected them personally, about something "close to home."

Many, then, were also present to hear Marine Major Frank Chase of West Palm Beach show a film on how the casualties of Viet Nam, the dead and the wounded, are brought quickly home, how "the chances of a boy getting home in good shape are a lot better now." The young Marine who ran the projector for the showing was soon going to Viet Nam Maj. Chase noted.

★ ★ ★

THE MAJOR was wearing a black arm band that night, to commemorate the death of the city's first war casualty in Viet Nam.

He told the people of all that is being done in this war to help our fighting men. And he told them, without making a "sales pitch," about the Marines' "civic action" program, in cooperation with C.A.R.E., which helps the people of Viet Nam, but which also, indirectly, helps the U.S. soldier.

Such help, he said, may make the difference between a patrol being ambushed, and being warned of the presence of the enemy. In fact, he said, there is proof that soldiers' lives have been saved as a result of help through the program.

Worth at least checking into, wouldn't you say?

Of all those at the meeting, only three persons were interested enough to check.

Comic Dictionary

SHOPLIFTER

The woman who seems to think that the best things in life are free.

WPB Bureau Chief

ATLANTIS — An intensive care unit with lifesaving heart-monitoring equipment for the critically ill is now in operation at the new John F. Kennedy Memorial Hospital.

The unit has 10 beds, one of the largest in this area. Already, eight beds are occupied — and hospital officials say the lives of several patients have been saved by the modern electronic equipment.

One machine, the cardiac monitor commonly called "the Pacemaker," checks the rhythm and rate of heart beat and automatically corrects the irregularities of the heart when necessary.

Another machine, the Lown Cardioverter, developed by Dr. Bernard Lown of the Harvard Medical School and the American Optical Company's medical research division, is also in use at JFK Hospital's intensive care unit.

This device helps the doctor and nurse to maintain continuous check of the heart's action. It makes a permanent graph for meidcal records, automatically sets off an alarm when the heartbeat rate changes, or even administers an electrical shock to correct serious heart abnormalities.

A West Palm Beach native, Dr. Henry I. McIntosh, with the financial assistance of a research grant from the Heart Association of Palm Beach and Martin Counties, [illegible] niques used in the Lown Cardioverter.

According to Dr. Lown, 450,000 people die each year of coronary occlusion, commonly called heart attack. He says monitoring equipment in all hospitals would save 45,000 critical heart patients annually.

In a study at a Philadelphia hospital, 10.8 per cent of the patients in a section using monitoring equipment died, while in other sections of the hospital 21.7 per cent died.

[illegible] Hospital, the intensive care unit is staffed by specially trained nurses. The costs to the patient are higher than in other wards of the hospital. Hospital rules for this unit are also more stringent.

No flowers or gifts can be delivered to a patient. Smoking is forbidden. No radios or television sets are allowed because of the noise and confusion, and also because of the lack of space in the intensive care unit. Relatives of patients may visit only for five-minute periods every two hours.

Baptist College

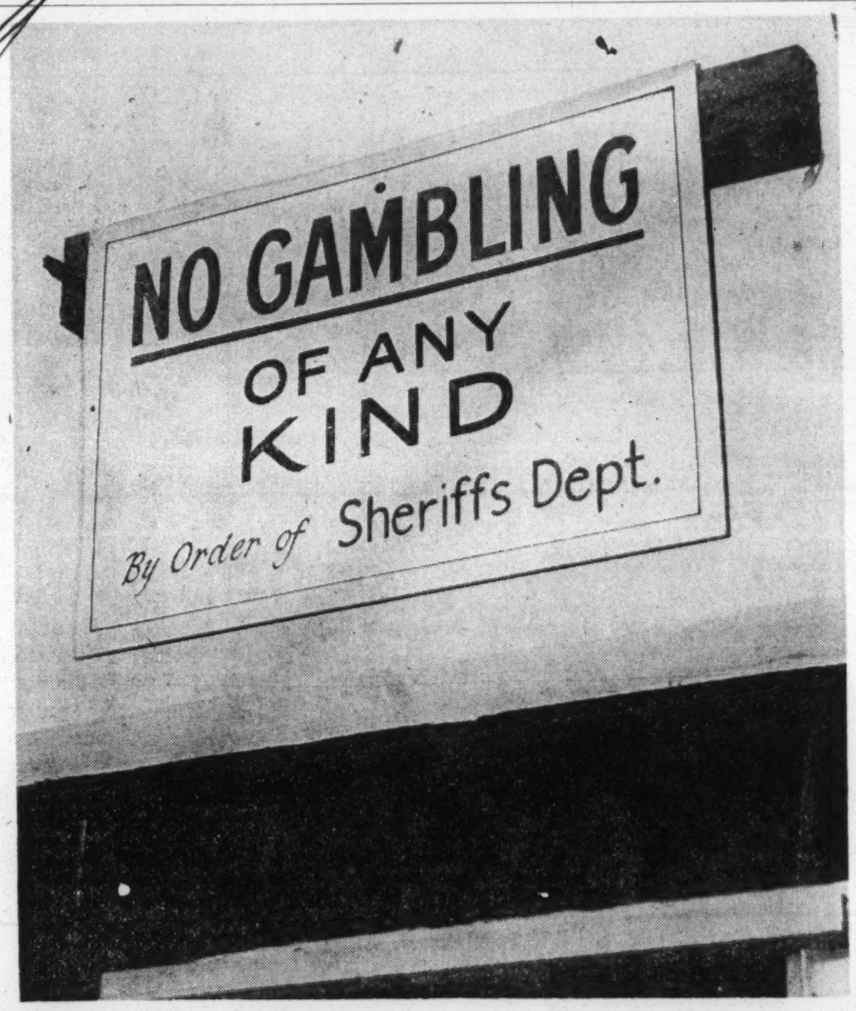
Fund Drive Moves To Belle Glade

Herald Bureau

BELLE GLADE — The Baptist College Fund will launch a local fund raising drive here Tuesday.

Dr. Donald E. Warren of West Palm Beach, executive chairman of the fund campaign and newly elected president of the Florida Heart Association will speak at a luncheon at the Belle Glade Country Club to initiate the drive.

The county-wide campaign to raise $1.5 million for the college at Palm Beach Gardens has passed the half way mark. When the goal is reached, the Florida Baptist Convention is pledged to activate a board of trustees and name a president for the college. A state-wide campaign to raise an additional $1 million is scheduled for 1967.



—Herald Photo by MAURICE HOLLEY JR.

Is That Clear?

This sign is one of the results of a gambling crackdown instigated by recent Grand Jury reports and recommendations, and being carried out by police and the sheriff's department. The sign is prominently displayed over the doorway to a migrant workers' dining room in a camp west of Delray Beach. The camps were singled out by the Grand Jury reports as nests of bolita and Cuba lotteries and weekend card games are normally prevalent.

He said these would be the major problem areas facing them until 1975, the period covered by the DARE study:

MECHANIZATION — "The decrease in the availability of labor and increasing costs means there is a need to develop additional mechanical equipment. Harvesting is an area that has been mentioned, but I would not exclude other production areas."

Jamison said many problems of developing mechanical harvesting can be solved by the creation of strains of vegetables better adapted to machines.

LABOR RELATIONS — "There is going to be a continuing need for labor even after we get all these machines. Growers need assistance in recruiting their labor and with their management problems.

"We need training in labor management by many industry men."

CANNING and frozen foods — "we should examine processing closely even though this is going to continue to be a fresh vegetable market state."

Jamison suggested Florida growers look into the economics of processing to see if it is a feasible market for their produce.

POLLUTION — "In specific locations this is a serious problem. If present pollution problems are not solved several of our major producing areas will be forced out of production."

Jamison said these problems were all listed in the 1964 report but the DARE committee felt they should be re-emphasized now.

He said the progress forecast in 1975 by the DARE report looks, after only two years, as though it may have been conservatively estimated.

The DARE committee report estimated total value of products shipped from the state to rise from $200 million in the base year, 1960, to $303 million by 1975. But in 1965 that figure had already reached $250 million.

He said Florida will grow as a vegetable market despite an apparent national decline in per capita vegetable consumption, and this now makes the 1975 estimate look conservative.

"The per capita consumption is going down for most vegetables but in the period from November through April the per capita consumption is not going down, it's going up. It's 15 per cent higher than it was in 1940."

He pointed out that the November to April period is the peak marketing time for Florida vegetables.

Deans to Arrive For Workshop

Herald Bureau

BOCA RATON — More than 100 Florida junior college deans and counselors will converge on Florida Atlantic University May 26-28 for a student personnel practitioners workshop.

The meeting will be conducted under the Commission on Student Personnel Services of the Florida Public Junior College Association.

—Herald Photo by JOHN VAN GIESON

F. F. Jamison Charts Progress for Florida Growers

... University of Florida man said business will bloom

A Look at 'Super TV' --What It Means to You

By ROBERT RENO
Herald Staff Writer

The Miami Herald
FILLS IN THE BACKGROUND

WEST PALM BEACH — Local viewers may soon have several more choices on their television dials if the city grants approval for a new system of "super television."

At least four firms are in the running for a city franchise to build and operate a community antenna television service in West Palm Beach, and for the first time indicated it may grant one.

Subscribers to the service would pay about $5 a month for "super television" which would assure perfect reception of all local and Miami stations. On the remaining seven empty channels they could receive FM music, 24-hour weather reports, stock market quotations or anything else the system desires to transmit within certain FCC-imposed limitations.

Cables attached to existing utility poles would bring the service to each home. It would be a voluntary service. Anyone who wanted to keep on using their TV antenna could do so.

Community antenna systems are already in wide use in areas where normal TV reception is difficult or impossible. These include cities in mountainous regions or others, like Naples and Key West, who are remote from major cities where TV stations are concentrated.

Although West Palm Beach is not such a fringe area, promoters of CATV believe it has a market here. They claim it would give clearer reception of Miami TV stations than local viewers now receive from rooftop antennas. It would also, they say, put the "empty" channels to use with music, weather reports or other special services.

Although a local system could be expected to branch out into other municipalities and unincorporated areas of the county, it would start in West Palm Beach and the City Commission's nod is necessary for a franchise.

Besides improving TV pictures in the West Palm Beach area, CATV proponents say it could bring some stations to the North County-Jupiter areas which cannot be received clearly there now.

Officials of the county's own television stations, while not publicly opposing the plan, do not hide their aversion to CATV. It would increase their competition from Miami stations. With CATV, local viewers would receive Miami stations as clearly as they now receive WPTV in Palm Beach and WEAT-TV in West Palm Beach.

CATV systems have recently been brought under increasing control by the FCC which wants to assure that local stations are not discriminated against by CATV operators. It requires that all local stations must be carried by CATV in addition to distant stations.

Another new regulation would prohibit a CATV system here from carrying a program on a Miami station that is being shown simultaneously on WPTV or WEAT-TV. The same program could be carried however if the Miami station were broadcasting in color while the local station wasn't.

Its proponents say better color reception is one of CATV's principal benefits at a time when color sets are becoming more commonplace. It would, they claim, provide perfect color reception from all stations.

The FCC is also trying to stimulate a comeback of UHF stations which have a shorter range than regular VHF stations. The CATV people claim conventional rooftop antennas will not receive UHF stations from out of the county. Licenses have been granted for independent UHF stations in Broward County and in Miami.

When these stations go on the air, CATV would bring them to this area.

Many older sets are not built to receive UHF. But UHF stations could be received over CATV whether or not a set was built for it.

Acting City Manager Bill Tyre says he expects at least four firms to ask for the franchise May 16, the date the commission has set for considering applicants. The commission has not committed itself to grant any franchise but few concrete objections have been voiced so far.

One of them is the additional wires it would bring to the mass of cable already strung through the city.

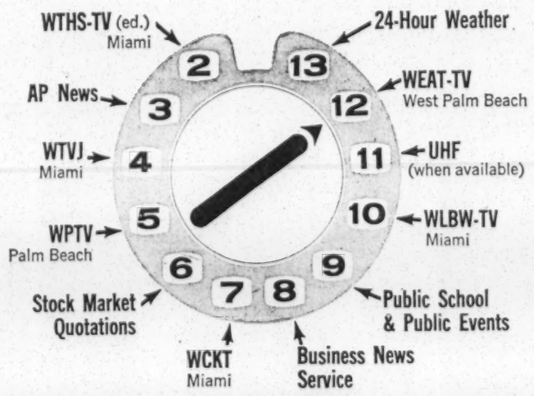
But the commission is not expected to overlook the additional franchise taxes it would receive from a CATV operator. One applicant claims his system would return $35,000 a year to the city when it is fully operational.

At least two firms have made a strong pitch for the franchise while several others, as yet unidentified, are expected to be in the running.

Gold Coast TV Inc., headed for former Mayor Cy Young of Fort Lauderdale, has been after the franchise for several months. Another is Burnup and Sims Inc., locally based communications contractors with operations throughout the world.

Burnup and Sims claims to be the largest builder of CATV systems in the world. Tom Pledger, operations manager of the firm's CATV division, says it has built more than a dozen systems in northern cities but does not yet own or operate any of its own.

He said Burnup and Sims already holds CATV franchises in the cities of Lake Park and North Palm Beach and plans to build systems there regardless of whether it gets the West Palm Beach franchise.



'Super TV' Dial Might Look Like This

... one company's proposed CATV system

Migrant Labor - Fla

MIGRANT LABOR

"ON THE SEASON" FOR FLORIDA MIGRANT FAMILIES

by BETTY AUSTIN

For two hot dusty days in June I rode through the Old Trap Road area near Elizabeth City and through closely cultivated and well cared-for tobacco, corn, and potato fields near New Bern, North Carolina. With C. H. Mayer and Jimmy Pollard, field staff of the AFSC Migrant Leadership Training Project, I was visiting Florida migrant crews. These were crews "on the season" to which the Service Committee's migrant project relates.

The crews are in these areas three or four weeks grading and picking up potatoes and gathering corn and green beans. They will then move north, some of the crews to North Collins near Buffalo, others to Utica, New York. Crews have been leaving Florida since mid-June and will return there some time during September after school has started. They are approximately four months away from home.

Marvin Johnson is a tall powerfully built capable crew leader. He was standing quietly in front of his quarters, dark grey hat square on his head, the day we were there. The crew had arrived in New Bern two days before and was ready to work in the potato fields. Later in the week an AFSC program aide, also a Florida migrant, was joining his crew. The aide's work is to assist the members of the crew in using the services available to them in local communities.

C. H. Mayer and Jimmy Pollard, AFSC field staff, visit migrant crew near New Bern, North Carolina.

Children in migrant camp near New Bern, North Carolina.

Adult members of the migrant families began working in the potato fields that week, getting 10 cents for each 100 pound bag picked up.

The weather and the market affect the number of days per week that they can work, making a dependable income impossible. Next year almost all of the potatoes will be mechanically picked and there will be little work in that area for migrants in the fields. There will be some work at the graders, the machines where the potatoes are sorted, graded and packed in bags for shipment.

We visited a large migrant camp near Elizabeth City one evening, and talked with the program aide working with the crew members. She was recording social security numbers for all members of the crew to insure that proper records be kept and that social security payments would be made.

The children from this camp were picked up by bus early each morning and taken to a near-by school which had a Headstart program. They were given breakfast, mid-morning snack, lunch and afternoon snack. They were returned to the camp at about the time their parents came in from the fields.

Often the migrant worker himself does not eat breakfast. He may have only a carbonated drink for lunch. In the evenings families have simple meals, often fish and fried potatoes. They cook on one or two burner kerosene stoves which they have brought with them from Florida. They do not like the vegetables they pick. Consequently green vegetables are largely missing from their diet.

C. H. Mayer and Jimmy Pollard were warmly welcomed at each camp we visited. They discussed with the leaders and crew members immediate problems and those in the days ahead. To help the migrants define their needs and to assist them in becoming equipped to help themselves are the aims of the project.

Charles Davis Resigns Position

Charles E. Davis has resigned as Director of the School Desegregation Program of the High Point office to accept a position with the Mobility Project of the North Carolina Fund.

During the ten years Charles Davis has been associated with the school desegregation program, the program has sought to encourage school officials and state educational leaders to work toward integration of students in the public schools. It has also aimed at the development of leadership for desegregation at the community level.

For the past two years his work has been with the School Desegregation Task Force, a project jointly sponsored by the AFSC and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. In this capacity, he has worked in communities of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina to help Negro parents and students become aware of steps which may be taken to effect transfer of students to desegregated schools under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

Most recently, he has supervised summer tutoring projects in Pageland, Barnwell and Ridgeville, South Carolina.

Magnum Film Walk Pla

THE OFFSHORES

BY PETER KRAMER

MIGRANT LABOR

East meets West at Austrian Seminar

A participant at the Austrian seminar complained he could never find anyone interested in taking time to play tennis, and three card players failed the whole week to find a fourth for bridge. Such was the pace and pleasure of 25 young research associates who met at Gars-am-Kamp, Austria, April 20 through 30. Here was an unusual opportunity to tackle topics of common interest without distraction or interruption, so they kept at each other with unprecedented intensity to the exclusion of everything else. Even when the long sessions adjourned, informal discussions continued over coffee in the lounge, during meals, or in the rooms late at night. Long talking-walks and a day's outing were almost the only chosen diversion from seven days of stimulating discussion.

Theme was peace in Europe

"Peace in Europe" was the theme of the seminar. The research associates were from institutes of international affairs, mid-career men between the ages of 30 and 40 who were concerned with exploring practical ways of achieving peace and security in Europe. They arrived from thirteen different countries representing the ideological "East" and "West" and the non-aligned. All were specialists in some phase of the problem and all were well informed.

A spirit of friendliness pervaded the seminar as they searched together for

continued on page 2

Seminar participants explore constructive plans for Europe's future.

AFSC promotes change in farm labor practices

Unorganized and inarticulate, migrants go unnoticed, their problems unsolved. Program emphasis is education of workers for leadership. Crew leaders, growers involved.

When killing frost cut down the bean crop in the Pompano, Florida, area last January, the market price of beans jumped from $4 to $8 per hamper, but the wages for the pickers went down from 80¢ to 70¢ per hamper because the frost damage created a surplus of labor. During 1965, 150 potato growers in the Hastings area netted a profit of $13.5 million while the bagger could make a maximum of $4.35 per day packing and lifting.

"We've got nothing to show for a lifetime of work." When AFSC aide Sam Jackson read these words from a National Committee on Farm Labor booklet to a group of migrant field workers, one declared, "That's the whole story in one sentence!"

The Service Committee's community relations staff members say that housing conditions are an accurate reflection of the status of migrants. Workers in Florida often pay $12 a week for a shack so small and miserable that a man can reach from wall to wall by stretching out his arms and can see the ground through the cracks in the floor.

A month or two later, the same workers may be assembling before dawn

The average worker earns an annual income under $915 and works less than 115 days a year.

under Philadelphia's Benjamin Franklin Bridge, where ramshackle yellow buses wait to carry them to adjoining farm areas for a day's work. Here in the big city, while looking for a room he can afford, a man may sleep in some rat-infested condemned house in Hell's Half Acre or buy himself a ticket to oblivion amidst a welter of canned sound effects, curled up in the flickering dark and stale air of one of the city's all-night movie theaters.

This most neglected sector of American society is present one day, when needed by the farmers, and gone and forgotten the next. Unorganized and inexperienced in speaking for themselves, the migrants are unnoticed by urban society. Pressed by social reformers, the Government creaks in its ponderous way toward better legislation for farm laborers, but in the opinion of Service Committee workers like project

continued on page 4

Workers *continued from page 1*

leader Bill Channel, a real reform movement can never get off the ground until the people involved take the leadership. Workers themselves must learn, for example, to look up the health facilities in their neighborhoods, know what inspection laws can be invoked, and be aware of what wages a fair day's labor should bring.

And that is the job the Committee's Migrant Leadership Education Program has begun. This summer, after a nine-week training program, 15 people chosen as potential leaders from 15 groups of migrant workers started "up the road" with their crews. The three-man AFSC field staff moved along with them as they put their new knowledge to work. In each community, the representatives of the more than 100,000 men and women of America's East Coast migrant stream were being met by volunteers, which AFSC workers call "community associates," to help them find solutions to the problems they meet and feel a part of the community.

Problems next year are expected to be even greater. The agricultural economy is the most highly mechanized branch of the national economy and there is enormous potential for further automation. Hank Mayer, erstwhile business agent for the Hod Carriers Union and labor organizer for the United Furniture Workers of America, now one of the program's three field workers, declares that next year there will be little work for migrants in the Elizabeth City and New Bern area of North Carolina, because virtually all the potatoes in that section will be mechanically picked. There will be some work for men at the graders—large machines for sorting potatoes. But migrant workers average under $915 annual income anyway, and already work, on an average, less than 115 days a year. They have the highest percentage of adult illiteracy in the United States, averaging little more than a fourth-grade education. Yet they can and must go a long way toward helping themselves, and the AFSC's test program is geared to encourage and train them to do it.

Crew leaders meet

Effective strides can be made when crew leaders, who direct the actual work and are in a position to bargain with employers, can be involved in a planning program that promises improvements in their own conditions. Here some AFSC efforts fall on poor ground, some on fertile soil. There are crew leaders like Tallahassee Tim (a substitute name), who reportedly has TV in every room in his house and a red Cadillac convertible with four bodyguards, provides radios in all his labor buses, and sells liquor to his workers with a 30% markup. But once in a while there is a helpful person like the one who agreed to plan a meeting for his fellow crew leaders and got 17 of them together within four weeks. The men elected as their chairman the hero of Ed Murrow's "Harvest of Shame," held state-wide meetings, produced a mimeographed labor price list with pickers' rates included, and applied holdout pressure that eventuated in improved wages and even, in some cases, impressed growers.

There are some forward-looking growers, too, like the ones in the New England Apple Council who recognize the desire of the migrant workers for dignity and better wages and realize that housing, education and transportation must also be improved.

Although the AFSC's program is primarily focused on the education of the workers themselves, it finds its efforts enriched and its purposes enhanced when the way opens to work with responsive crew leaders and growers.

CHRISTMAS GIFT PLAN

Honor your friends through the AFSC Christmas Gift Plan. You and those you wish to greet can share the satisfaction of serving people in need at home and abroad. Participate by sending us a list of your friends in whose name you wish to make a gift of not less than a dollar. At Christmas time the Committee will mail those on your list an attractive card inscribed with your name . . . a gift in the spirit of Christmas.

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE 1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina 27261

Belle Glade

FLORIDA

ON LAKE OKEECHOBEE

SUGARCANE CAPITAL OF
THE UNITED STATES

Migrant Labor — Fla.

MEMO TO THE FILES

FIELD REPORT, EFV

RE: MIGRANT LABORERS IN FLORIAD

Following conversation with Bill Chandler of AFSC Project in West Palm Beach, Florida and with Jim Pierce, IUD, Southeast Corrdinator, it became apparent that there was some divergence of viewpoint and perhaps some personality conflicts regarding the way to help migrant workers through self-organization. Hank Meyer, working with the AFSC, had been instrumental in assisting crew leaders (labor contractors) in starting an organization of their own. The IUD had a similar interest and had asked members of the Steelworkers staff in Florida and two workers out of steel shops out of Florida to participate in any meetings that were called and to become acquainted with the leadership in what had been incorporated as the United Agricultural Workers of America, Inc., on April 18 under Florida law.

Willie Payne who is with the Steelworkers in Tampa and also the District Civil Rights Chairman and once a migrant laborer himself was one of the local union people used. Carroll Lewis was the other. Pat Burke, the Districst Director, had participated in some meetings as had Estes Riffe who is the Assistant District Director.

Hank Meyer had been the key direct contact person for AFSC and he is working under Bill Chandler. The community action fund of Florida also had an interest in this project. The The Fund is headed by Dr. Pat Hardeman but Bill Johnson of the Fund had worked closely with Hank in direct contact with the crew chiefs. Evidently Roscoe Webb of the Community Action Fund in Dade County had been instrumental in bringing in Attorney Kufman to assist with the by-laws and incorporation papers for the United Agricultural Workers of America, Inc.

Via went to West Palm Beach to meet with Jim Pierce, Estes Riffe, Bill Chandler, and Hank Meyer. The meeting apparently was successful in terms of reconciling the various differences and getting common support for a move to have an IUD-sponsored organizing drive backed by Laborers Union interest and money. Although the first level of the drive would be to organize the crew chiefs first the understanding was that the pickers would also be organized. Current thinking is that they might go into two separate locals but that bargaining would be joint. The key crew chiefs understand that the various groups have a primary interest in the pickers even though the problems of the crew chiefs are quite substantial, especially for those who are honest.

In Belle Glade, Florida, Via ~~km~~ met with Willie Payne and Carroll Lewis as well as the president of the Agricultural Workers of America. Ed King and his vice-president ~~xxx~~ Mr. Larkner (?). The two _____ crew chiefs seemed to be quite delighted that such differences as had existed seemed now to be reconciled. Jim Pierce briefed them in regard to what he would be saying the next evening (May 10) regarding the IUD and labor union interest in them.

A STUDY OF MIGRATORY WORKERS IN CUCUMBER HARVESTING

Waushara County,
Wisconsin

1964

Conducted by:
The University of Wisconsin,
Elizabeth Brandeis Raushenbush—
Project Director

STATUS OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS
UNDER
STATE AND FEDERAL LABOR LAWS

December 1965
Fact Sheet No. 2

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Standards
Washington, D.C.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

April 1966

FARM LABOR developments

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
Washington, D.C. 20210

N E W S F R O M

National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003
Contact
Maurice F. White, Assistant Executive Director
office: 212/GR 3-0284
home: 212/468-0663

RELEASE DATE:

Monday, May 23, 1966

RURAL OUTMIGRATION CREATES CRISIS FOR CITIES AND FARMS, SAYS REPORT

NEW YORK--Cutbacks in cotton production, mechanization and discrimination are forcing the migration of hundreds of thousands of people annually from rural to urban ghetto areas, according to a report, The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers in 1965, released today by Fay Bennett, Executive Director of the National Sharecroppers Fund (NSF).

"To meet this deepening crisis," Miss Bennett said, "we need prompt governmental action to provide more equitable crop allotments to the small farmer, vigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination policies in the implementation of farm and other government programs, and large-scale programs to rebuild rural areas as proposed in our report."

NSF's report called for massive remedial programs to raise the living standards of rural people. Specifically, the report cited the need for the building of a million new homes and 30,000 new water and sewage systems, and increased medical, health and educational facilities. Development of these needed programs would create "from a quarter to a half million new jobs," the report asserted.

The report also called for "inclusion of farm workers in all the protections of social legislation that benefit industrial workers" and increased loan and technical assistance to enable small farmers to remain on the land and to raise their income levels.

On the whole, the report indicated that last year hired farm workers fared slightly better economically than marginal farmers. A major gain was the hiring of more domestic farm workers by operators of large corporate farms that were no longer able to secure foreign contract workers under Public Law 78, which had expired.

Other advances cited include several successful union organizing drives and strikes for better wages and other benefits which, the report asserted, "marked a new militancy among farm workers"; and a rise in the average hourly wage paid farm workers from $1.08 to $1.14, "the largest one-year increase since the Korean War."

On the other hand, the report said that mechanization continued to displace thousands of sharecroppers, day laborers and small farmers. The number of Southerners who have quit the farm since 1940 rose to three million last year, the report declared. Displacement of Negroes "was brutally speeded by evictions following voter registration and other civil rights activities," the report charged.

The report indicated disappointment with implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act in the rural South, which it said has "the most impoverished communities" but "received the least antipoverty funds."

The National Sharecroppers Fund is a private, nonprofit organization which helps sharecroppers, tenant and small farmers, and other rural residents in the South take advantage of available federal assistance programs to improve their economic situation. NSF helps them qualify for benefits by providing information and technical assistance, and also works to end discrimination in the implementation of the aid programs.

Former North Carolina Senator Frank P. Graham is NSF Board chairman. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is vice-chairman.

Copies of the report are available from the NSF office, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Ag. Workers

THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS IN 1965

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
by Fay Bennett, Executive Director

"There still lies ahead the establishment for migrant farm labor of the standards of both decency and efficiency which are characteristic of other employment in this country."

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz in Year of Transition: Seasonal Farm Labor, 1965

"I used to wonder how all my white neighbors got such fine cows and fine pastures and fine tractors. I kept snooping around and I found out my white neighbors were getting loans from the government. My [county] agent hadn't told me that!"

Participant in Alabama Conference on Governmental Anti-Poverty and Other Programs to Aid Low-Income Rural People, co-sponsored by NSF

"I think I've been on strike all my days 'cause I've been suffering all my days. I don't mind suffering . . . Let me suffer till I get to the good . . . . For God's sake stop grumbling and see the thing right."

Mrs. Adkins of Shaw, Mississippi, in statewide Mississippi Freedom Labor Union Meeting, Sept. 4, 1965

The Year in Brief

1965 was a year of transition and hope for hired farm workers, of dispossession and struggle for marginal farmers. The end of dependence on foreign contract workers and the proof that domestic workers were available if jobs met minimum standards characterized the transition. Strike action and union organization marked a new militancy among farm workers. Continued mechanization made thousands of sharecroppers "expendable" and day laborers idle, as economic change was brutally speeded by evictions following voter registration and other civil rights activities. The war on poverty moved into southern rural areas but its pace lagged far behind the national effort.

Fewer and Richer Farms; Fewer and Poorer People

Between 1939 and 1964, 2.4 million farms disappeared; 95 per cent of them were small farms with less than $2,500 in annual gross sales, and about a fourth of them were worked by sharecroppers. Only about 1.5 million small farms are left now. In the same period, the number of farms with gross sales of $10,000 and more rose two and one-half times. In the South, three million people have left the land since 1940. Most of those forced off southern farms have been Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers who have migrated to northern and western ghetto communities. (At one point they were flocking to the Watts area in Los Angeles at the rate of 1,000 a month.)

The displacement of people from southern farms may be accounted for by many factors. Chief among these is continued mechanization. Mechanical cotton pickers and grain harvesters are eliminating sharecropping in the deep South, leaving only half a million day laborers. In the Delta area, 95 per cent of the cotton will be machine-picked in 1966--in contrast with 69 per cent in 1965--and 20,000 more farm laborers will be made idle. The coming mechanization of tobacco will have a similar effect in states just to the north of the cotton belt. Across the continent in California, about a third of the 1965 tomato crop--116,000 acres--was reaped by 262 machines; in 1966, a major portion of the tomatoes will be planted for machine harvesting.

Hundreds of farmers are being dispossessed in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana for participating in civil rights activities. The dispossession of others will be speeded by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965; in the Mississippi Delta alone, one-third of the 925,000 cotton acres will be taken out of production.

Productivity continues to rise. The labor of one farm worker supplied the farm product needs of 11 people in 1940, 15 in 1950, 26 in 1960, and 33 in 1964.

Hired Farm Workers

There are about 2.5 million households with one or more members who do some hired farm work during the year. More than half of these live below the poverty level (defined as less than $3,000 income from all sources); in this group are more than 80 per cent of the non-white families, and more than 70 per cent of the families headed by a migrant.

In 1964, the last year for which full figures are available, there were approximately 664,000 full-time farm workers in the United States and about 2.5 million seasonal workers. Of these, about 386,000 were migratory workers and 272,000 of them did 25 or more days' work during the year. In 1964, migrants worked an average of 131 days at farm and nonfarm work and earned an average of $1,240. Nearly half (44 per cent) of them did both farm and nonfarm work with average earnings of $585 at farm work and $1,049 at nonfarm work. Those who did only farm work averaged $935 in annual earnings. A special wage survey made by the Department of Labor in May, 1965, covered 1.5 million farm wage workers. Seventy per cent of them were paid less than $1.25 an hour. More than one-third (in the South, 54 per cent) were paid less than 75 cents an hour.

Safety. The National Safety Council has again branded agriculture as one of the most hazardous of all industries. In 1965, agriculture ranked below only the mining and construction industries in death rate. It had the largest total number of deaths, 3,200, and 270,000 disabling injuries.

Children. More than one-fourth of the entire hired farm working force are young people less than 17 years of age. (In 1962, farm wage worker households with less than $3,000 income included 3 million members not yet 18, about 27 per cent of all children and youth in the poverty sector.) There is as yet no national legislation to prevent child labor in agriculture outside of school hours, as there is in other industries. "Crop vacations" are common from Maine to Louisiana, nullifying the school-hour protection. In the year ending June 30, 1965, Department of Labor inspectors found 2,300 farms violating child labor laws and a total of 7,076 children under 16 working during school hours. More than half of these were in the 10-13 age bracket.

Housing and Health. Despite the existence of new government programs providing financial aid for farm labor housing, too many farm worker families still live in miserable conditions. Investigation into an alleged labor shortage in Florida last spring uncovered these conditions:

> ". . . There are no camps in Dade County with indoor plumbing for each cabin. The electrical outlet provides a bare bulb for light. . . . Sometimes burlap is the only privacy between rooms. The floors and walls are generally bare, unpainted planks. Families with 10 and 12 children can live in one two-room shack for $8 to $10 a week. . . .'A new camp would have to live up to the letter of the law,' says [one] Sanitation Inspector. . . .'That's why there are so few new camps.'"

Small wonder that migrant families are more prone to illness than others; that diarrhea is chronic among children; parasitic and fungal diseases common; neglect of teeth, eye, and ear ailments prevalent.

Foreign Workers. 1965 was the year of transition for farm labor, domestic and foreign. Mexican braceros, always the bulk of foreign contract workers, were no longer available under Public Law 78, which had expired. The challenge of attracting a sufficient number of domestic workers to replace them had to be met and, for the most part, was met. Use of foreign labor was reduced 83 per cent, from 634,000 man-months (equivalent to 52,800 full-time jobs) in 1964, to 110,000 man-months (9,200 jobs) in 1965; Mexican labor was reduced 95 per cent. In 1964, there had been

178,000 Mexican contract workers in 17 states; in 1965, there were 20,300, all in California. The use of British West Indians did not decrease proportionately. In 1964, there were 14,000; in 1965, although there were 14,100 in Florida alone, man-months dropped from 81,000 to 64,000; but there were also 1,340 BWI's working in apples and 800 in tobacco. The number of Canadians imported to New England states dropped from 8,000 in 1964 to 4,484 in 1965--3,627 in potatoes and 857 in apples. Of the 1,080 Japanese and 110 Filipinos in the United States at the end of 1964, 200 Japanese remained by the end of 1965. All of the temporary workers imported in 1965 came in under P. L. 414, the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Average hourly wages for farm workers rose from $1.08 to $1.14, the largest one-year increase since the Korean War. Crop values were up even in the three crops--asparagus, strawberries, and pickle cucumbers--where crop losses may have been attributable in part to labor shortages. The price of fresh fruits and vegetables went down in 1965 (by 4.5 per cent, comparing November, 1964, to November, 1965), while the Consumer Price Index rose 1.7 per cent.

Farm Worker Organization

Large-scale militant union activity among farm workers developed in 1965 in widely separated parts of the country.

Cotton choppers and pickers, paid $2.50 or $3.00 for a 10-hour day, formed 90 per cent of the membership of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union; but they were joined by tractor drivers, haulers, domestic servants, part-time carpenters, mechanics, handymen, former sharecroppers, and renters. The MFLU demands were for a $1.25 an hour minimum wage, an $8\frac{1}{2}$-hour day with time-and-a-half for overtime, sick pay, health and accident insurance, and equal employment practices. Evicted strikers and croppers set up a tent city. If MFLU cannot bring the huge plantation owners to the bargaining table, it may at least focus national attention on the need for alternatives for the poor people of the cotton country.

The grape strike broke out after Filipino workers returned from Coachella Valley, California, where they had received $1.40 an hour plus an incentive piece rate, to Delano where wages were $1.25 and the incentive smaller. They called for help from the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. When employers refused to discuss wages, working conditions, and a union contract, between six and eight hundred workers struck. Within two weeks, 1,200 Mexican-Americans, organized in the National Farm Workers Association, joined them. Harrassment and arrests by employers and local authorities were constant. The strike continued from the picking season into pruning, the beginning of the next crop year. (In 1966, Schenley Industries has recognized the union and the Di Giorgio Corporation has suggested an election.)

Other areas were affected. At Lantana, on the East Coast of Florida, 14 farm workers struck, demanding a wage increase, but lost; just south of Lantana a strike was averted when demands were met. A wage increase was secured in the Pompano Beach area by a strike threat coupled with a labor shortage. A five-day strike of 800 British West Indian cane cutters at the Okeelanta Sugar Refinery was lost. The Steelworkers union organized Cypress Gardens Citrus Products, Inc., of Eloise, Florida's largest multi-purpose citrus plant, as the beginning of an organizing drive. In Louisiana, the Fish, Seafood, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union No. 300 secured for Gulf Coast pogy boatmen their first over-all pay increase in 25 years. Local 300, affiliated with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, includes dairy, sugar, and rice workers in addition to the fishermen.

Legislation

Congress moved slowly in 1965 on bills which proposed coverage for farm workers under minimum wage requirements, child labor regulations, collective bargaining guarantees, and unemployment compensation. Although both Senate and House worked on separate, similar bills, only one piece of legislation--a House proposal to include

farm laborers under minimum wage coverage--was reported favorably out of Committee, but it did not come up for a vote before the session ended. (In March, 1966, a new minimum wage bill was reported favorably out of Committee.) In September, 1965, a proposal to transfer the authority to import foreign workers in times of domestic labor shortage from the Labor Secretary to the Agriculture Secretary was narrowly defeated.

More action was seen in state legislatures than in some years. Five states strengthened regulations governing housing and sanitary conditions. California enacted the first law requiring employers to provide sanitary facilities in the fields. Texas now requires a tuberculosis examination for persons seeking migratory work. Florida and Michigan set safety standards for motor vehicles used to transport migratory workers, and California improved its vehicle code. North Dakota deleted the exemption for agricultural workers from its minimum wage law, but Michigan suspended coverage of certain agricultural operations. New Jersey broadened its wage payment and collection law to include agricultural workers. Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, and Oregon amended workmen's compensation laws to provide some coverage for agricultural workers.

Federal Programs

Farmers Home Administration. In 1965 FHA loaned more than $798 million to help 12,186 farm families buy, enlarge, or develop farms; gave short-term operating credit to 118,000; assisted more than 12,000 with antipoverty loans; loaned $13 million which provided new or improved housing for more than 5,500 rural persons aged 62 and older; and gave credit assistance to 388 rural communities to construct water systems. Unfortunately, however, generations of discrimination have produced such inequalities that many Negro farmers cannot now meet qualifications for loans. In several Southern states, little change is yet visible. The number of farmers who have applied but not received loans is not known, and others have not even applied either because they do not know how or because they are sure they will be rejected.

ASCS. According to Department of Agriculture reports as of December 30, 1965, in the 1965 Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections 12,471 Negroes were on the ballot for various offices in 14 southern states. None was elected either member or first alternate to a County Committee but five were elected second alternates. On the Community Committees, 85 were elected regular members, 131 first alternates, and 303 second alternates. Without members on County Committees, Negro farmers still lack the effective representation needed to change traditional discriminatory policies. Reports from Deep South states indicate that in some areas elected Negro members are not being notified of Community Committee meetings or allowed to participate in their activities.

Office of Economic Opportunity. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 made possible, under Title III-B, programs for farm workers in education, sanitation, day care, and self-help housing. In 1965, OEO granted some $26 million in Title III-B funds to 65 public and private nonprofit organizations in 20 states. Around 350 VISTA volunteers are working with migrants. Under EOA's rural loan programs, nearly 25,000 rural families received $36.5 million in 13 months (including January, 1966), and in southern states, nearly 40 per cent of the family loans have been made to Negro borrowers. OEO has financed small machinery cooperatives, and more than half of these are made up partly or entirely of Negro farmers. EOA made possible additional projects under Community Action Program auspices, but the most impoverished communities--mainly in the rural South--have received the least antipoverty funds, because they lack the organization and technical help needed to initiate projects.

Training Programs. Since 1962, more than 20,000 persons have been trained in agricultural skills under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Area Redevelopment Act. Training is also given in basic literacy skills and for nonfarm occupations in areas where workers are needed. Hundreds of thousands are in need of such training as their old agricultural occupations are disappearing.

A Program for Rural America

The crises of American cities and farms, so different on the surface, are inextricably bound together. Dramatic evidence is the annual migration of a million people from rural to urban areas.

Remedial programs are needed to raise the living standards of rural people: inclusion of farm workers in all the protections of social legislation that benefit industrial workers; increased programs of loans and technical assistance to enable small farmers to remain on the land and to raise their income levels.

But beyond that, a program is needed large enough to meet the human needs of the rural areas:

* A million new rural homes are needed in the next ten years, and two and one-half million homes need major repairs.
* Rural medical, hospital, nursing, and dental services must be brought up to urban standards.
* Educational facilities must be increased at least to urban levels, requiring a 40 per cent greater investment in education, including construction of approximately 50,000 new classrooms.
* 30,000 rural town water and sewage systems are needed.

Vocational training and remedial education are needed to equip people for employment in these construction and development projects. The training of professionals to staff increased facilities will call for a steadily expanding number of educators and educational institutions. Following the basic medical and educational services should come a host of other social, cultural, and recreational facilities and personnel.

From a quarter to a half million new jobs could be created to meet the basic and expanding needs of the rural areas. On the basis of the new job-created incomes, the disappearing small towns of stagnating rural economies will become thriving small cities with new needs, new construction, new business, in a spiraling cycle of activity.

National Sharecroppers Fund

*has field representatives in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, helping poverty-stricken people to help themselves, bringing knowledge of federal assistance programs available, and working to end discrimination in their implementation. (Four representatives work under the Rural Advancement Project, NSF's cooperative program with the Southern Regional Council and the State Councils on Human Relations.)

*set up the Southern Rural Training Project under contract with the Department of Labor to stimulate and develop training programs for the hard-core rural poor.

*carried on a crash five-month Farm Labor Counseling Program to advise unemployed rural poor about criteria farm jobs, training opportunities, and other means of increasing their employability and income.

*works to end the exclusion of agricultural workers from the protections and benefits of social legislation that other workers enjoy, and to protect them from the unfair competition of foreign contract labor.

*supports the efforts of farm workers in organizing unions and low-income farmers in organizing cooperatives.

*works with government and other private agencies to help low-income rural people secure a better life.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND -- 112 East 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

Migrant Labor

20,000 Texans Join March on Capitol

AUSTIN, Tex.—Twenty thousand Texans marched to the state capitol here Labor Day to demand a $1.25 state minimum wage law and to show their sympathy for a band of farm workers who had walked 400 miles from the Rio Grande Valley to dramatize their low wages and their strike against two corporation farms.

They also wanted to show the state's conservative Democratic organization that many Texans were ready for massive socio-economic changes.

At a barbecue that followed, Pres. H. S. Hank Brown of the Texas AFL-CIO, which collected more than $16,000 from unions to sustain the marchers and the farm strike and which arranged the Labor Day march and rally, said, "This is Texas labor's greatest day."

Only five days before, Gov. John Connally, accompanied by State Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, who is a candidate for U.S. Senate, had met the farm workers' march 50 miles from their destination, urging them not to go on.

"There might be trouble," Connally warned.

There was none. As the biggest protest march in modern Texas history moved the last three miles to the state capitol grounds, Texas Democratic Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough, a member of the Senate Labor Committee, joined the march.

From the steps of the capitol, Yarborough told the workers, who had come from all over Texas, "A hundred years ago we ended physical slavery. We are here today to end economic slavery.

"Texas has more people living at the poverty level than any other state. We are here today to lift Texans out of poverty."

Speaker after speaker said that the rally was just the start of a movement to change things.

William J. Kircher, director of organization of the national AFL-CIO, who walked the last days of the march, said:

"These campesinos (farm hands) are setting a good example for all working Texans who do not belong to a union—and only 10 percent of the work force does."

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, recently chartered by the AFL-CIO, is "the most significant event for organized labor in recent years," Eugene Nelson said.

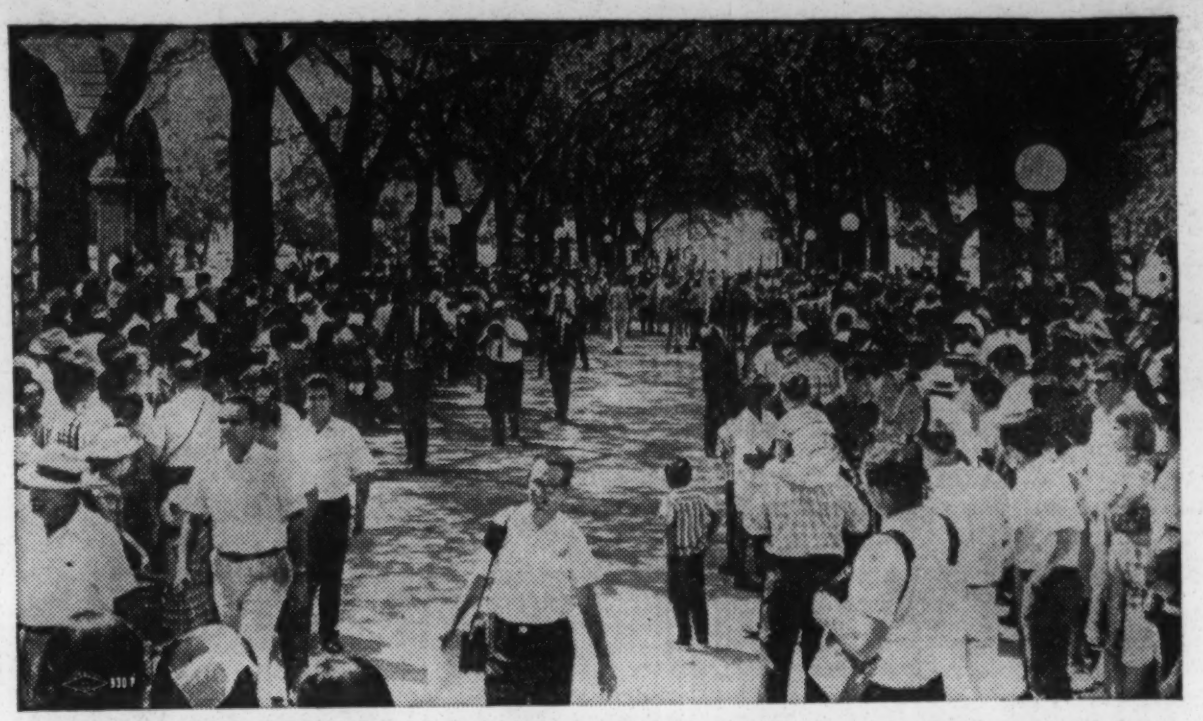
Nelson, who served as a picket captain in the Delano, Calif., grape pickers strike, brought what he learned there to South Texas, where he organized the second UFWOC group in the country and then led 40 marchers for 56 days half way across Texas. He said:

"It's a cold and grotesque paradox that the people who produce the food—the vital substance—live under the worst conditions of any employee group in the country."

Cesar Chavez, a leader of the newly-chartered UFWOC, who helped direct the Delano grape strike, told the union members that the unions had "taught the growers of California a few lessons in collective bargaining."

Most of the marchers returned to the Rio Grande Valley the next day to continue their strike, leaving behind two men on the capitol steps, one holding a metal religious cross and the other holding flags of America and Texas.

They, and alternates, were to remain there, silent each day, until the legislature passes a law setting a wage floor of $1.25 an hour for all the workers of Texas, including farm hands.



ENTERING THE GROUNDS of the state capitol at Austin, Tex., to press demand for a $1.25 minimum wage law are striking farm workers from the Rio Grande Valley who had marched 400 miles across the state to dramatize their plight—and some 20,000 other Texans, many of them union members, who had joined them near capitol.

The Farm Worker Goes Union

Some union organizing drives that began as long ago as the Thirties are being completed these days. Only recently New York's taxicab drivers won union contracts, climaxing 30-year-long efforts to organize. Just a few years ago, it was the turn of hospital workers in various parts of the country, a drive sparked by RWDSU Local 1199's successful campaign in New York and New Jersey.

Now agricultural workers are coming into the labor movement. On this page are reports from Texas and California, where America's poorest and most exploited workers are banding together under the banner of the AFL-CIO to win first-class citizenship.

There's still a long way to go before the labor movement achieves its goal of organizing all workers — and particularly such groups as farm laborers. But the campaign is on, and it's gaining strength every day.

EVERYBODY WAS HAPPY when AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany presented a charter to the new United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, formed by merger of the AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee and unaffiliated Nat'l Farm Workers Assn. With Meany are (from left) AFL-CIO Org. Dir. William L. Kircher and [illegible] Chavez, leader of new

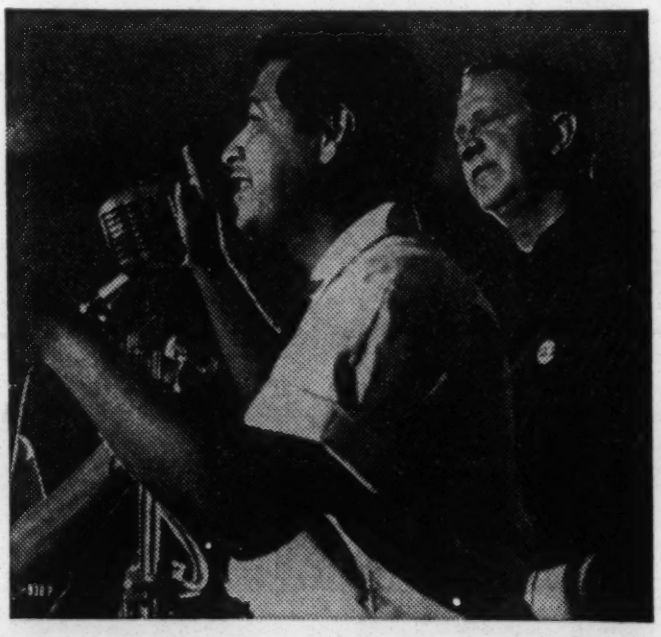
Calif. Farm Workers Win DiGiorgio Vote

SAN FRANCISCO (PAI) — Contract talks are expected to get underway soon between the AFL-CIO's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and the giant DiGiorgio Corporation covering some 1,400 farm hands on two California farms.

The UFWOC has been officially declared the winner in a contest with the Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters. The final vote gave the AFL-CIO unit 530 votes to 331 for the IBT. There were two "no union" votes. A total of 1,349 ballots were cast.

The Teamsters were declared winners of a smaller unit of packingshed workers and drivers, 94 to 43.

Under a previous agreement, if the contracts are not negotiated within 45 days all unresolved issues will be submitted to mediation.



THE RESULTS of the collective bargaining election for field workers at two major farms of the DiGiorgio Corp. in California were announced by a smiling Cesar Chavez, leader of the newly-formed AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Committee, as AFL-CIO Org. Dir. William L. Kircher stood by. The final tally showed 530 votes for the AFL-CIO to 331 for the Teamsters. DiGiorgio victory follows contract won at Schenley Products Corp.

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The Saturday Evening POST May 6, 1967

STRIKE!

In the vineyards where the grapes of wrath are stored, the poorest of the poor began an epic struggle against the masters of the land. Here is the violent and engrossing story.

By JOHN GREGORY DUNNE

Photographs by Ted Streshinsky

The magnetic leader of California's grape pickers, Cesar Chavez sought a basic right the growers stubbornly refused to admit—the right to organize themselves in a union.

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POST
THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

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EV—migrant labor

Wall St. Journal

VOL. CLXXIV NO. 52

9-15-69

Boss Men

Migrant Workers Find Their Lives Controlled By Farm Crew Leaders

Some Overseers Get $50,000 A Year; Keeping Workers In Debt a Common Tactic

A Little Wine, Much Work

By JAMES MACGREGOR
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

EASTVILLE, Va.—It was a long, hard summer for the vegetable growers of Northampton County, what with low prices, a drought that hurt early strawberries and cabbages and, finally, 17 consecutive days of thundershowers. To cut their losses, some farmers let whole fields of waterlogged potatoes and tomatoes go unpicked.

The farmers aren't the only victims, however. Abandoned crops also mean hard times for the Negro migrant workers who pick crops every summer on Virginia's flat, sandy Eastern Shore. Some have found only two or three days work a week this year. Others, working more regularly, are making less money than usual, because muddy fields make vegetables hard to pick.

"I can't recall a year as bad as this one," says Leon James, a 40-year-old Negro who has been traveling here from Florida for the harvest for two decades. While disappointed, Mr. James doesn't seem to be particularly worried, and with some reason. He is neither farmer nor worker.

This is the first of two stories on the migrant farm workers—most of them from the south—who work each year on the harvests in the Middle Atlantic and Midwestern states.

Mr. James is a migrant worker crew leader, officially called a "farm labor contractor." Vegetable farmers here, in Florida and New Jersey pay crew leaders such as Mr. James for recruiting, transporting, paying and supervising the Negro workers who pick or grade the crops. In good years and bad, farmers need migrant workers—supplied by the labor contractors. Startlingly enough, in good years a crew leader can make up to $50,000. Farmers here contend that this year the crew leaders "are the only ones even breaking even in farming."

Mr. James says he will be lucky to clear $200 a week in Virginia this summer. But, back home in Fort Lauderdale, Mr. James and his brother Louis have "a few investments" which, he says with a thin smile, "ought to see us through." They include three small apartment buildings, a fleet of 16 taxicabs and a bus service that delivers domestics to and from work. The seed money for these businesses came from the migrant worker enterprise.

The crew leader is a singular figure in American agriculture. To many a farmer he is indispensable, as the primary—or only—source of labor at harvest time. To the worker he employs, he is an absolute authority. In the labor camp, the crew leader is foreman, paymaster, Dutch uncle, money lender, grocer, policeman, judge and jury. Police and other local authorities leave the operation of the shabby, isolated labor camps almost entirely to the crew leaders.

The Ways of Power

Wielding that kind of power, crew leaders live very well indeed. Most are former field hands themselves. At best, the crew leader seems to be a benevolent despot, using his control of work, money, housing and transport for the benefit of his workers as well as himself. As crew leaders go, Mr. James is favorably regarded.

But Harvey Robuck, a thin, weathered Negro of 32 in another crew, is unhappy about his crew leader. "He picked me up in Bonita (Florida), where I was drunk at the time," says Mr. Robuck. "When we got to this place, he told me I owed him for driving me up here and for my keep. Then I had to borrow some dollars so I could eat and buy a little wine. Then comes Saturday, and he says I only got $4 coming. Five days I worked, and I only got $4 coming. I went out and had me a good time, and Monday I got to borrow a few more dollars."

Mr. Robuck finds himself trapped in the migrant debt cycle. Only the crew leader can find him work or give him a ride back to Florida. The crew leader also has him constantly in debt, furnishing wine and cigarets on credit ($1.50 for an 89-cent bottle of port and 50 cents for a 35-cent pack of cigarets). The crew leader's two assistants have warned Mr. Robuck that he will be "cut bad" (with a knife) if he tries to leave the camp while he owes money.

Better Than Most

Mr. James says he doesn't operate that way. His workers get $1.50 an hour, average for potato graders. And he shuns the petty usury and wine sales used by some crew leaders to inflate their incomes. Nor does he charge for lodgings and transportation to the fields, as some leaders do.

His workers also enjoy relative comfort and sanitation. They live in a red cinder-block compound put up by Eastville farmer Rob Hoeffner at a cost of $30,000 last year. Mr. Hoeffner employs the James crew each year. The compound replaced an old, dilapidated labor camp. The Spartan 10-foot-by-12-foot rooms are no cozier than Army barracks, but they are clean, dry and free from bugs and rats. Mr. James insists on periodic cleanups and on keeping the compound neat. When a worker recently broke down a door during a disput with his wife, Mr. James made him pay the $38 repair bill. Some camps have dismal accommodations; one crew leader has housed his charges in an abandoned potato shed.

The James crew benefits also from the help of outside agencies in the area. Day-care centers tend the workers' infants, and each day a yellow bus hauls children to a special school for migrant families in nearby Accomack County. There is some dispute about the school's quality but it keeps the children out of the fields and feeds them solid, balanced meals

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Boss Men: Migrant Farm Workers Find Lives Controlled by Leaders

Continued From Page One

to supplement a diet that often consists only of pork, beans, cabbage, rice and bread.

The migrant health project in Nassawadox, 10 miles north of Eastville, sends Dianne Diaz, a young nursing student, to visit the camp every few days to check for sick persons who should visit the project's mobile clinic. "Mr. James is awfully cooperative," she says. "The first time I went there, he went through the camp and shouted, 'We got a nurse outside. Any of you need help, get on out there.' I've had no trouble at all since then."

Mr. James' relative benevolence contrasts with the approach of Ozell Suggs, who has a 47-man potato-grading crew. Mr. Suggs feels he "doesn't need to worry much" about health and sanitation. "If they want to live like animals, I let them," he says. His formula for success: "You keep them happy. You get them work and you pay them. Some of them like a little wine, so you give them some money and let them go get it."

How many of his crew members owe him $20 or more for wine? "I guess pretty much most of them." Does he always get his money back? "I get my money back. I don't have no trouble I can't take care of." Mr. Suggs is six feet, two inches tall, and weighs 285 pounds. The Wellington boots he wears make him look even bigger.

Crew leader Ray Gordon also has an offhand attitude toward the welfare of his workers. The migrant health project recently determined that one of them had tuberculosis and arranged admission to a sanatorium in Charlottesville. Mr. Gordon balked at letting the man—"my best worker"—go for treatment during the harvest, even though the worker's positive sputum test made him a hazard to the other laborers. Only when the county sheriff intervened was the man taken for treatment.

Leon James spends much time recruiting workers, traveling to "the places where migrants hang out" in Norfolk, Baltimore and Philadelphia. But the supply is short. In desperation, he hired 10 local Negroes to help out the crew this year.

'Keep Them Prisoner'

Ironically, hard-bitten crew leaders like Mr. Suggs seem to have less trouble keeping workers than "humane" ones like Mr. James, who reports a high turnover. Since May 1, he has employed more than 100 different workers in his 35-to-40-man crew. "To keep migrants today, you've virtually got to keep them prisoner," says one veteran Eastern Shore farmer.

This old hand might have added that he, and the other farmers relying on migrant labor, are in something like economic bondage to the crew leaders themselves. The five trucks that haul potatoes from Mr. Hoeffner's fields belong to Mr. James. For every 100 pounds of potatoes unloaded from the trucks, Mr. James gets 29 cents. The price doesn't change, regardless of the price that Mr. Hoeffner gets for the produce on the market.

This summer Mr. James showed up at the Hoeffner farm a week late and a few workers short. That cost Mr. James and his crew of potato graders some money, but it hurt Mr. Hoeffner and Raymond Briggs, the other local farmer using Mr. James' crew, far more. Most of their potatoes had to be shipped in bulk by the truckload, fetching a lower price than if there had been time to grade out the better-quality potatoes in 50 or 100 pound bags.

Mr. Hoeffner acknowledges that Mr. James "has his faults," but, he says, "I don't think I could find a better crew leader." That was a reason for the new housing that Mr. James' workers got, and it also accounts for the 29 cents per hundredweight paid Mr. James. Some crew leaders offer to work for as little as 15 cents a hundredweight.

Mr. James and his brother Louis started the crew in 1946 when they respectively were 17 and 19. The business now includes the five potato trucks and a green and black school bus used to transport the workers. Louis, now 42, has retired from crew leading to manage the other family enterprises in Florida. Now Leon is accompanied by his father Allen, a garrulous, 250-pound former field worker, aged 60, who handles many of the dealings with the laborers.

"He cusses at you a lot," says one field hand, "but he don't mean it."

Living With the Troops

Both father and son live modestly. They stay in the compounds with their crew (Allen is separated from his wife, and Leon leaves his wife and 11-year-old son in Florida during the harvest), drive old-model cars and usually dress in rumpled green work uniforms. "They're kind of like grandpappies to all of us," says crew member Roosevelt Buchanan, to whom the Jameses lent $283 for an auto repair bill before coming north to Virginia.

Not all crew leaders live modestly. On a recent evening, Roscoe Simmons, a Negro crew leader, was observed in a chauffeur-driven, air-conditioned white Cadillac, roaring past a farmer in a battered pickup truck on a local highway.

However, crew leaders, flamboyant or modest, find themselves in a dwindling industry. Migrant labor is fading from the Eastern Shore. A decade ago, there were 14,000 migrant workers in Northampton and Accomack counties each year; now there are about 6,000.

The families that have grown vegetables here since the days of slavery now find that the sandy soil and unpredictable weather won't support crops large and uniform enough to compete with produce grown by mechanized methods and trucked in from other regions. Many large farmers and farming corporations are switching to rye or soybeans, which don't need migrant labor. Some smaller farmers are quitting the business altogether and using their land for more profitable enterprises, like tourist camping grounds.

Adding to the crew leaders' problems are the unscrupulous "free lance" crew leaders who ignore Federal regulations governing migrant labor. These contractors arrive without a work contract, house their crews wherever they can find a roof and seek work by undercutting the usual prices.

Leon James estimates that migrant laborers — and crew leaders with them — will have vanished from the Eastern Shore within 10 years. But the Jameses will keep at it until the end. Leon says simply, "I like crew leading," and his father Allen says, "I do it to keep busy. It's all I got to do now."

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VOL. CLXXIV NO. 56

Slim Pickings

Migrant Farm Hands Strain for $1 an Hour Harvesting Cucumbers

A Reporter Finds the Work Dreary, Housing Squalid; Workers Accept Their Lot

'Mother Said I'd Be Poor'

By RAUL RAMIREZ
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

KEELER, Mich.—The migrant farm worker tends to dream of the "nice field" or the "$100 deal" ($100 a week) that lies ahead in a rosier future. "Just wait until we get to Ohio," says an aging Mexican-American laborer. "The tomatoes will be as big as pumpkins, and we'll have work every day."

Listening to such talk is dispiriting, for the plentiful crops, good living conditions and generous pay never seem to materialize. The old worker concedes that he got to the Michigan fields too late last year to do well. "But this year—you wait and see," he says smilingly.

I saw. In a week-long stint as a cucumber picker, I found that the $100 wage is more likely to be $40 to $60 a week, with grinding labor, dreary housing, inadequate food, and an economic system that fixes the worker in bondage to his crew chief. The hopeful chatter in the evenings comes to seem like idle dreaming indeed.

This is the second of two stories on the migrant farm workers—most of them from the South—who work each year on the harvests in the Middle Atlantic and Midwestern states.

Nobody knows precisely how many migratory farm workers there are in the U.S.; the Senate subcommittee on migratory labor has estimated that there are 276,000, most of them originating in Florida, Texas and southern California. The migrants at my camp came mostly from three distinct groups: Mexican-American families that make a yearly circuit from Florida through Michigan, Indiana and Ohio back to Florida; white Americans who head north from Tennessee and Kentucky in their dilapidated autos each summer in search of temporary work; and rootless single men who roam the countryside working long enough at each stop to buy food and drink. At my camp they ranged in age from five to more than 70.

In this portion of Michigan the crops are cherries, apples, cucumbers and an array of other fruits and vegetables. Picking cucumbers, I found that you have to scramble to make $1 an hour.

On the first morning, a burly Mexican-American overseer thrust a plastic half-bushel basket into my hands and informed me that I would be paid 45 cents for each time I filled it. "Get to work," he snapped, repeating the command in Spanish to make sure I understood.

It turned out that the field in question already had been picked once. The big cucumbers were gone. Left on the vines were the smaller vegetables, and over-ripe ones. A cheerful 13-year-old girl showed me how to beat the system, putting the less desirable vegetables in the bottom of the basket and the acceptable ones on top.

Two an Hour

"That will fool them at the truck," she said smilingly. It did. My baskets were accepted without comment and emptied into a big crate. Even so, I only managed to deliver six baskets in the first three hours of work, for earnings of 90 cents an hour. Occupational hazards included scratches from the prickly vines, cramps in the lower back and eventual aching of the thigh muscles. Other workers said I was proving quite productive, however.

Jesus Flores, the crew leader who had recruited and transported most of the workers to Keeler to work as a team, said that he only got paid 10 cents for each basket of cucumbers delivered by his laborers. "It isn't as easy for me as you think," he said.

Mr. Flores was a better than average crew chief. For instance, he didn't charge for transportation to the field each day, as some chiefs do. But he had extra sources of income. On payday, he deducted 20 cents from my wages, "for the Government." But he never asked for my Social Security number. And I had difficulty collecting from him for my last day's work—90 cents for two baskets of cucumbers. Finally he pulled a $1 bill from his pocket and handed it to me. "Keep the change," he said.

Home for me in this labor camp was a nine-by-12-foot cabin, one of 10 such structures standing back to back in a double row. Fire had blackened part of the walls and roof, but my cabin had two rusty metal beds, a decaying couch, and an old refrigerator and stove—amenities lacking in many camps.

However, it lacked plumbing, shelves and closets. Old paper bags and newspapers had been used in an unsuccessful attempt to plug cracks in the walls and ceiling. It was stifling hot in the daytime, freezing cold at night. On the walls were momentos of earlier residents—drawings of cars, mountains and houses, and the penciled message "Ignacio loves Maria."

An Old Hand

One of my roommates, a veteran on the migrant labor circuit, had had the foresight to bring a faded blanket with him. This was Jess, a 24-year-old Mexican-American whose right arm and leg are withered from a childhood disease. Jess has worked in the fields since quitting school in the sixth grade.

My other roommate and I made do without blankets or other bedding. He was Steve, a 19-year-old Tennessean who recently spent 37 days in jail for driving a stolen auto. Now a drifter, he has been trying to save enough money to head for Detroit, Chicago, or back to Tennessee. "Anywhere," he said, "just to get out of here."

The cabin stank of sweat, grease and rotting fruit. Fully clothed for warmth, I slept on a torn and fetid mattress above springs fastened to the bed with bits of rope, old electrical cord and coat hangers. Flies and mosquitoes circulated freely.

It is an existence that a young single man

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Slim Pickings: Migrants Strain For $1 an Hour Picking Cucumbers

Continued From Page One

can endure. For families, it is grim. The camp's four crude privies stand in a nearby apple orchard. They smell awful, and many workers simply wander into the orchard. Water, for bathing, drinking and cooking, comes from two taps at one end of the row of cabins.

Next door a family of nine was crowded into a cabin the same size as ours. Ignacio, eight years old, told of the routine in the cabin: "We just turn off the light to keep mosquitoes away and go to bed. My mother then tells us stories about herself and our family. Then we pray together for a while and go to sleep."

Beans and pork chops were my diet for the week I was at the camp, although my roommates and I occasionally slipped into nearby fields in the early morning or late at night and snitched a few peaches, apples or potatoes. Jess and I ate from a single plastic plate, using the only spoon in the cabin to scoop the food onto pieces of bread. We shared an old water jar.

For medical problems there was a clinic in Keeler, two miles from the camp. But crew leaders weren't eager to have workers take time off for the excursion. Next door a five-year-old boy had received 11 stitches for a cut in his foot, but hadn't returned to the clinic for removal of the stitches. The foot was infected and swollen. "I was supposed to take him back to have the stitches out," said his mother. "I've mentioned it to Jesus (the crew leader) a couple of times, and he's changed the subject."

So resigned are migrant workers to their situation that they often fail to seek out existing facilities. Church groups and state agencies offer various kinds of assistance that the migrants seem not to know about. For instance, two miles from the camp the Michigan Migrant Ministry has an office that provides canned food and clothes to migrant families at little or no cost. But most migrants were ignorant of this service.

One reason is that some growers and crew leaders make it difficult for outside agencies to establish communications with the workers, viewing such visits as a possible challenge to their authority. Most of the camps in this region are surrounded by signs reading "Keep Out" or "No Trespassing." One local farmer recently beat up an employe of the United Migrant Opportunity Inc., a Federal Office of Economic Opportunity agency. The agency has vowed to move against attempts to isolate workers from outside help.

The fatalistic outlook of the workers is evident in the words of a Puerto Rican woman, a mother of six: "There just isn't enough work around here, and the pickles are too scarce when we do work. When I was little, my mother told me that we were poor, and no matter how hard I tried, I would always be poor. You know what? She was right. That's why I don't kill myself working. It isn't worth it."

Why don't the workers unionize? "I don't mess around with that," said one Mexican-American man. "Look, the minute you start talking of unions and strikes you'll get kicked out of the camp. And how the hell are you going to feed yourself and your family if you don't have any money, no work and no place to go? It's bad enough the way it is, but it could be worse."

The camp where I worked is owned by Ferris Pierson, a grower member of Michigan Gov. William Milliken's commission on agricultural labor. "I'll be the first to admit that some of this housing isn't the best in the world," Mr. Pierson says. But he believes his cabins are above average. "At least we provide them with bottled gas, stoves and refrigerators," he remarks.

Mr. Pierson says he even allowed some cucumber pickers working for another grower to stay in his cabins. "They literally came to me with tears in their eyes," he says, adding, "What are you going to do with these people? What I want to know is what the Government is going to do with these people—what anybody is going to do for them."

He sees hard times ahead for growers, who are faced with rising costs and diminishing profits. "The farmers are just about at the end of their rope," Mr. Pierson claims. And, he says, the crew leaders are apprehensive too. "I think a lot of them are more worried about what's going to happen three years from now than about the conditions today."

him that the new chairman would carry out his planned reforms.

From that standpoint, Kirkpatrick was the logical choice. He had headed the 1969 American Bar Assn. special commission to study the FTC, and the final report pretty much agreed with an earlier one by consumer advocate Ralph Nader: The FTC should be abolished if it *did* not become more consumer-oriented, spend less time on trivia, and ax its deadwood staff.

Kirkpatrick's acceptance last month indicated that he thinks that the FTC is worth saving and that Weinberger had made a good start in that direction.

Progress. Weinberger's leadership stopped the bickering among the other four commissioners and brought unanimity to almost every commission decision. By emphasizing the consumer side of issues, Weinberger got a good press.

Kirkpatrick is expected to extend reforms started by Weinberger

His reorganization—which on paper seems to be no more than redrawing the lines between the boxes on the organizational chart—received a lot of attention because he lumped all the old offices into two simple categories: Bureau of Competition and Bureau of Consumer Protection.

Kirkpatrick's challenge will be to pick up where Weinberger stopped. As Commissioner Mary Gardiner Jones said, "Neither the commission nor the staff can go through another six months of being remolded to fit the new chairman's way of doing things."

Kirkpatrick's chief problem is to fill a number of key staff jobs at FTC, a chore which had occupied much of Weinberger's time during his brief tenure. Two of the most important vacancies at the moment are those of director of the Bureau of Consumer Protection and director of the Economic Research Bureau, which has been unfilled for almost a year.

While Kirkpatrick is expected to keep up the consumer-protection momentum started by Weinberger, there may be more action by the FTC in the antitrust field. For one thing, the FTC staff is already working on the potentially explosive investigation of concentrated industries, and a second conglomerate study is in the works.

As former chairman of the ABA section on antitrust law—Kirkpatrick succeeded Richard W. McLaren, who is now the Justice Dept.'s antitrust enforcer—Kirkpatrick is expected to step up enforcement of the Robinson-Patman Act, which prohibits discriminatory pricing as unfair competition, or to seek amendments suggested by McLaren a year ago. ■

AGRICULTURE

Farm & Agriculture

Farm bill makes superficial cuts

The 1970 farm bill, which passed the House last week and is now before the Senate, makes some changes in the controversial farm support program, but these amount to small potatoes. Its most publicized provision would shave subsidies ($3.5-billion in 1969) paid to big agri-corporations and to individual farmers. But even this modest economy, estimated by Agriculture Secretary Clifford M. Hardin to amount to only $48-million, may be something of an illusion.

There is now no dollar limit on the amount of subsidy a farm or farmer can receive. In 1969, for example, J. G. Boswell Co. in California was the top subsidy collector, receiving more than $4-million. On the surface, the new measure appears to do away with such hefty doles. The House bill seems to limit subsidies for cotton, wheat, and feed grains to $55,000 per year per farm. But the powerful farm bloc has taken the teeth out of the measure by writing in a clause that could virtually nullify this limit.

The loophole would allow a farm—owned either by a corporation or an individual—to subdivide itself into smaller units, with the $55,000 limit imposed on each. Farmers could then deed their land to wives, children, or friends to get extra payments; corporations could do the same by setting up dummy subsidiaries.

As a result, executives like James Camp, president of S. A. Camp Co., of Bakersfield, Calif., are not overly concerned about the House action. Cutbacks in federal subsidies "will mean a lot of difference in cash flow," he says, "but we have two alternatives: We can break our ranches up into smaller units and lease or sell them to other farmers, or we can go into other crops."

Almost a third of Camp's 30,000 acres is used to grow cotton. "You can't grow it without subsidies," he says. "Without them, you would have to sell at the world market level of 23¢ to 24¢ a lb." If cotton limitations are signed into law, Camp explains that he would probably shift his cotton acreage into "permanent plantings of wine grapes, nectarine trees, figs, and olives—crops with long-term cash return value."

Bellwether? Though it is a weak start, the House-passed bill seems to herald significant changes in the farm program. For example, the concept of parity for cotton, which is related to the purchasing power of farm incomes between 1910 and 1914, is being changed from a varying formula to a fixed ceiling. The bill also would give the farmer greater flexibility in choosing what he can grow on his land. This changes the current approach, which forces farmers who want subsidies to grow certain crops in certain quantities.

The Senate, where the Agriculture Committee will take up the House bill next week, could cut the subsidy limit below $55,000. Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana has talked about reducing it to $30,000, and there are signs that some loopholes will be blocked there. In any event, a farm payment limitation seems a sure bet this year.

The bill has been helped by disclosures that gentlemen farmers—such as Senator James O. Eastland (D-Miss.)—receive huge sums from the program. Last year, Eastland Plantation, Inc., of Doddsville, Miss., harvested $146,792 from the government for not growing certain crops. Other not-so-well-known congressmen—and their relatives—also get farm payments. Senator Henry Bellmon (R-Okla.), Representative John M. Zwach (R-Minn.), and Representative Mark Andrews (R-N. D.) are among them. So are relatives of Senator Milton Young (R-N. D.), Representative George Mahon (D-Tex.), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, and Representative William J. Scherle (R-Iowa). In all, the senators and the congressmen and their relatives collected about $250,000 last year.

Beyond this, opponents of farm subsidies note that the number of big farmers on the government dole is growing. In 1968, the list of recipients who got $100,000 or more totaled 261; last year it was 353. ■

Farm subsidies: the top 10 collectors

Company	Location	1969 subsidy
J. G. Boswell Co.	Corcoran, Calif.	$4,370,657
Giffen, Inc.	Huron, Calif.	3,333,385
South Lake Farms	Fresno, Calif.	1,788,052
Salyer Land Co.	Corcoran, Calif.	1,637,961
Mt. Whitney Farms	Five Points, Calif.	1,152,294
Kern County Land Co.	Bakersfield, Calif.	974,163
S. A. Camp Farms Co.	Shafter, Calif.	928,917
Vista Del Llano Farms	Firebaugh, Calif.	778,624
Delta & Pine Land Co.	Scott, Miss.	731,772
Westlake Farms	Stratford, Calif.	697,360

Data: U.S. Agriculture Dept.

M — Ag Labor

Week of March 22, 1971

U.S. LABOR DEPARTMENT REMINDS FARMERS OF
LAWS APPLYING TO HIRING OF YOUNGSTERS

WASHINGTON -- The U.S. Department of Labor has reminded farmers of Fair Labor Standards Act requirements relating to employment of children in agriculture. The reminder was coincident with the start of spring plowing and planting in some areas.

The Act prohibits employment of farm workers under age 16 during school hours. Children of any age may be employed in non-hazardous agricultural jobs outside school hours. The law also requires that workers on large farms must be paid a minimum wage of $1.30 an hour regardless of age.

Other regulations restrict farm workers under age 16 from operating certain tractors and agricultural machinery and engaging in other hazardous occupations. Exceptions are provided for youths who have taken 4-H Club or vocational agricultural training and for children who work for their parents.

Workplace Standards Administrator Robert D. Moran emphasized that the intention of the law is not to deter children from working, but "to insure that they will not substitute work for education that will prepare them for better-paying employment later on."

He pointed out that many youngsters must work in order to meet expense associated with staying in school.

Administrator Moran suggested that employers protect themselves from penalties for unintentionally violating Child Labor Provisions by keeping on file an employment or age certificate, or other documentary evidence of date of birth, for each minor they hire for farm work.

Age certificates are issued by local School or State Labor Department in 45 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. In Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas the U.S. Workplace Standards Administration's Wage and Hour Division offices issue Federal age certificates.

(MORE)

In Idaho, the State Department of Employment issues Federal certificates.

All farmers employing youths are required to keep records of their names, local and permanent addresses, dates of birth, types of work they perform and wages paid them.

In fiscal 1970, U.S. Labor Department Compliance Officers found 1,472 children under age 16 illegally employed on farms during school hours. More than 90 of them were engaged in work declared hazardous.

Hazardous occupation restrictions most frequently violated involved driving tractors of over 20 BTO horsepower and handling dangerous agricultural chemicals.

Farm workers under 16 are also prohibited from working in enclosed areas with certain animals maintained for breeding purposes and working on high scaffoldings or in places deficient in oxygen or containing toxic atmosphere, such as some products storage areas and manure pits.

Moran said, "Employment of school-aged youths is necessary on many farms and is often beneficial to them both as an educational experience and as a source of income. But we must not lose sight of our moral and legal responsibilities to ensure that their educational opportunities and physical well-being are not jeopardized while they are working -- and to see that they receive fair pay for their labors."

Moran urged employers to contact their nearest U.S. Labor Department Wage and Hour Division for any information about Compliance with Federal employment laws.

# # #

Migrant Workers

Week of July 12, 1971

ACTIONS BY LABOR DEPARTMENT TO AID BLACKS,
OTHER MIGRANT FARM WORKERS CITED BY OFFICIAL

WASHINGTON -- The Labor Department has outlined major steps being taken by the Administration to move migrant farm workers into stable jobs or to provide them with better economic and social protections.

"The majority of migratory farmworkers come from seriously disadvantaged groups," Malcolm R. Lovell Jr., Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower, said. "Many are blacks or Mexican Americans, whose employment problems are compounded by discrimination."

Mr. Lovell told the House Subcommittee on Agricultural Labor that the Labor Department has:

1. Launched a long-range comprehensive manpower program in rural areas to move migrant workers into stable, year-round employment, primarily in nonagricultural jobs. More than $20.2 million is earmarked for the first year of operation.
2. Advocated raising the minimum wage in agriculture from the present level of $1.30 an hour to $1.45 by January 1, 1972, and to $1.60 on January 1, 1974.
3. Supported the extension of unemployment insurance to farm workers in large agricultural establishments. The Labor Department is preparing a study on the effect of such an extension for submission to the Congress.
4. Launched an investigation into the charges made by 16 organizations and 398 specifically named farm workers that the State Farm Labor Services are guilty of discriminatory actions.

(MORE)

"The Department regards these allegations of discriminatory practice as very serious," Lovell said.

"I have instituted a thorough investigation into the specific charges in order to determine that all pertinent laws, regulations and policies are being followed . . . in the best interests of farm workers."

Lovell told the subcommittee he believed "the Department of Labor's new $20.2 million program is a constructive step toward helping migrants.

"From the standpoint of both working and living conditions," he said, "the disadvantaged workers in our society are those who migrate from area to area, following the crops."

Lovell said the average annual earnings of a migrant worker home-based in southern Texas and a Mexican American was $1,813.

The State Farm Labor Services have been helping an annual average number of 118,000 such workers with job information and job itinerary schedules.

Such assistance will be continued as long as there are migrant farm workers, Lovell said, pointing out that there are fewer migrants each year as farm employment opportunities keep dwindling because of mechanization.

Welfare reform legislation, passed by the House, includes eligibility criteria for families of four with annual incomes of $2,400 or less . . . "which could give many migrant families the basic assistance they need to break out of the migrant stream," Lovell said.

# # #

M- Employment Service
W-S-J 1/17/73

U.S. Employment Service Switching Focus From Minorities to Supplying Skilled Labor

WASHINGTON — The employer is back in the driver's seat at the U.S. Employment Service.

In a major policy "redirection" being spelled out publicly for the first time, the Labor Department is pushing the network of state-operated employment offices to switch their primary emphasis back to lining up skilled workers for employers from the focus of the late 1960s on training and placing poor and unskilled persons.

Asserting the effort mounted by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to make the Employment Service a key vehicle for placing disadvantaged jobseekers hasn't worked, Labor Department officials are telling the federally funded state agencies that "rebuilding responsiveness to employer needs is a key objective in all major labor market areas." Though the switch in emphasis has been hinted at before, it's spelled out with unusual candor in a little-noticed department report the President has just forwarded to Congress.

"Many employers perceive the local employment office as so preoccupied with services to the disadvantaged that they can no longer obtain referrals of any but marginally qualified workers at the lowest skill levels," contends the department's annual report on manpower training. This employer disenchantment has developed since the mid-1960s, the report suggests, when "emphasis was consciously switched away from the ES's (Employment Service's) traditional labor exchange functions toward providing intensified and individualized services to client groups having the most serious problems in preparing for and holding a productive and self-supporting place in the job market."

Critics Disagree

Indeed, the career bureaucrat who headed the Emploment Service setup when the Nixon administration took office told a House subcommittee in March 1969 that "we have been moving very definitely in the direction of our priority being for the disadvantaged." Moreover, he optimistically predicted "employers will appreciate and applaud our efforts to reach and serve the hard-core unemployed more effectively." And less than two years ago, top Labor Department officials were assuring Congress that "emphasis will continue on providing assistance to applicants who have barriers to employment and require intensive employment service assistance."

Some Employment Service critics sympathetic to the disadvantaged jobseeker have freely embraced or implemented by tradition-minded state officials who remained strongly oriented toward employers' needs. A 1971 study by the National Urban Coalition and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law charged the Employment Service's goals remained "unsympathetic to, if not in direct conflict with, the needs of the disadvantaged."

The Employment Service defines "disadvantaged" as a poor person without suitable employment who is a school dropout, a member of a minority group, under 22, over 45 or handicapped.

Federal officials argue that employers worried about the skills and abilities of workers referred to them simply grew more reluctant to list job openings with state employment offices. The new report says that while total nonfarm employment was rising about 10% between 1966 and 1970, the Employment Service's placements shrank 30% and "the number of placements of disadvantaged workers also fell." It adds: "With fewer job orders, the ES (Employment Service) experienced increasing difficulty in placing either the disadvantaged or the nondisadvantaged."

Unable to Boost Placements

Despite the special efforts to aid poor and unskilled job-hunters, the state offices "just weren't able to boost" their placements of such workers, insists Robert Brown, the head of the Employment Service. The percentage of disadvantaged job-seekers placed has remained at about 25% in recent years, he reports. "The results were hard to detect for many in the target groups," the new report says.

With the Employment Service's total nonfarm placements down to 3.4 million in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1971, from 6.6 million eight years earlier, the agency "was by then unable to serve very effectively either the job-ready or the disadvantaged with their need for employability development," the report says. The Nixon administration's urgent need in 1972 to cool the fires of overall unemployment apparently spurred the policy switch at the Employment Service.

"With national interest focused on speedy reduction of unemployment," the report to Congress states, "a number of steps are being taken to strengthen the traditional labor exchange function of the ES." The report says the five-year decline in nonfarm placements was reversed in the fiscal year ended last June 30, with such placements rising to 3.8 million from 3.4 million a year earlier. "With a more extensive use of the ES by skilled workers has come a renewed appreciation by many employers of its potential value to them," it boasts.

Both Mr. Brown and the new report stress the Employment Service won't abandon the disadvantaged job-seeker. But the report, signed by Labor Secretary Peter J. Brennan, says, "an era of uninterrupted budgetary expansion for manpower training programs has ended" and "selective reductions in effort will be required in some areas and a leveling-off in others." Even the drive to improve "the general labor exchange area must be shaped with more attention to cost," it adds.

Among the steps the Employment Service has taken to emphasize its role as a labor exchange is the formation of an informal national employers' committee for improving the network of over 2,100 offices across the nation. Plans are under way to experiment in six cities with the committee's recommendation of setting up "an identifiable Job Placement Service to insure delivery of more effective services to the job-ready and to employers."

J.W, [redacted], [redacted]

EMERGENCY !

GREENS SELLS OUT TO HEUBLEIN !

SLAPS INJUNCTION ON FARMWORKERS !

Since Monday, August 2, the United Farm Workers and some of our friends have been picketing Green's Liquor Store at 737 Ponce de Leon Ave., hoping to persuade the owners, Jerry and Leonard Greenbaum, to remove Italian Swiss Colony Wines and Smirnoff Vodka from their shelves. As you know, the grapes for Italian Swiss Colony wines are picked under slave labor conditions.

THE PICKETING WAS SUCCESSFUL. We were able to persuade about 1/3 of the customers to shop elsewhere until the Greenbaums opened their eyes to our pleas.

THE GREENBAUMS RESPONDED TO THOSE PLEAS BY GETTING A COURT INJUNCTION AGAINST ANY PICKETING OR ORGANIZED BOYCOTT AGAINST THEIR STORE ON PONCE DE LEON!

As callous as these two men have shown themselves to be, they can still be reached.

Please call them any time you can. Please tell them to open their hearts to the plight of migrant workers.

CALL: Jerry Greenbaum (Greens, Buford Hwy.) 633-4272 or at home: 237-7168

Leonard Greenbaum (Greens, Ponce de Leon) 872-1109 or home: 872-4094

If you can not reach them at the stores, then ask to talk to the manager (Jan Jackson at the Ponce store) or anyone who can take a message.

WRITE: Jerry Greenbaum, 1153 Bonview Lane, NE Atlanta

Leonard Greenbaum, 1810 Lenox Rd. NE, Atlanta

LET THEM KNOW HOW YOU FEEL! We have been ordered by the courts to refrain from asking you to boycott the store on Ponce. SO PLEASE HELP US IN ANY WAY YOU CAN.

Viva la Causa!

UFWOC - Atlanta

UFWOC - ATLANTA
820 Moreland Ave.SE.
Atlanta, Georgia 30316
Phone: 622-6296

The Fresno area of California includes non-union growers who have avoided dealing with their farm workers. We need your help in spreading the word about these scab grapes.

There are plenty of union grapes available, but they will only be ordered if consumers demand them and keep after their stores.

Please talk with your store manager and leave this leaflet (enclosed) with him. Pass one on to a friend. Check each time you shop for the union label on the grape boxes, displayed or in the cooler. This is your right as a consumer.

Please let us know immediately if you find non-union grapes.

Thanks for your help.

UFWOC - ATLANTA
Bill
Dave
Huey
Joe
Kathy
Mark
Mike

... BEFORE I BUY ANY GRAPES ...

I MUST SEE THIS LABEL

. . . ON THE PACKING BOX ON DISPLAY OR IN THE COOLER.

WHY?

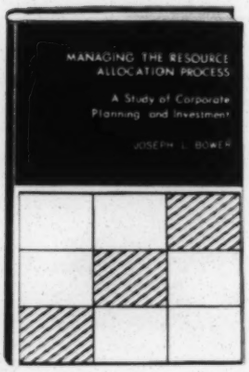
BECAUSE UNION GRAPES ...

- ARE PICKED UNDER DECENT CONDITIONS
- HAVE NO HARMFUL POISONS FOR CONSUMERS OR FARMWORKERS
- ARE NOT PICKED BY CHILDREN

UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE AFL-CIO
820 Moreland Ave.SE, Atlanta, Ga. 30316
Phone: 622-6296

The art of putting capital to work

Few subjects are of more interest and importance to business and, by extension, to society than the allocation of resources. In these times, when priorities are being challenged, when capital is scarcer and more expensive than usual, there is intensified competition within corporations for the employment of their resources. Moreover, there is increased external interest in the methods used by a corporation to determine how it will allocate its resources. This holds particularly true of the larger companies.



Joseph L. Bower, an associate professor of Business Administration and a research fellow in the Institute of Politics at Harvard University, has written a book that is most timely. Based on two years of field research into the strategic investment planning of one giant corporation, Professor Bower's study examines the problem from the point of view of the men in management who make the decisions. Using a Harvard Business School case-study approach, the author follows four corporate investment projects from inception to approval, and his analysis provides insight into the resource allocation process.

Managing the Resource Allocation Process
by Joseph L. Bower
Harvard Business 363 pages ▪ $8

order

The author spends considerable time on the formal procedures involved. These, of course, are always necessary for orderly administration, but it is not the formal procedures within the corporation that affect the results. Rather, it is the assumptions and individual inputs upon which such procedures are based that frequently account for a result different from the one that may have been anticipated.

Sound business planning must be the basis for making investment decisions, for an investment is the commitment to implement some specific business plan or strategy. Within the large, multiproduct company, proposals for investment projects are usually initiated or promulgated by specialists and managers in a particular segment of the business. Their proposals are reviewed and then approved or rejected by another layer of management. In effect, two substantially different processes are at work—one determines the content of the proposals and the other determines which proposals will be funded. Different people are involved in these processes and they are frequently motivated by different objectives or influenced by different forces.

A manager's input, according to Professor Bower's findings, is affected by the way he himself is selected, the way his job is defined, and by how his performance is measured and rewarded. Financial models and forms just cannot evaluate these factors. The part-whole relationship established by a company will determine if there is real decision-making on an integrated basis or whether a decision is made for the good of the sub-unit.

If the incentive system rewards short-term performance, investment decisions will be distorted. Separation of business strategy from the judgmental decision on investment plans may give the corporation a better result, since inputs of all levels of management are made and the review is by individuals who are committed to the corporation's total good.

The businessman can gain from this book a better understanding of the factors that affect the definition of a project, the impetus that moves it forward, and the final approval. The research makes clear that quantitative procedures and formulas do not operate in a vacuum. Interaction and results will differ from situation to situation because people, environment, goals, and rewards will differ.

The considerable detail and thorough research help the reader put into perspective many of the small actions that can be responsible for a good or a bad investment commitment. It is well to understand that widely differing results may occur although the procedures and facts may be the same. Business needs the best results from its capital investments both for better business and a better society.

—William D. Eberle

William D. Eberle heads American Standard, Inc., a multinational organization with assets of more than $1.2-billion. ▪

BOOK BRIEFS

The President Steps Down
by George Christian
Macmillan ▪ 282 pages ▪ $6.95

George Christian, the big, wry Texan who was Lyndon B. Johnson's last and best press secretary, tells more than he used to but less than he might have in this memoir of the winding down of Johnson's Presidency. He casts light into some dim corners—the anguished process of stopping the bombing of North Vietnam, the bumps that marred the transition of power, and LBJ's fights in those final weeks with Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz and Interior Secretary Stewart Udall. Christian provides fascinating insights—and some good yarns—about the love-hate relationship between Johnson and the White House press corps, and offers a dramatic picture of the pressures of the Presidency. Unfortunately, he leaves a lot more unsaid. He remarks, tantalizingly: "Perhaps God saves the Republic from dictators by giving all of its leaders an Achilles' heel." An enlargement of that theme would have told us more about Lyndon Johnson as man and President. But like the good press secretary he was, Christian is still protecting his boss.

The Real Spiro Agnew
edited by James Calhoun
Pelican Publishing ▪ 128 pages ▪ $5.95

This, in his own pungent prose, is the essential Agnew. Friends and foes of the Vice-President will find grist for their mills in this frankly friendly compendium of quotations from a household word, quotations that doubtless will be re-echoing from both camps during the upcoming election campaign. Beneath the stacks of epithets for impudent snobs, limousine liberals, and self- appointed élitists who are Agnew's favorite targets is a rich lode of pure, undistilled Middle America.

The Bernie Cornfeld Story
by Bert Cantor
Lyle Stuart ▪ 320 pages ▪ $8.95

The rise and fall of so fascinating a financial showman as Bernie Cornfeld should provide ample color for a richly detailed portrait. Unfortunately, Bert Cantor has sketched a familiar picture in black and white, with large gray areas. Cornfeld, a Brooklyn-bred social worker, blended acumen and *chutzpah* to build Investors Overseas Services into a $2-billion conglomerate—thumbing his nose at the financial establishment every step of the way. And he enjoyed a life style to match: a Geneva villa built by Napoleon, soirées at his 12th-Century French castle, and ladies in waiting throughout Europe. Then last May he was abruptly ousted as IOS chairman, the victim of the bear market, investment mistakes, and his own failure to control the company's lavish spending. Much of the book is second-hand, pointless, or marred by minor errors and editing lapses. Events have now outraced the book; Cornfeld is back on the IOS board and executive committee, and his story may yet have a new ending. ▪

Save this for EV — See ordes p. 4

RESOURCES

Some findings and conjectures from recent research into resource development and use

The uncertainty and ignorance of Things to come makes the World new to us by unexpected Emergencies, whereby we pass not our days in the trite road of affairs affording no Novity . . .
SIR THOMAS BROWNE (1605-1682)

NUMBER 35 — RESOURCES FOR THE FUTURE, INC. — SEPTEMBER 1970

Soil and Water in the Middle East

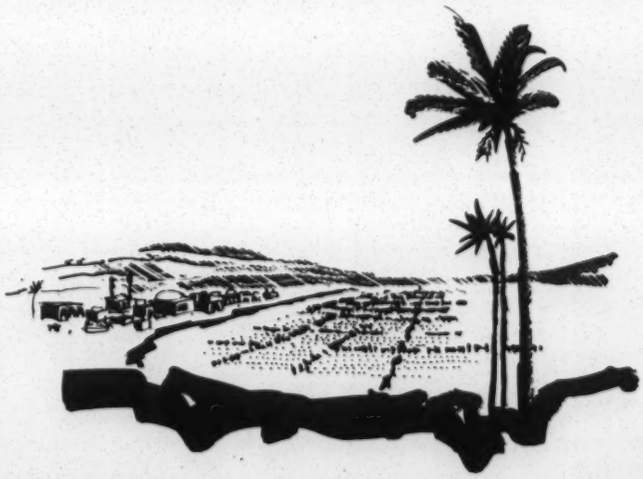
TWO OPINIONS about agriculture in the Middle East are widely held. One is that a region that was once the granary of the ancient world has played out its usefulness forever, exhausted its soils, denuded its forests, and has generally worn out its resources beyond repair. The other looks to water as the rejuvenator that can in short order restore the region to its former productiveness.

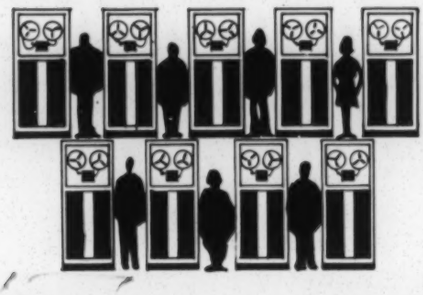
Both judgments are myths. As to the first, the region is not played out. With appropriate modern farm technology practices and management, and freed from restrictions, inhibitions, and rigidities that lie in the political, social, and institutional field, the natural resources of the Middle East could permit production on a vastly higher level. In a matter of two to three decades, more or less, agricultural output could be doubled in Egypt, multiplied tenfold in Iraq, and increased to intermediate degrees in the other countries.

As to the second, water alone is not the key. It is only one among many necessary inputs, and it is not now and will not for a considerable time be a limiting factor in most of the region. Indeed, neither water nor any other single input is the magic wand that will quickly and painlessly produce agricultural plenty and prosperity. There is a whole package of separate but closely interrelated programs that will lead to sustained advances in agriculture. An improved variety of wheat, grown in adequately irrigated and properly drained soil, with good land tillage and uniform seeding, nourished by enough fertilizers of the right kind, protected against weeds and infestations of diseases and insects, may be tremendously productive. The same wheat in an unimproved environment may produce little more than does the old variety.

Several properly coordinated improvements form the productive package; each part, alone, has limited value and under some conditions might even be a handicap. Nor will all of them suffice unless a variety of conditions can be met—unless the prices offered for the commodities produced can be counted on to leave a reasonable margin of profit; unless there are ways of obtaining necessary inputs at prices that permit this profit margin; unless the products can be easily moved to market, and so on.

In this context, water is an important ingredient. So are suitable soils to receive it. And suitable soils are probably scarcer in the Middle East than water. To make the package analogy does not mean that the significance of one component vis-à-vis another will not





Social Goals and The Machine System

THE SCIENTIFIC community has traditionally resisted the notion that it should deal explicitly with social values and goals as a part of its enterprise. There has been a strong belief that the domain of values and goals is "off-limits" to science. The tradition of logical positivism, so strong in science, has held that judgments of value are merely emotional or verbal assertions removed from categories of truth and falsity—a position also characteristic of some Marxist and linguistic philosophers.

Two other factors were probably equally important. First, in that broad domain of physical concepts where a machine system paradigm is operational, science could make great advances without considering social goals and values. Taking these to be exogenously given, it could restrict its attention to operational rules or efficiency criteria. Second, there was a strong desire on the part of the science community to protect its life and growth from persecution by religious and political institutions that considered the realm of value their exclusive domain.

Economists and other social scientists have been inclined to be hypersensitive about their claim to a position in science. They have, accordingly, slavishly emulated the physical sciences. They have worked hard to apply to social phenomena the machine system concepts that have proven so fruitful in application to many physical phenomena. Successful applied social sciences have emerged where certain social phenomena can be reasonably approximated with machine system concepts (especially in economics). Limited success in some areas has encouraged them to continue applying the same concepts persistently and mistakenly to social phenomena that are manifestations of a process of social learning. They have also been conscientious in protecting their "scientific purity" by excluding issues of value as matters beyond legitimate concern of the objective social scientist.

THIS SENSE of professional insecurity may have reinforced, in turn, their attachment to deterministic models. The classical market equilibrium model of the economist, for example, is essentially the model of a machine system closed to new knowledge. In such a concept the economic system can be seen as occupied with purely instrumental goals (like producing bread or refrigerators) that are indirectly related to more general social goals considered as given. Under the control of such a model the economist can absorb himself with considerations of system efficiency yielding a static state optimum.

When he moves to a consideration of the phenomena of social development and is confronted with options for changing social behavior, the social scientist has greater difficulty in dodging the normative problems. Nevertheless, an attempt is made to carry the focus on instrumental efficiency over into the developmental realm. This may help explain the great appeal of the deterministic developmental models. Under the control of such concepts, a change in social behavior can be evaluated in terms of whether or not it efficiently contributes to the transformation leading to a predetermined terminal state. Even those who are concerned with stochastic models (e.g., game theory, decision theory, etc.) are primarily occupied with establishing the rule for efficient procedure in advancing or protecting established goals in the context of uncertainty and competition between the decision units. The nature of the goal and its transformation over time is not seen, itself, to be a function of the process.

Under the control of the social learning metaphor the goals must be acknowledged to be a function of the process. In evolutionary experimentation it is the goals that form the test of the developmental hypothesis, and through its practice the goals themselves are brought under periodic review and modification. If social science is to concern itself with the study of this process, it will be brought to an inescapable confrontation with the realm of values.

Extracted from Economic and Social Development: A Process of Social Learning, *by Edgar S. Dunn, Jr. (published for RFF by The Johns Hopkins Press, in press).*

Please order

RFF FALL BOOKS

Agricultural Development and Productivity: Lessons from the Chilean Experience. By Pierre R. Crosson. 200 pp., November 1970. Cloth, $7.00.

Drought and Water Supply: Implications of the Massachusetts Experience for Municipal Planning. By Clifford Russell, David Arey, Robert Kates. 248 pp. November 1970. Cloth, $8.00.

Economics and the Environment: A Materials Balance Approach. By Allen V. Kneese, Robert U. Ayres, Ralph C. d'Arge. 120 pp., December 1970. Paper, $2.50.

Foreign Investment in the Petroleum and Mineral Industries: Case Studies of Investor–Host Country Relations. By Raymond F. Mikesell et al. 478 pp. December 1970. Cloth, $15.00.

Economic and Social Development: A Process of Social Learning. By Edgar S. Dunn, Jr. 352 pp. December 1970. Cloth, $10.00.

when available

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The Lessons of Two Tragedies

Current Issues 10-6-70

The Scranton commission's reports on the student deaths at Jackson State and Kent State display an evenhandedness that won't please extremists at either end of the spectrum. Yet both studies carry the ring of truth.

At both institutions students did a great deal to provoke the subsequent tragic events. At Jackson State, the Presidential panel said, some students wanted violence to bring the National Guard on campus and thus dramatize their concerns.

"Spreading false rumors, urging rock-throwing, burning and other violence, and taking violent action to focus attention on student concerns are deplorable and completely unjustified," the commission said.

At Kent State the student provocation was considerably more aggressive. As the panel said, "The actions of some students were violent and criminal and those of some others were dangerous, reckless and irresponsible. . . . Those who wreaked havoc on the town of Kent, those who burned the R.O.T.C. building, those who attacked and stoned National Guardsmen and all those who urged them on and applauded their deeds share the responsibility for the deaths and injuries of May 4."

It justifies nothing to allege, as the students did, that they were protesting national policies they considered criminal. Violent dissent, in fact, lessens the chance that responsible protest will be heard.

Society, after all, has a substantial stake in its own survival, and violence can bring out the worst in anyone, either in those who start riots or in those who try to stop them.

It was bad enough that, at both Jackson State and Kent State, the efforts to control the disturbance were wretchedly mismanaged. At the Mississippi school the police lacked a "clear notion of who was in command," and there was no evidence that the police units had proper training for disorder control and guidelines for using force in coping with crowds.

At Kent State, the Presidential commission commented, "The 61 shots by 28 Guardsmen certainly cannot be justified. Apparently no order to fire was given, and there was inadequate fire control discipline."

What made the matter even worse at Jackson State, the panel said, was that the police evidently felt they had the full support of their superiors and the community for almost any action they might take, as long as those they shot at were black. However general that feeling may have been, it wasn't weakened by a grand jury's later comment that those who take part in civil disorders must expect injury or death when police seek to restore order.

The panel noted that the two tragedies contain lessons for almost everyone—students, police, Guardsmen, faculty, university administrators, governments, the general public. If the lessons aren't learned, Kent State and Jackson State may be merely preludes to greater tragedy.

VOL. CLXXVI NO. 69 ★

The Class of '74 E✓

Unrest on the Campus Poses Hard Choices For Today's Freshmen

Youth at Wisconsin Grapples With Activists' Pressures, Unfamiliar College Routine

A Highly Charged Atmosphere

10-6-70

By SUSAN B. MILLER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MADISON, Wis.—Standing behind a temporary fence erected around the remains of the physics building at the University of Wisconsin, 18-year-old Stephen Schwark stares at the gaping hole left when a terrorist bomb exploded Aug. 24.

"First you try to recreate the scene for yourself," he says. "Then you think of all the valuable research destroyed and, worst of all, the man who died. It's appalling—it just doesn't seem real."

The bombing of the physics building is just one of the new and difficult realities confronting Steve Schwark as he launches his college career this fall as a Wisconsin freshman. The transition to college life has always been rough for freshmen, of course. There are, for instance, the difficulties of adjusting to dormitory life or working up nerve to ask a girl for a date or lining up course schedules.

But Steve Schwark also is wrestling with the very untraditional problem of how to react to the issues and groups that have made this 35,000-student campus a seething center of radical political activity. Steve, who hails from the small city of Fond du Lac 75 miles northeast of here, says that he personally likes "a lot of things" about the U.S. system. But at the same time he considers it "too cold-hearted, because it doesn't provide for all the people."

Stephen Schwark

As for righting such social wrongs as do exist, he is repelled by the violent tactics of some on the far left—but he worries that "otherwise, you might not get any real change."

"It's all pretty confusing," he says. "But once you get here you feel you ought to choose."

Students, professors and college administrators here and elsewhere believe that Steve's dilemma is shared by a good many of the estimated 1,836,000 young people starting college this fall. They say the tough political choices required by the highly charged atmosphere of many campuses, coupled with the need to adjust to the new ways of college life, have made it more difficult to be a college freshman now than ever.

"When I was here we collected crew-neck sweaters, drank beer and had a good time; we didn't even know how to spell marijuana," says David Vinson, Wisconsin's associated director of admissions and a 1959 graduate of the university. "Freshmen today not only face tougher academic competition but they also have to decide whether to smoke 'pot,' cross a picket line or throw a rock. What we did was sandbox play compared to now."

Pulled and Tugged

"A freshman today is pulled and tugged in all directions by experienced activists, and the choice he makes can boil down to whether he'll take a side or get an education," says Richard A. Harvill, president of the University of Arizona. He adds: "You've got to remember we're talking about kids who are just 17 or 18 years old and thus are acting on very limited experience."

Indeed, involvement with activist campus groups can come almost without making a choice. A small, dark-haired girl who is beginning her sophomore year here puts it this way: "Your friends tell you you'd better join or you're a cop-out, so you join and discover that it's fun. The whole scene—the rallies, strikes, marches, being close to the other kids—hits you like a bulldozer. But there's no time to ask if this is what you really want. Last year, I used to lie awake at night thinking that I didn't really believe all the police were pigs, but the next day I'd go out and say it again. Once I got into it, the easiest thing to do was keep going."

Evidence of the violence that has rocked U.S. universities is particularly abundant here at Madison. In years past this campus was noted about equally for its high academic standing and its beautiful lakeshore setting. But this fall's freshmen are obviously more impressed by the multitude of boarded and bricked-up windows left from the rioting that followed the Kent State shootings last spring.

Much Is Unchanged

During freshman orientation week last month, passersby like Steve Schwark continually gathered to stare at the hole in the side of the physics building, where an early-morning bomb explosion killed a physicist, injured four other persons and caused extensive damage. The university doubled its security force as a result of the blast, and olive-garbed campus police are much in evidence around many buildings.

Student activists, meantime, are keeping the radical viewpoint constantly before their fellow students through posters, handbills, rallies and the like. A recent editorial in the Daily Cardinal, the student newspaper, even attempted to justify the bombing of the physics building. While expressing regret that a man was killed, the editorial described the bombing as a "blow to the American military machine" that was carried out only because no progress had been made toward shutting down the Army Mathematics Research Center that was housed in the building along with regular university departments.

There are unconfirmed reports that students and townspeople, particularly merchants in the campus area, are buying guns in case of more trouble. And a black-lettered sign freshly painted on a block-long fence on busy Univer-

Please Turn to Page 18, Column 2

The Class of '74: Campus Unrest Poses Problems for Freshmen

Continued From First Page

sity Avenue predicts that "This university will self-destruct . . . unless."

At the same time, however, most of the life of the university goes on as before. Restaurants, bookstores and clothing shops are crowded, couples stroll the campus walks and students gather in small groups to chat quietly on the library mall.

"You see the damage at the physics building, and then you see guys playing touch football behind the dorms," says Steve Schwark with a trace of amazement. "The whole thing is kind of dreamlike."

For Steve, other things about the bustling, cosmopolitan Madison campus have also taken some getting used to. He says that his home town of Fond du Lac (population 35,317) had "just a few hippies and maybe one or two black families," and he admits that he caught himself staring the first time he saw a group of dashiki-clad young black men on the campus. and has no plans to buy any.

No Bell-Bottoms

Steve's own dress and appearance are conventional. His hair is short and brushed neatly across his forehead ("Short?" he asks with surprise. "It's about three inches longer than it was last year!") He favors open-necked sports shirts with dark, straight-cut slacks. He doesn't own a pair of bell-bottomed trousers

Actually, Steve probably won't be buying much of anything in his first year here. His father, Wilbert, earns about $6,000 a year as a janitor at the high school Steve attended, and Steve wouldn't be at the university at all without the scholarship help he earned by tying with six others for the top academic spot in his graduating class.

Of the $1,558 it will cost him for tuition and room and board, $790 will come from a state scholarship and $600 from a National Elks Club award he won. His father chipped in $150. The rest—for books and weekly incidental expenses—will be paid out of the savings Steve accumulated while working as a car-hop in a Fond du Lac drive-in restaurant over the past several years. He hopes he can get by on less than $10 a week.

Despite Steve's scholastic prowess, his parents aren't altogether pleased with his decision to attend Wisconsin. His mother, shy and pleasant, says she bases her objection mainly on the fact that he isn't staying home and commuting to nearby Oshkosh State University the way his three older brothers did. "It would be so much nicer to have him at home," she says. She goes on to express some concern about Steve's safety at Madison. "The newspapers distort things, don't they?" she asks hopefully. "I'm sure things there aren't as bad as what I've read."

A Proud Brother

Steve's father, a stocky, balding man of 57, professes to have no such fears. "Steve's a good boy—I trust him to do right," he tells a visitor. But Steve says that his father also has had misgivings. "Before I left for school, he told me he was sure I wouldn't disgrace him and Mom," he says. "I guess he meant that he doesn't want me breaking windows or throwing rocks at cops."

Steves closest brother, Dan, a 21-year-old senior physics major at Oshkosh State, helped to direct Steve toward Madison because "he wants to major in political science and Wisconsin's department is one of the best." He says he's proud that Steve "had the guts to do it and break the family mold," yet he, too, confesses to being a bit worried.

"Steve's terribly concerned with doing what's right," he explains. "When he heard that the Elks didn't admit Negroes, he took $50 from his scholarship check from them and donated it to the NAACP. When he heard that people in Mississippi were going hungry, he and some of his friends got the local merchants to finance a 30-mile kids' hike to raise money for them. That's all great, but I worry about what decisions he'll make if he's faced with a really persuasive talker."

Steve admits that while he's "a pretty outrageous liberal by Fond du Lac standards," his political ideas "aren't all that well fixed." When he was a sophomore in high school he supported the U.S. war effort in Vietnam, but now he thinks "we ought to get out as fast as possible." He says that "a lot of things" contributed to his change of mind on the war, "but it was mostly the My Lai massacre story. That really shook me up."

Questioning Demonstrations

He says he hasn't made up his mind on "a lot of the things I'll probably run into here" at Madison. For instance, "I'm not sure demonstrations do any good, but I can see a point where I might think differently," he says. "I guess I'll just have to decide on things as they come up. I'll have to let my conscience be my guide."

Thus far, Steve has been concerned mainly with mastering the logistics of campus life. To ease the transition to college, he picked as his dorm roommate Chuck Giese, his best friend since grade school days. Right now, the two of them are debating how to decorate their room in the new and clean but institutional-looking building. ("I wish I'd brought along my Simon and Garfunkel poster," Steve says.)

Steve wasn't on campus long before he ran into his first bureaucratic foul-up. Like most of the university's 4,200 new freshmen, he registered for his first-semester classes on computer cards during the summer, but in August he received a note saying that a political science course he had requested was full and he would have to find another. When he arrived here, he spent most of a day standing in registration lines and talking to various advisers before he learned that the class wasn't full after all and that he could take it.

With some trepidation, he tried out the food at his dorm's dining room and found that he liked it. He also discovered that he will be able to save some money on entertainment by attending the weekly free movies shown at another dorm.

A Rally Is Canceled

A campus-wide student strike—described as an "all-purpose" shutdown by one girl—was threatened for the first day of classes but didn't come off, so politics have intruded on Steve's new routines only peripherally to date. On the way to one class, he saw a poster asking for a contribution to a fund to support "Americans in exile." The poster apparently referred to draft evaders in Canada, but Steve thought it meant the four young men who reportedly fled to Canada after being accused of the physics building bombing by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He was appalled. "They're criminals," he says. "The thought of helping them sickened me."

During his first week of classes Steve planned to attend an outdoor rally in supprt of several Black Panther Party members being held in jail in Milwaukee—"I just wanted to see what it was all about," he says—but it rained that night and the rally was postponed.

So far his biggest triumph on campus was when he was asked for directions by another freshman. "At least there's somebody here who doesn't think I look like the newest kid around," he says with a smile.

Population

E WALL STREET JOURNAL, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1970

A Squabble Over 'Green Revolution'

10-6-70 W-S-J

By DAVID C. ANDERSON

We live in an era of stepped up technical and social change, obviously enough, but we often ignore one of its important side effects: Rapid change makes new demands on our rhetoric, the way we put the meaning of things into words.

How important the rhetoric can be is currently illustrated by a dispute among people who worry about questions of economic development in poorer countries. The words at the heart of the argument are "green revolution."

The phrase, commonly used by the big U.S. foundations involved in the problems of developing areas, U.S. Government foreign aid officials and governments of some developing nations, refers to the effects of an advance in agricultural technology which occurred rapidly in the 1950s and 60s.

In the fifties, scientists sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation came up with special varieties of the food grains which serve as staples in developing areas. The new seeds produced hefty yield increases.

Some Spectacular Claims

The "miracle" seeds were hailed as a way to push back the date of population-food doomsday for developing lands, and during the sixties, attempts were made via the foundations and Government foreign aid programs to rush the seeds into widespread use, mostly in Asia. In the past couple of years, some of those involved in the effort have begun to claim that the green revolution has arrived.

They can produce ample statistics to support the claim. Agriculture and development expert Lester Brown, in "Seeds of Change" (Praeger), a recently published book about the green revolution, reports that by 1969, land planted to the new varieties of wheat and rice in Asia had expanded to 34 million acres, from a mere 200 acres in 1965.

In those years, Pakistan increased its wheat harvest nearly 60% and produced enough rice to become an exporter. India increased wheat production 50%, leading Mr. Brown to predict self sufficiency in food for India by 1972, barring serious political troubles. Ceylon's rice crop increased 34% in the past two years because of the new seeds, Mr. Brown says, and the Philippines, Turkey, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia and Vietnam have also scored impressive green revolution gains.

Though he acknowledges there still are formidable problems, Mr. Brown cannot resist some ecstatic conclusions. The new seeds, he says, mean that "it is realistic to consider the eradication of hunger for the overwhelming majority of mankind." They "promise to improve the wellbeing of more people in a shorter time than any other single technological advance in history."

As might be expected, such statements soon enough gave rise to skepticism, not over the unquestioned ability of the new seeds to increase food production if handled properly, but over the belief that their impact can be great enough to reverse the drift to famine and chaos. That the new seeds can be the subject of sharply differing interpretation is indicated by the experience of India.

The Rockefeller Foundation recently put out a lushly illustrated 137-page report on food production gains in India which states hopefully that "India's food supply is currently gaining at the rate of 4% a year with 5% well within grasp. . . ." The skeptics sug-

Blessed with favorable weather as well as the new seeds, the strategy paid off in 1967-68. Wheat was abundant in Punjab; Prime Minister Gandhi could claim that the green revolution had arrived; the wheat crop became the subject of a commemorative stamp.

All of this, the skeptics contend, was somewhat misleading.

The Indian agriculture ministry had demonstrated that given optimum conditions—and, always, favorable weather—impressive increases in food production were possible. But the success was limited to the 32.5 million acres, only one-twelfth of India's 390 million under cultivation. To have a major effect on the food supply problem, similar increases would need to be achieved in the vast stretches of poorer, drier farmland, and in the more difficult crops, like rice.

The undertaking would involve not only arranging for irrigation in the dry areas—itself a large problem—but also converting huge numbers of desperately poor, often illiterate and decidedly unprogressive small farmers to the new technology. To many familiar with the process, this is a reason for utmost pessimism. "You have to remember," says one food expert, "that even with all our affluence and adaptability, we still have a hunger problem in parts of the United States. Now think what it means to transfer what we think of doing about it here to a place like India."

The skeptics also note that the large harvests brought into focus a number of "second generation" problems. India's storage and distribution machinery were inadequate for the new yields. Large portions have been lost to pests or spoilage.

And social disruptions seem an increasingly disturbing result of the new seeds. Their economic benefit currently falls mainly to large planters who are already well off; the gulf between rich and poor has widened in the Indian countryside. The prospect of farm consolidation and mechanization suggests rural unemployment and migration of the landless to already overcrowded cities.

Even more serious, some doubters note, is the matter of the green revolution's effect on birth control programs. Nobody contends that higher food production is an alternative to population control; the most optimistic green revolution advocates say the combination of more food and birth control might be a way to avert population disaster. Mr. Brown rather naively asserts that "the new seeds have bought time in which to seek a breakthrough in contraception comparable to the breakthrough in plant breeding."

But, the skeptics point out, if anything, the talk of green revolution makes the possibility of such a breakthrough less likely. In the year following the 1967-68 harvest in India, with green revolution rhetoric as abundant as the new crops, the number of contraceptive loop insertions in India fell 31% over the previous year, and the number of sterilizations fell 13%.

A direct causal link is impossible to prove, of course, but William Paddock, a Washington agriculture expert who also tends to a pessimistic view of the food problem, perhaps sheds some light in a recent article in which he described a conference on the green revolution.

Mr. Paddock writes that someone had brought a Philippine farmer to the meeting to testify about his experience with the new seeds. "The farmer had 10 children and said that because of the new high yielding variety, he and his neighbors would now have enough food for all, and all could enjoy seeing their women in the condition in which they were most beautiful—pregnant."

The prospect of premature complacency over birth control seems even more serious in light of the feeling held to by some that Malthusian laws may be much harder to beat over the long term than they seem.

Thus Mr. Paddock recalls the food problem of Ireland in another era. "In the 17th century, the population of Ireland had come into balance with the carrying capacity of her land. Two million Irish lived there destitute. Then came the 18th century truly green revolution. The Irish potato was introduced to the Emerald Isle from the Western Hemisphere. Agricultural production shot up. The carrying capacity of the land increased. The Irish multiplied accordingly. By 1835, eight million Irish lived where only two million had lived in the previous century.

"Then arrived a totally new plant disease . . . and the potato crop was destroyed. In the resulting Irish famines of the 1840s, two million Irish starved to death, two million Irish emigrated, and four million Irish were left on the land in abject poverty."

A Frightening Implication

Talk is common among green revolution experts that the new miracle seeds may soon be susceptible to new "miracle" plant diseases, and the implication of an Irish-style famine on an Indian scale seems as legitimate as it is frightening to ponder.

Nobody, certainly, advocates plowing under plentiful new crops in hungry nations because they might cause social problems or might leave the world still vulnerable to population catastrophe. But many are beginning to decide that more sophisticated ways of thinking and talking about the problem of nutrition and population are in order.

"What we're really talking about," says Sidney Cantor, a Philadelphia based food and nutrition consultant, "is improving the quality of life, and we need to think in terms of putting a value on the quality of life in developing countries just as we are beginning to think about doing it for the United States."

Mr. Cantor advocates advising developing nations to take a "systems approach" to nutrition, starting with an understanding of the resources of the average family and framing policies to help it achieve the highest nutrition possible for the family members who need it most.

This might involve encouraging the use of high yield farm technology; it also might involve development of seeds which increase nutritional value as well as quantity; it would also certainly involve a heavy commitment to family planning and education, and a severe resistance to naivete over the administrative, political, economic and social agonies which are sure to attend the process.

Such advice, to be sure, seems to hold forth little reason for secure optimism about the food problem. But perhaps that is the point: Chances are not very great that population-food disasters of some sort will be avoided in the future in some parts of the world. And with frustrated expectations an increasingly explosive social force, there is only danger in a rhetoric which suggests that salvation is at hand.

Mr. Anderson is a member of the Journal's editorial-page staff.

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The Rockefeller Foundation recently put out a lushly illustrated 137-page report on food production gains in India which states hopefully that "India's food supply is currently gaining at the rate of 4% a year with 5% well within grasp. . . ." The skeptics suggest no such trend is discernible.

To be sure, in 1967 and 1968, a bumper harvest in India followed two disastrous years of drought and famine. By Indian government figures, output of food grains totaled 95.6 million tons, topping the previous high reached in 1964-65 by more than 7%. It seemed to justify claims that the new seeds were making a difference, even with the improved weather of 1967-68.

But last year, production declined by about 1%. Indian and U.S. Agency for International Development officials are estimating that the tally for the current 1969-70 harvest will approach 100 million tons, but some who follow the situation find little reason to believe it will rise above 97 million tons. Even if it does reach the 100 million ton level, the average annual increase for the two years since the 1967-68 harvest will be about 2.5%.

A Rockefeller Foundation spokesman says the claim of a 4% to 5% rate of increase is justified in part because the Indian government tends to understate actual yields, perhaps for fear of diminishing the sense of urgency over food needs. "We think they actually reached 99.5 million tons back in 1968," he says. An AID spokesman explains that their economists project average increases of 4% to 5% based on known factors such as acres planted with the new seeds and amount of fertilizer used, but discounting such large variables as the weather.

Skeptics and Statistics

The skeptics have another point, however. The figures for total food production, they say, are not nearly as meaningful as figures for food availability per capita, the actual index of how the race against famine is progressing.

After last year's slightly reduced harvest, by Indian government figures, food availability per capita stood 8% below its level after the 1964-65 harvest, before the green revolution was supposed to have occurred. The Rockefeller Foundation spokesman responds that taking the availability figures back to the time of Indian Independence in 1948 shows them to have remained relatively constant, but adds that the calculations include shipments of food from other countries under foreign aid programs.

In any case, the skeptics suggest, whatever the amount of the increases, the circumstances under which they were achieved seem too artificial to merit revolutionary-sounding labels. The most dramatic yield increases have occurred in wheat, but in 1964-65 wheat comprised only 16% of total cereal production in India. The "miracle" seeds are available for rice, which accounts for about half the Indian cereal crop, but increases in rice yields in India have been minimal. And in some places, increases seem to have occurred more because marginal lands were put into use, rather than because the new technology increased the output of acres already under the plow.

The skeptics also claim a certain artificiality is inherent in the way the Indian government handled the new technology.

In 1966, a drought year, the new seeds were still relatively scarce, as were the fertilizers necessary to their success. Rather than distributing them throughout the country, the government sought to concentrate them in 32.5 million acres of the country's best land. This turned out to be Punjab, where, most agree, farmers are well off and more "progressive" than in other areas.

Even more serious, some doubters note, is the matter of the green revolution's effect on birth control programs. Nobody contends that higher food production is an alternative to population control; the most optimistic green revolution advocates say the combination of more food and birth control might be a way to avert population disaster. Mr. Brown rather naively asserts that "the new seeds have bought time in which to seek a breakthrough in contraception comparable to the breakthrough in plant breeding."

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Mr. Anderson is a member of the Journal's editorial-page staff.

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Tax Report

A Special Summary and Forecast of Federal and State Tax Developments

W-S-J 10/7/70

SMALL-TOWN tax coffers rarely gain when industry comes to town, a study concludes.

A new factory may bring sorely needed jobs and boost local businesses, but it will probably cost local governments more for additional services than it provides in higher tax receipts. That's the conclusion of a study for the Agriculture Department of five little towns in Kentucky. All five rural areas were heavily dependent on farming, low in income, and afflicted with serious underemployment.

The study compared tax receipts before and after a new industry came to town. In almost every case, the increased revenues failed to cover the cost of additional services. The shortfall was generally small, however, with the largest only $3,400 a year. The factories usually hired local people, but even a moderate influx of new families saddled the school district with more new expenses than new revenues. Another negative factor was tax concessions—various forms of relief from local property taxes.

The study tried to gauge the indirect effects of industry by comparing similar towns that lacked industry. It found no evidence that industry indirectly affected either tax receipts or expenditures.

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VOL. CLXXVIII NO. 77 ★

Looking Back

Radical Historians Get Growing Following, Dispute 'Myths' of Past

They Alter Image of America For Some; Town Meeting Attacked as Undemocratic

Picking Facts to Fit Theories?

10/9/71

By A. KENT MACDOUGALL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

True or false?

The town meeting in colonial New England was a hotbed of democracy.

Big business in the 1880-1920 era bitterly fought government regulation of railroads, meat packing, banking and other industries. .

The Soviet Union broke the Yalta agreements and, in a ruthless bid for world domination, launched the Cold War.

For every true answer, score yourself duped by the standard American history textbooks assigned in high schools and colleges. Or so, at least, contend an increasingly influential group of leftist historians who are challenging traditional notions about the nation's past. In exposing alleged myths that they say have prettified the American past and misled Americans into accepting their heritage as nearly unblemished, the radical historians are seeking to shed new light in dark corners.

While many historians disagree with the radicals, many Americans are listening, and the radical scholars are altering the image that some Americans have of their country and its historic leadership. "Radical historians have made us distrustful of people in high office and of the military-industrial complex," says Alexander DeConde, professor of history at the University of California at Santa Barbara. The radical writers are also diminishing "the almost holy trust of the executive power, particularly in foreign policy" that has existed in academic circles since 1945, contends Prof. DeConde, who isn't himself a radical.

Town Meeting Autocracy?

The radical historians challenge some of the most cherished concepts held by most Americans. For instance, a common history textbook tenet is that the New England town meeting was a model of democracy. Not so, insists Jesse Lemisch, a radical historian at Roosevelt University in Chicago. Prof. Lemisch cites studies that detail "the devices which the powerful used to control the town meeting" and points out that towns commonly exiled "political, ideological and social deviants and dissenters, as well as many of the poor. Thus, the apparent consensus within the town meeting reflects the exclusion from the town of those who didn't fit the consensus."

Though most historians have viewed early 20th Century Progressivism as a movement of small businessmen, farmers and reformers to break up trusts and regulate big business, left-wing scholar Gabriel Kolko has devoted two books to a contrary thesis: Leading corporations sought, rather than fought, federal regulation. The aim of these companies: To escape Populist-backed state legislation and to end price cutting, raids and other forms of increasingly destructive competition. "Progressivism was not the triumph of small business over the trusts, as has often been suggested, but the victory of big businesses in achieving the rationalization of the economy that only the federal government could provide," concludes Mr. Kolko, an American teaching in Canada.

A number of liberal and leftist scholars, including Mr. Kolko, have also persuaded many to distrust seriously the orthodox view that Soviet duplicity and expansionism were overwhelmingly responsible for the Cold War. These "revisionist" historians contend that the Soviet Union, terribly weakened by World War II, sought little more than security within a relatively narrow sphere of influence. Far from menacing Western Europe or other parts of the non-Communist world, the Soviets simply resisted U.S. efforts to oust them from Eastern Europe, these historians conclude.

Business and Diplomacy

This thesis fits the radicals' view that 20th Century American diplomacy has been counterrevolutionary. With the closing of the Western frontier in the late 1880s, American capitalism began to look increasingly overseas, the radicals argue. Needing ever-expanding markets and sources of raw materials, U.S. capitalism sought to expand commercial interests into practically every corner of the globe, the historians say. They believed that making the world safe for U.S. overseas investments and extending U.S. political influence was the job of dollar diplomacy, of which the Cold War with Russia and the current hot war in Indochina are but the latest phases.

Radical though these views may be, the left-wing historians are gaining increased acceptance, both within and without the profession. Lloyd Gardner, a diplomatic historian who describes himself as a Socialist, was invited to speak last fall on U.S.-Soviet relations at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Recently, a congressional committee heard Oregon State University Professor William Appleman Williams, dean of left-wing diplomatic historians, expound his view that "the Vietnam war definitely isn't an aberration but a logical culmination of U.S. expansionism."

The respectful hearing he received was especially pleasant for Mr. Williams, since his only previous contact with Congress was a run-in with the old House Un-American Activities Committee. (In the early 1960s, the Committee subpoenaed a Williams manuscript, but the historian and his lawyers successfully fought the demand.)

Radicals are also gaining influence in the traditionally conservative American Historical Association, and they are becoming increasingly common on many campuses. While few teach in the West or South, nearly every major Midwestern and Northeastern university has at least one resident radical historian. Northern Illinois University in DeKalb has three or four. The University of Rochester (N.Y.) has five or six, including the department chairman, Eugene Genovese, a Marxist.

Lloyd Gardner, the diplomatic historian who spoke at West Point last fall, heads the 25-member history faculty of Rutgers University. "I guess that indicates either that I'm not very

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Looking Back: Radical Historians Get Growing Following

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dangerous or that the perspective from which you write history doesn't matter much any more," says the 36-year-old Socialist.

Even some leftists who were *persona non grata* during the McCarthy era have recently won teaching posts. One is Herbert Aptheker, a Communist Party polemicist and well-known scholar of Negro history, who has written some 20 books. In the past, Mr. Aptheker was barred not only from many teaching positions but also even from speaking engagements. But today, professional historical associations invite him to deliver papers. And since 1969, he has been teaching black history part-time at Bryn Mawr, the exclusive women's college outside Philadelphia.

Losing Tenure at Yale

Yet some leftist historians still have trouble. After strongly denouncing U.S. involvement in Vietnam and making a visit to Hanoi, Staughton Lynd lost his job at Yale University. "Political factors entered into the history department's decision to deny me tenure," Mr. Lynd says. The department says it bent over backward to accommodate Mr. Lynd and says politics wasn't a factor in the decision. In any event, since the denial of tenure, the history faculties of five universities in Illinois and five more in Indiana have recommended Mr. Lynd's appointment, but in each case the school administration or board of trustees has refused to hire the historian.

That the 41-year-old scholar remains jobless dismays many historians. Says David Donald, a political convervative and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian at Johns Hopkins University: "Judged by any standard, Lynd is a historian of extraordinary ability, and it is a disgrace to the profession that he doesn't hold an appointment at a major university."

But Mr. Lynd isn't sure he wants to return to academia because, he says, "my present work seems more significant." Mr. Lynd currently encourages steelworkers in the Gary, Ind., area to recount orally, and sometimes in writing, the often bloody labor struggles they've experienced and to theorize on reasons for the declining militancy of unions they helped organize. He has also involved in history-writing projects steelworkers' children who have gone to college and are disdainful of the mills.

Building Pride in Gary

"History can give these young people a sense of pride in their community," Mr. Lynd says. "Besides thinking of Gary as one of the world's most polluted cities, they also can think of it as a place where some dramatic struggles took place." Noting that the youngsters often look on their parents as "failures because they didn't make it out of the mill," Mr. Lynd contends that history can give young people respect for their parents' lives. "I'm trying to help fathers and sons talk to each other," he says.

Mr. Lynd believes that conventional histories are elitist because they slight the underdog, and other radicals agree. "In our times, as in the past, we construct 'history' on the basis of accounts left by the most articulate, the most privileged members of society," according to Prof. Howard Zinn of Boston University. "The result is a distorted picture of how people live, an underestimation of poverty, a failure to portray vividly the situations of those in distress."

Adds Jesse Lemisch, the Roosevelt University historian: "You can no more write the history of the American Revolution solely from the official papers of John Adams and George Washington than you can write the history of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia solely from Lyndon Johnson's papers." Mr. Lemisch is currently writing a history of the American Revolution from the perspective of merchant seamen. Its title: "Jack Tar vs. John Bull: the American Revolution Seen From the Bottom Up."

Despite the obvious handicap that laborers, poor farmers and other submerged groups left few records, some radical historians are trying to reconstruct the lives of these people. Some are reconstructing slavery from accounts not of slaveholders but of fugitive slaves. Others are discussing the plight of American Indians from the viewpoint of the Indians themselves.

The history of women also draws increased attention. The Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School for Social Change, a new, experimental Cambridge, Mass., institution, offers courses in radical feminist studies and recently awarded master's degrees in women's history to five women.

"The history of the U.S. to date has been the history of white, Anglo-Saxon, middle and upper-class men," contends Eric Foner, a leftist historian at Columbia University. "But when you add up the history of blacks, immigrants, women, Indians and poor whites, you find it's the history of most Americans," he says.

Seeing history through the eyes of the downtrodden leads today's young radical historians to emphasize economic, political and social conflict much more than did the so-called consensus historians of the 1950s. Leading consensus historians celebrated America as "a land that had largely fulfilled its promise and, with the great exception of slavery and the Civil War, had resolved its conflicts with a minimum of disruption and disorder," writes Irwin Unger, a liberal historian at New York University, in the introduction to an anthology of New Left history.

While radical historians disagree with the consensus history of their "establishment" colleagues, they often disagree sharply among themselves, too. For instance, Eugene Genovese, the University of Rochester historian, has won the respect of many fellow Marxists for his scholarship on the South before the Civil War. But he has raised hackles for his slashing attacks on political activists.

At the American Historical Association annual meeting in Washington, D.C., two years ago, Prof. Genovese opposed fellow leftist Staughton Lynd's unsuccessful candidacy for the group's presidency. He also opposed a strong antiwar resolution, which was also unsuccessful. "Some of the sponsors were looking for a political issue to advance their own image as heroes of the Left," he charges.

Mr. Genovese and Herbert Aptheker, who is also a specialist in the antebellum South, have exchanged invective. Mr. Genovese says he admires Mr. Aptheker's research in unearthing hundreds of slave revolts but dismisses his interpretations of these revolts as "romantic and politically self-serving." He contends that Mr. Aptheker often seeks for means to cast the working class in a favorable light.

Mr. Aptheker strongly denies the charge. But many other historians also complain that some of their radical colleagues write history to fit their political views. The problem with radical historians "is that everything has to be so relevant that they leave out things that don't prove their points," says David Donald, the conservative Johns Hopkins historian.

On the other hand, Mr. Donald says the leftist historians tend to avoid "the pedantic, irrelevant and dull writing that characterizes most American historical writing." And, he adds, "It's better to have a point and try to prove it than to have no point at all."

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A Question of Ethics

Federal Judge Presides Over a Case Related To His Own Fortune

Friend Who Made Him Rich Is Involved, as Well as Bank In Which He Holds Shares

10/20/

But He Sees No Conflicts

By JIM MONTGOMERY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Federal Judge Frank Gray Jr. built a small fortune after his friend John Jay Hooker Jr. invited him in on the ground floor of a hot business venture. The judge invested $2,000 and got out a few months later with profits of at least $100,000 and possibly close to $200,000.

Today Judge Gray presides over a bankruptcy proceeding involving Whale Inc., a corporation of which Mr. Hooker is a major stockholder, a creditor and a former director. Whale Inc. owes $3.5 million to a bank of which the judge is a shareholder. Judge Gray's brother is a vice president of that bank. Whale Inc. owes $16,456.66 to another bank of which the judge's wife is a shareholder.

Should Judge Gray disqualify himself from hearing and ruling upon the Whale case on the grounds of a multiple conflict of interest? The American Bar Association's code of ethics would seem to suggest he should. Many lawyers concerned about the commission or even the appearance of judicial impropriety certainly say he should.

But Judge Gray isn't budging. He says he wouldn't think of vacating the bench in the Whale case. He declares he sees nothing wrong in what he is doing, and he seems surprised that anyone else would.

A Question of Ethics

There is no evidence that the 62-year-old judge has done anything illegal. Indeed, there are no laws that categorically prohibit a judge from hearing a case in which he has a personal financial stake. But there are suggested guidelines and rules of ethics, and it is Judge Gray's ethics that appear open to question.

Consider, for example, Canon 4 of the ABA's rules of ethics for judges, which states that "a judge's official conduct should be free from impropriety and the appearance of impropriety." Canon 32 of the same code is more specific: "A judge should not accept any presents or favors from litigants, or from lawyers practicing before him or from others whose interests are likely to be submitted to him for judgement."

Judge Gray did not just "accept" a favor from Mr. Hooker, a lawyer who had practiced in his court. He actively solicited that favor.

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already told Judge Gray that he doubts he will be able to devise a plan of reorganization to save the company. If he doesn't the judge will have several choices, among them declaring Whale bankrupt or taking the case under advisement.

Impartiality is highly important in the type of bankruptcy proceeding at issue here because of the absolute powers wielded by the judge. He can, for example, reject any reorganization plan submitted by the trustee, or he can order the trustee to draft a new plan even when the trustee insists it can't be done. He even had the power, at the time the company filed its petition, to deny the request for reorganization and to force the company into bankruptcy.

In the view of some attorneys, Judge Gray should have foregone all such choices and excused himself from the Whale proceeding altogether.

Typical is Fyke Farmer, a Nashville attorney. He says that even should the judge rule evenhandedly, his acceptance of "a very substantial favor" from Mr. Hooker lends at least an appearance of judicial impropriety that reflects discredit on the courts.

However impartially the judge handles the case, Mr. Farmer says, there could be suspicions that he favored the Hookers, as well as the banks in which he himself has an interest. Moreover, he says, there is the opposite danger that Judge Gray might bend over backwards to avoid favoring them—and thus do a disservice to the Hookers and the banks.

Charles Morgan Jr., southern director of the American Civil Liberties Union and an outspoken advocate of stricter rules on judicial ethics, won't comment on the Gray case because he says he's not familiar with the details, but he says laws are needed that would prevent Federal judges from even a hint of conflicting interests. He would like to see "a Congressional requirement" that appelate and district judges convert *all* their investments into Government securities upon assuming office. The Government bonds should then be "held in trust during their tenure," he believes.

Vague Guidelines

Mr. Morgan concedes such a requirement might impose financial sacrifice on many a jurist, but in his view the honor inherent in holding a judgeship should make up for that. "After all," he says, "they are appointed for life, and all men who serve their country must pay the price of patriotism." (The price, in this instance, is hardly a vow of poverty—Federal judges make $40,000 a year and up.)

Most critics wouldn't go quite as far as Mr. Morgan, but nearly all agree that present strictures on a jurist's financial pursuits are not only inadequate, but also so vaguely stated as to be all but meaningless. Several times in recent years Federal jurists have become publicly embroiled in ethical questions concerning their own finances—almost always with unfortunate consequences for the judges involved and almost always involving matters for which no clear-cut rules or prohibitions existed. That neither Abe Fortas nor Clement Haynsworth sit on the Supreme Court today is due in large part to exposure of financial ties that caused their integrity to be questioned but that did not break any laws or violate any professional code.

A Judge's Holdings Open Case Anew—After He Dies

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

It is not true, of course, that dead men tell no tales. If the dead man was in life a judge, he may tell more once he's laid away than he was ever required to reveal while sitting on the bench.

That has happened in the case of Lamar Cecil, a U.S. District judge in Texas in the 1950s, whose death opened the possibility of reversal of a suit he had decided three years earlier.

The suit involved a patent infringement charge. Judge Cecil in 1955 ruled for the defendant, Humble Oil & Refining Co., and that was thought to be that. But when his will was probated in 1958, it was revealed that he owned part of a company that did business with Humble, that he and his wife had other oil interests bringing them income from Humble and that his wife had owned Humble stock until just before he tried the case.

Saying the judge should have excused himself from the case, the plaintiff asked to have the proceedings reopened. Now, after 17 years, the case is still in the courts with no end in sight. "Were Judge Cecil still alive, the case wouldn't still be in the courts because his interests in the oil business wouldn't be (publicly) known to this day," says Fred Parks, Houston attorney for the plaintiff.

cal for a man who practiced law in his small hometown for 33 years before being named to the bench. Judge Gray got his law degree from Cumberland University in 1928 and practiced in his native Franklin, Tenn., until 1961, when he was appointed a U.S. District judge by the late President Kennedy. From 1956 to 1958 he was a member of the board of governors of the Tennessee Bar Association, and in 1960 he was comanager of the late Estes Kefauver's campaign for reelection to the U.S. Senate.

Judge Gray says he asked to get in on the fried chicken franchise business when Mr. Hooker "mentioned to me in a casual conversation" that he was starting up such a venture and had contracted to use the name of Grand Ole Opry star Minnie Pearl, a name held in high regard in these parts. "I told him it sounded to me as if he had a good idea that might make some money and I'd like to get in on it," the judge says. "I told him I'd like to take a flyer in it."

Judge Gray was not the only prominent individual among the 106 favored persons selected by the Hookers to "take a flyer" in their venture by means of investment in a private stock offering. Others so blessed included another Federal judge, two Tennessee Congressmen—Richard H. Fulton and William R. Anderson—and former University of Tennessee football coach Doug Dickey. Ironically, when the stock was later offered to the public, residents of Tennessee couldn't buy it until it began trading on the over-the-counter market. The state of Tennessee refused to register it because it considered the $20 offering price "unfair and inequitable."

It May Get Stickier

yers concerned about the commission or even the appearance of judicial impropriety certainly say he should.

But Judge Gray isn't budging. He says he wouldn't think of vacating the bench in the Whale case. He declares he sees nothing wrong in what he is doing, and he seems surprised that anyone else would.

A Question of Ethics

There is no evidence that the 62-year-old judge has done anything illegal. Indeed, there are no laws that categorically prohibit a judge from hearing a case in which he has a personal financial stake. But there are suggested guidelines and rules of ethics, and it is Judge Gray's ethics that appear open to question.

Consider, for example, Canon 4 of the ABA's rules of ethics for judges, which states that "a judge's official conduct should be free from impropriety and the appearance of impropriety." Canon 32 of the same code is more specific: "A judge should not accept any presents or favors from litigants, or from lawyers practicing before him or from others whose interests are likely to be submitted to him for judgement."

Judge Gray did not just "accept" a favor from Mr. Hooker, a lawyer who had practiced in his court. He actively solicited that favor. The judge asked for and, as one of a select group of 106 persons, was granted the privilege of buying stock in Mr. Hooker's newly formed fried chicken franchise chain for $1 a share. (Mr. Hooker started the venture after he was defeated in an election for governor of Tennessee in 1966. He is trying again for that post in next month's election.)

After the judge bought his 2,000 shares, a two-for-one split reduced his investment to 50 cents a share and increased his holdings to 4,000 shares. Then the company was renamed Minnie Pearl's Chicken System Inc. and in May 1968 just under 400,000 shares of its stock were offered to an eager public at $20 a share. The offer was instantly oversubscribed, and the very first over-the-counter trades were made at a bid price of $32. By mid-July the high-flying chicken stock had soared to $56, and the price remained above $40 through 1968.

A Tidy Profit

Since then, it has plummeted. With another new name—now it's Performance Systems Inc.—the stock has attracted recent bids of around 37½ cents a share. Even that price, taking into account a three-for-one stock split declared after the first public offering, is equivalent to a pre-split price of about $1, double the judge's investment. Reports issued a few weeks ago by the company show why the stock plunged: It lost $30 million last year and $5 million in the first half this year.

The stock price plunge meant that hundreds of shareholders who bet on Mr. Hooker lost heavily. But not Judge Gray. The judge says he "made some money," on the stock, but he won't say how much. His private investment proceeds "are not a matter for public discussion," he says. But he does reveal that after holding his shares long enough to qualify for long-term capital gains (six months), he "sold most of it in 1968, not at the high ($56) and not at the low ($32)." Thus, the judge reaped gains of anywhere from 50 to 100 times his initial investment.

All that took on new relevance last May 20, when Whale Inc., a fast-paced little conglomerate involved in real estate, franchise-operating and metals, and also a Hooker enterprise, filed a petition for bankruptcy—before Judge Frank Gray Jr. in U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Tennessee here. There's no doubt that John Jay Hooker Jr. has a vital stake in the outcome of the case or that Judge Gray himself has a lesser stake.

Mr. Hooker and his brother Henry together hold the second largest block of stock in the crumbled corporation. At one point, Henry Hooker was president of Whale and both the brothers were directors and controlling owners. The two Hookers together are major creditors of Whale—the company owes them $1.5 million for which they hold a note—so they have a big financial stake in the outcome of the bankruptcy hearings.

A Political Impact

Also, the Hookers and a third party guaranteed $3,150,000 of a $3.5 million debt that Whale owes the Third National Bank of Nashville. That's the bank Judge Gray's brother works for and the one in which the judge himself owns stock that he says is worth "more than $5,000." His wife, the judge says, owns "about $6,000 worth" of stock in the Harpeth National Bank in nearby Franklin, Tenn., where the Grays live. That is the bank to which Whale Inc. owes $16,456.66.

Whatever action Judge Gray takes in the bankruptcy proceeding could also have an impact on Mr. Hooker's fortune at the polls on Nov. 3. The judge may well be called on to make a ruling before then. A hearing is scheduled for today, and the trustee in the case has

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Mr. Morgan concedes such a requirement might impose financial sacrifice on many a jurist, but in his view the honor inherent in holding a judgeship should make up for that. "After all," he says, "they are appointed for life, and all men who serve their country must pay the price of patriotism." (The price, in this instance, is hardly a vow of poverty—Federal judges make $40,000 a year and up.)

Most critics wouldn't go quite as far as Mr. Morgan, but nearly all agree that present strictures on a jurist's financial pursuits are not only inadequate, but also so vaguely stated as to be all but meaningless. Several times in recent years Federal jurists have become publicly embroiled in ethical questions concerning their own finances—almost always with unfortunate consequences for the judges involved and almost always involving matters for which no clear-cut rules or prohibitions existed. That neither Abe Fortas nor Clement Haynsworth sit on the Supreme Court today is due in large part to exposure of financial ties that caused their integrity to be questioned but that did not break any laws or violate any professional code.

The lack of clear guidelines revealed by those two cases has spurred the ABA to appoint a committee that is currently drafting a new and stricter code of ethics for judges. It also led to the introduction of legislation in both houses of Congress that would more strictly govern the financial activities of judges.

For the time being though, about all a judge has to go on is a Federal law that requires that "any justice or judge of the United States shall disqualify himself in any case in which he has a *substantial* interest . . . or is so related or connected with any party or his attorney as to render it improper, *in his opinion*, for him to sit on the trial, appeal or other proceedings therein."

A Clear Conscience

The language of that law clearly leaves it up to a judge himself to decide if his own interests in a case are "substantial" or if his connections with the litigants involved are "improper."Just as clearly, Judge Gray has decided that his interests and connections in the Whale case are neither substantial nor improper. Indeed, he says he "will never take any case in which I have an interest." Regarding Whale, he says, "I could see no possible conflict of any sort. And certainly none has developed. I will participate in nothing in which I could be open to an appearance of conflict of interest."

But to many, he already is participating in such a situation. And though he talks freely when asked about his relations with Mr. Hooker and his stockholdings in banks to which Whale is beholden, those facts were not revealed in a report the judge filed in July listing his financial interests in institutions that are named parties in lawsuits he is hearing. The U.S. Judicial Conference, a policymaking body for the nation's 450 Federal judges, this year for the first time required that Federal judges file such reports.

The report Judge Gray filed covered the first half of 1970, but it did not list the banks involved in the Whale case in which he and Mrs. Gray hold stock. Technically he may have had no reason to list them, although some assessors think otherwise. The question reads: "Have you participated in the hearing or decision of any case, knowing at the time of such participation that you, your spouse or any member of your immediate family in your household had a financial interest in any of the named parties?"

Since the Whale case was a voluntary proceeding filed by the company itself seeking to reorganize under chapter 10 of Federal bankruptcy laws, Whale is the only "named party" in the title of the petition. But the names of the larger of the two banks in which the Grays own stock was included in the list of creditors involved.

A Fried Chicken Flyer

The only financial interest the judge listed in his July report related to a case involving National Life & Accident Insurance Co., a subsidiary of NLT Corp. The report discloses that Judge and Mrs. Gray "own stock valued at about $30,000" in NLT. In that case, the court was merely holding the proceeds of an insurance policy until a disagreement between claimants was settled.

Judge Gray's assessment of his personal wealth indicates that a good portion, if not most, of it is based on the proceeds of his relationship with Mr. Hooker. Other than his $30,000 of NLT stock and his bank shares, he says he and Mrs. Gray own stocks worth between $1,000 and $5,000 in each of 10 other companies, all of which he declines to identify. He puts the total value of those holdings at "about $30,000" and says his only other investments are "some municipal bonds," dollar amount not revealed.

Such modest wealth is probably fairly typi-

Hooker "mentioned to me in a casual conversation" that he was starting up such a venture and had contracted to use the name of Grand Ole Opry star Minnie Pearl, a name held in high regard in these parts. "I told him it sounded to me as if he had a good idea that might make some money and I'd like to get in on it," the judge says. "I told him I'd like to take a flyer in it."

Judge Gray was not the only prominent individual among the 106 favored persons selected by the Hookers to "take a flyer" in their venture by means of investment in a private stock offering. Others so blessed included another Federal judge, two Tennessee Congressmen—Richard H. Fulton and William R. Anderson—and former University of Tennessee football coach Doug Dickey. Ironically, when the stock was later offered to the public, residents of Tennessee couldn't buy it until it began trading on the over-the-counter market. The state of Tennessee refused to register it because it considered the $20 offering price "unfair and inequitable."

It May Get Stickier

To the judge, all that is water long under the bridge and should have no relevance to the case he is currently hearing. But there is a chance that the Hooker brothers' involvement in the Whale case may yet deepen and that they may be dragged into it as defendants and not just parties related to a bankruptcy proceeding. That's because of a claim filed in the court by one John L. Peterson, charging the Hookers and another party with "fraud and misrepresentation."

Mr. Peterson, of nearby Williamson County, claims he was victimized in a stock deal in which Whale acquired a company from him. He claims the Hooker brothers gave him 29,000 shares of Whale stock as part payment for his firm, and he says when he tried to sell some of those shares he was told they were not registered and thus not marketable. Another factor that makes that transaction seem peculiar, Mr. Peterson says, is that the Whale annual report for 1967 says Whale bought his company not for stock but for $55,000 in cash. That's news to him, he says. John L. Chambers, attorney for the Hooker brothers, says, "there is no truth whatsoever in the charges. There were no misrepresentations made by the Hookers. There was no fraud practiced by the Hookers."

Judge Gray says he hasn't asked the U.S. attorney here to investigate the fraud charge because he's waiting for a hearing to examine the evidence. Mr. Peterson at first hoped he could work out a settlement with the court-appointed trustee of Whale, but he says he has given up on that and now wants a hearing. His attorney says he plans to ask Judge Gray to set a hearing date soon.

U.S. Attorney Charles Anderson says he could initiate action in the case himself, but he has been waiting for someone else to do so. Some sources here reason that Mr. Anderson, a Republican appointee, is reluctant to start a probe into the affairs of a Democratic gubernatorial candidate during an election campaign lest his office be accused of conducting a political vendetta.

The other Federal judge that Mr. Hooker sold stock to privately has also come under criticism for his dealings, but, like Judge Gray, he denies wrongdoing. He is William E. Miller, who recently was elevated from the District court here to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati. In a Senate hearing on Judge Miller's appointment last March, attorney Farmer—the one who says Judge Gray should step down from the Whale case—charged that Judge Miller tried to circumvent Federal laws when he bought stock from Mr. Hooker.

The stock for sale in the initial private offering was offered to Tennessee residents only, but Judge Miller wanted to buy shares for his daughter, a resident of Virginia. When the transfer agent told him he couldn't do that, he bought the shares in his own name. When he later sold them, his daughter recieved the proceeds and paid the capital gains tax.

Judge Miller says he was not dodging the intent of the law. "I did not violate or circumvent any law," he says. He said the same thing at a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing conducted by Sen. Roman Hruska, and the committee agreed. It found "no basis for the charges" and confirmed the appointment, leaving vacant Judge Miller's former post of Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court here. That vacancy was filled—by Judge Frank Gray Jr.

Canadian Rail Carloadings Rise

OTTAWA—Canadian rail carloadings in the nine days ended Sept. 30 rose 13.6% from a year earlier to 113,446 cars, the Bureau of Statistics said.

Western carloadings rose 24.8% to 46,751, while loadings east of the lakehead were up 6.9% to 66,695. Carloadings in the year ended Sept. 30 were up 6.4% to 2,872,936 cars.

Doctors' Dilemma

British Physicians Fault National Health Plan But Say Sick Benefit

Pay, Low Prestige Disturb Them, but They Can Treat Without Regard to Cost

Mr. Whitnell's Aching Back

10-21-70

By NEIL ULMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LONDON—The sign on the dingy south London storefront says SURGERY. In England that's a doctor's office.

The street door opens into a crowded waiting room. Patients, wearing the shabby shoes and neat, worn clothing of London's working class, sit on plain, wooden chairs that line the walls.

In back the doctor's 12-foot-square office contains a desk, an examining table with a plaid blanket covered by a paper sheet and a home bathroom scale. Medicine boxes and bottles are arranged on the mantel over a blocked-off fireplace and jumbled on a battered metal cart. The walls are scarred and spotted; cigaret ashes litter the carpet.

"If you think this is bad, you should see some of the other surgeries around here," says the distinguished-looking, 61-year-old Dr. Carl Burns (a pseudonym) as he greets a visitor. Like many of Britain's 23,000 family doctors, Dr. Burns is far from satisfied with conditions of practice under the government-controlled National Health Service.

No Complaints

But George Whitnell, a 32-year old warehouseman seated by the dripping umbrellas in the waiting room, isn't complaining at all. He suffers from chronic back trouble, sees Dr. Burns frequently and has been referred five times in the last eight years to London hospitals for physiotherapy. Beyond a weekly contribution of $2.12 deducted from his paycheck, none of this has cost Mr. Whitnell a penny. "I think it's terrific," he says.

All of which pretty well sums up the position of physicians here as National Health enters its 23rd year and as debate grows in the U.S. about adopting some sort of government-subsidized medical care plan. On one hand British doctors take pride in having brought effective health care to vast numbers of their countrymen. "The greatest advantage—the greatest satisfaction—is being able to prescribe whatever I think is needed without having to worry whether the patient can afford it," says Dr. Burns. "In that sense I can provide the best of medical care."

But doctors here are also painfully aware that mass medicine often reduces the doctor-patient relationship to its lowest common denominator; this, in turn, can bring hurried, uninspired health care. Though they basically defend National Health, physicians maintain a constant barrage of criticism in medical journals. Their complaints center on low pay and poor working conditions. Some 450 medical men are expected to leave Britain this year to practice elsewhere, continuing a steady talent drain.

The Cost Is High

The present health program was conceived during World War II and put into effect in 1948. It replaced a far more limited national health insurance scheme that had been in effect since 1911. The insurance plan covered only wage-earners—not their families—and paid only for general practitioner care. It was financed by deductions from the workers' pay and by contributions from employers.

National Health, in contrast, is financed largely through direct taxation. It has been expensive. The system is expected to cost the equivalent of about $4.2 billion this year, or more than 10% of all public expenditure, compared with about $1.1 billion in 1950. Weekly contributions of individuals and employers cover about 10% of this cost. Taxation pays for most of the rest.

So vast has the expense of National Health grown, in fact, that proposals to begin charging small fees for some doctors' services are currently under study by the new Tory government.

Family doctors, or GPs, are only one part of the National Health Service. Its other components are the Hospital Service, staffed by doctors on government-fixed salaries, and the "Local Authorities," or municipal health services that provide home nursing, immunization, psychiatric counseling, ambulance service, aid to the blind and other care that usually comes under the heading of welfare in the U.S.

"Independent Contractors"

Although paid by the government, Dr. Burns and his fellow GPs aren't salaried. Rather, they consider themselves independent contractors. For agreeing to treat patients under National Health, Dr. Burns gets a "basic practice allowance" of $2,760 a year. Added to this are an allowance of $550 for agreeing to take on extra tasks, such as holiday calls, a bonus of $480 for practicing in a group and $1,800 in seniority pay. He then gets a payment, called a capitation fee, of $3.60 for every patient on his list over 65 years old, plus $2.58 for all other patients. On top of all these allowances, Dr. Burns gets an additional 20% bonus. The government began adding the bonus to all basic allowances in June; in effect, it's a 20% pay raise for all National Health practitioners.

Dr. Burns has managed to amass a total of nearly 2,800 steady patients, well under the National Health limit of 3,500 per doctor but above the national average of 2,300 per man. The practice will thus produce a pretax income of $11,500, after allowing for expenses. In comparison, the average American GP has pretax income of roughly $30,000, according to the American Academy of General Practice.

"The problem is how to make a reasonable living," says Dr. Burns, who occupies a modest apartment in one of London's better residential areas. "The only way to improve your income is to take on more patients. But the more you take on, the less time you have to give them. And there still isn't enough money left over to buy equipment and improve your premises."

With pay basically the same regardless of where a doctor practices, some locations are

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Doctors' Dilemma: British MDs Fault Health Plan but See Benefits

Continued From First Page

more popular than others. Dr. Burns' south London practice has some drawbacks that other physicians would find unacceptable. Because most of his patients don't have telephones, for example, he has found it nearly impossible to set up an appointment system. As a result, his waiting room is jammed, and he finds it difficult to give patients as much time as he would like.

So unpopular are some practices in grimy industrial centers that National Health pays an extra $960 allowance to doctors who agree to practice there. But that isn't enough for many young doctors, who would prefer to emigrate. "You can understand why a young graduate doesn't see his future filling in forms in a badly lighted, ill-heated, falling-down surgery in an industrial slum," says 30-year-old Dr. Ian E. Black, chairman of the Young Practitioners Subcommittee of the British Medical Association (BMA).

Until recently, Dr. Burns was one of the 4,500 physicians in this country who run their practices singlehanded. But solo practice was rugged. "There was barely enough money coming in to hire a secretary," Dr. Burns recalls. "When I wanted to get away for a fortnight's holiday in Israel, it cost me 55 pounds ($132) to hire a locum," or stand-in doctor. "Even then I had to worry if the locum was reliable, or if I might get complaints that my practice wasn't properly covered."

Pooling Resources

Spurred in part by the National Health bonus for physicians who practice in groups, Dr. Burns recently set up group practice with two partners. The partners hope their combined resources will enable them to buy better equipment and improve their offices.

Dr. Burns holds 10 "surgeries," or office hours sessions, a week. Each is scheduled for two hours, but many drag on to three hours and cover about 40 patients. If the patients' ills are minor, calling for medication, bandaging, examination or reassurance, Dr. Burns provides these within the limited time available.

In a typical morning surgery he approves a renewal of Mr. Whitnell's prescription for backache and checks up on a 53-year-old postman's post-operative recovery. In the afternoon he sets out in his compact 1969 Vauxhall to pay half a dozen house calls.

If a case requires more intensive investigation or treatment, Dr. Burns, like almost all GPs, refers the patient to a local hospital, where a specialist will diagnose and treat him. GPs view this "loss" of patients to the hospitals with mixed feelings.

A Spider in a Web

Dr. J. Leslie McCallum, a GP who practices in a middle-class London neighborhood, observes: "You can sit like a spider in the center of this web of medical facilities and lay on everything from extra milk for expectant mothers (at government expense) to complex surgery."

Dr. McCallum recalls one of his patients, a headmistress in a secondary school who suffered from severe arthritis in both hips. "I wrote a letter to one of our leading orthopedic surgeons in Manchester. He wasn't a personal friend, just a man whose published work on hip surgery I had read in medical journals. He agreed to see her and to perform an operation. So I have the opportunity to see that my patients get the best care in England."

But the system has its frustrations as well. Dr. Burns wishes he could do more himself—if only for the intellectual challenge, let alone the responsibility he feels to his patients. He remembers that his partner before the war spent a lot of time on his patients doing eye testing, X-ray work, urinalysis, microscopic tissue examination and the like.

"But now if one of my patients needs that kind of care, I have to refer him to a hospital," says Dr. Burns. "I don't have the equipment nor the time for these examinations."

Indeed, the average visit to a GP under National Health lasts six and a half minutes compared with 15 to 18 minutes for a GP office call in the U.S., according to the BMA and the American Academy of General Practice. However, the U.S. figures don't allow for the many Americans who see physicians in clinics and in hospital emergency rooms, which would tend to shorten the average visit length considerably.

The BMA's Dr. Black says he would like to see more beds set aside in British hospitals for use by GPs. Most doctors, he believes, don't mind losing their patients to the hospital when the skills of a specialist are required. But these same doctors are annoyed "when it's just a matter of needing hospital facilities for treatment within the scope of a GP's skill."

Only about 11,000 of Britain's 465,000 hospital beds are available to patients under a GP's care. This stems in part, some GPs charge, from the professional jealousy of physicians in the hospitals that take over the treatment of the GPs' patients. Many GPs feel they would benefit from more contact with physicians in hospitals and find the present situation demeaning.

Some Britishers, of course, have long preferred to bypass the National Health GP altogether and see a physician in private practice, on a paying basis. Even some of the National Health doctors have some private patients in addition to their government-sponsored practice. The government hasn't any objection, so long as the doctors don't mix National Health and private care in the same case.

Private Care Comeback

Indeed, private care is enjoying something of a comeback in this country. British United Provident Association, the largest private health insurer, says it covers 1.5 million persons, up from 750,000 ten years ago. Private Patients Plan, another insurer, lists over 152,000 subscribers, up from 55,000 in 1960.

But as to the quality of general practice, National Health GPs insist there's no difference in the care they give to private and National Health patients.

"I have one patient, a 14-year-old girl with an acute asthmatic condition," says a GP in rural Buckinghamshire, which is about an hour outside London. "I saw her this morning at her home, I'll see her tomorrow and I'll see her again on Tuesday. No private patient could buy better care than that."

Adds this doctor's partner: "The only difference so far as I'm concerned is that my private patients come in through the front door at mutually convenient appointments, and my National Health patients come in through the surgery door at surgery hours. I see them in the same place and give them the same care. There are just a few wealthy people around here who feel they would rather pay."

Nashville Jurist Steps Down From Case Involving Whale, Assails Journal Story

10/26/70 W-5-5

NASHVILLE (UPI)—Federal Judge Frank Gray Jr. excused himself Friday from a hearing on an offer to purchase most of the assets of Whale Inc. Tennessee Democratic gubernatorial nominee John J. Hooker Jr. is a major stockholder and former director of the concern.

Judge Gray said he would ask that another judge be assigned to the hearing because his brother is a vice president of Third National Bank, Nashville, which Whale owes more than $3 million.

Later in his chambers, the jurist assailed a Wall Street Journal story that said he had made between $100,000 and $200,000 from Mr. Hooker's business ventures. The story raised the question of whether he should disqualify himself from the case on the ground of conflict of interest.

"I was misquoted," he told UPI. "I got crucified." He added he thought he would have ground for a lawsuit if he had made a tape recording of his conversation with the Journal reporter.

Judge Gray received proposals Friday to purchase assets of Whale, a conglomerate, and Temco Inc., a subsidiary that makes gas appliances.

Nashville businessman William L. Bainbridge submitted an offer of $3.2 million for the Whale assets. Trustee Nile Yearwood said this money would go toward paying off the indebtedness to Third National and included $100,000 in administrative expenses.

The offer to purchase Temco came from Texas Clay Industries of Dallas. Judge Gray set a hearing on both offers for Nov. 6.

[Mr. Yearwood said Mr. Bainbridge's offer is for the Whale assets held by Third National Bank as security on its loans to Whale. The trustee said Whale's only other assets comprise some real estate in California which he has been unable to sell thus far. The offer for Temco, he said, is for $100,000 cash plus the assumption of more than $2 million of debt. Mr. Yearwood added that he will recommend approval of both offers if he can't find any better ones before the next hearing.]

"Since this hearing in connection with the Whale matter might involve some exceptions to an offer that pertains to Third National Bank, whether that develops or not, I am going to excuse myself from hearing that," Judge Gray said.

"However, I am fortunate in that another judge will be sworn in here next Monday and if he can't hear it, why, of course, the chief judge of the circuit can designate someone else," Judge Gray said.

Mr. Gray presently is the only U.S. district judge serving middle Tennessee. Leland McClure Morton of Knoxville will be sworn in today to fill the vacancy created by the elevation of Judge William E. Miller to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Wall Street Journal story said Judge Gray was one of a "select group of 106 persons" who bought stock in Mr. Hooker's fast-food franchising chain for $1 a share. It said he purchased 2,000 shares and received gains of anywhere from 50 to 100 times his initial investment.

The story quoted Judge Gray as saying his private investment proceeds "are not a matter for public discussion."

Mr. Hooker and his brother, Henry, hold a $1.5 million note on Whale, and they, along with a third party, guaranteed most of the debt that Whale owes Third National.

Mr. Hooker's franchising business was first known as Minnie Pearl Chicken Systems. The name was later changed to Performance Systems Inc. Mr. Hooker resigned as chairman of the board and chief executive of Performance Systems in August 1969.

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struggle to find and hire black musicians.

Washington's National Symphony complains "raids" by larger orchestras have left it with only one Negro musician, down from three last season. The Cincinnati Symphony considers establishing an "apprentice program" to help train black musicians for full-time orchestra jobs. In New York, the Philharmonic hopes two Negroes recently added to its management staff will aid in recruiting black musicians.

The all-white Rochester Philharmonic says it has had only one Negro audition during the past two years. "By and large," contends a spokesman for the Cleveland Orchestra, black musicians "don't train for classical music." A spokesman for the Baltimore Orchestra notes that music conservatories are too costly for many Negroes. Most symphonies claim they're too strapped to provide scholarships for needy minority musicians.

New York's Philharmonic employs only one Negro among its 106 members. The 107-member Chicago Symphony has none.

FLAT CASE OF BIAS: A Syracuse, N.Y., cocktail waitress charges she was unfairly fired after being found "too flat-chested." She alleges this is sex discrimination. Her reasoning: "Chest size" wouldn't be a condition of employment if men were employed instead of women. The state Human Rights Division will decide the matter.

* * * 10-27-70

DISGRUNTLED TEACHERS in Portland, Ore., fashion a list of 162 "guerrilla tactics" for use against "authoritarian administrators." The newspaper of the American Federation of Teachers reprints a few of the tactics. Among them: "Have a bizarre thought" and "get a bullhorn and shout back down the hall" at the PA system.

* * *

AIR CONTROLLERS were really on strike last spring when their union staged a "sick-out," a Labor Department hearing examiner rules. His finding relates to the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization's right to represent Federal workers. He recommends it be allowed to seek representation elections if it vows not to strike again.

* * *

NAACP THREATENS a lawsuit to block release of Government funds for construction projects in the Pittsburgh area. The money had been frozen while blacks, unions and builders wrangled over a minority hiring plan. It was freed last week following Federal acceptance of a plan the NAACP now blasts as inadequate.

* * *

MOONLIGHTING EMPLOYES rouse the ire of few employers, a study finds.

A Conference Board survey of 136 concerns turns up only eight that explicitly forbid employes from working for other companies. Nearly 80% of those checked have no official policy either sanctioning or forbidding the practice. Even so, 82 companies place various informal constraints on moonlighting. Example: Employes generally are prohibited from working for competitors.

Twenty-four companies take an absolute "hands off" stance toward moonlighting. One reason: They figure the practice is inevitable because of rising living costs. Of 76 concerns expressing an opinion, 37 believe moonlighting is on the rise. Thirty-two see no change; seven report a decline.

Employes at a few companies are warned they won't get any disability benefits if injured while moonlighting.

* * *

THE CHECKOFF: Retail Clerks Union pickets at a Washington, D.C., drug store were joined recently by a lion cub bearing a sandwich board sign that implored passersby to "please respect our picket lion." . . . Seeking to improve employe morale, the usually secretive Central Intelligence Agency recently held a series of Saturday "open houses" at its McLean, Va., headquarters for wives and children of its workers. . . . The Ironworkers Union magazine features an article by Vice President Agnew entitled "In Defense of Hard Hats."

W-5-5

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Lunch With 3 Prospective Bombers

W-S-J 10/27-70

By AMITAI ETZIONI

Last Sunday I met three would-be bombers, two young men and a young woman whom I'll call Jim, Dick and Sally. As far as I could tell, they have not participated in any terrorist act nor do they really intend to. Nevertheless, they were full of "hip" talk about "blowing things up," and they professed admiration for the Weathermen's actions.

"If I had my way, I would blow up the bridges and stifle Manhattan," Dick maintained.

Jim showed his expertise: "It would be easy to blow a hole into the T-Z (Tappan Zee Bridge), but it would not stop the traffic for long. On the other hand, it is more difficult to get to the cables of the George Washington Bridge. But if you got to those—you'd bring down the whole thing."

"It's not that difficult," Dick protested, "just four or five feet above the ground."

"Yes," Jim demurred, "but you could work *under* the T-Z and have as much time as you want, while everyone would see you working on the cable."

I interjected at this point. "What about all the people on those bridges?"

"They will be called," Jim explained. "We will tell them that they have 15 minutes to get off. We are after the property system, not the people."

"Well," I wondered aloud, "what about the janitor who was overlooked in the Queens Court House, and the young Ph.D. in the lab in Madison?"

Dick countered, in what seemed a complete non sequitur: "And what about all the death in Vietnam?"

Sally thought "that anyhow the banks will be first to be hit. I was afraid to go cash a check on Friday."

The conversation took place on a suburban lawn. The three young people were all under 30 but close to it. Dick is the son of a top executive of a middle-sized Manhattan firm. Jim is the son of a neighbor, a retired commodity broker. Sally is Dick's girlfriend.

A Shared Hatred

Both Dick and Jim come from families that are obviously well off but lead quite simple, almost hippie lives. The parents openly share their sons' hatred for "the system" and respond admiringly to most things "the children" come up with. Our hosts, Dick's father and mother, were matching their sons' extremist jargon. "The system is rotten at the core," explained the father in passing.

The youth rebellion is encompassing; it moves beyond politics and fashions in an entire life style. Dick is making films, in the Village, to promote "the cause," an activity that produces little income. Thus, at 28, he is living off his parents, sleeping late, hanging around the house most of the day and staying out late with one girl or another. Jim went to France to avoid the draft after flunking out of two law schools in the United States. He finally received a law degree from some little-known school, and is now studying law in New York City. He, too, lives at home, getting up at noon and studying at night. All three are surprisingly relaxed human beings. Sally's talk is almost slow. Dick and Jim seem as if they have all the time in the world. Sunday's lunch, which started at 2 p.m., stretched into the early evening hours. Large amounts of Sangria, Edam cheese and Spanish sausages with French bread were consumed. I saw no drugs. The youths wore their hair not much longer than Mayor Lindsay has of late. They were clean and sported no love beads. Without their faded jeans they could easily go unnoticed among any bank's clientele.

They may best be characterized as sympathizers, who far outnumber the actual bomb throwers in each revolutionary movement. They *can* be drawn into violent action, especially if they believe that the movement has a fair chance of succeeding in the struggle against the Government. On the other hand, as long as bombers are arrested fairly frequently and receive severe punishments, these sympathizers will stay on their lawns. They will still provide the hard-core terrorists with money, information, occasionally shelter and always with sympathy. They constitute the ocean in which the urban guerrillas swim.

'Doing Your Own Thing'

"What would you achieve by blowing up some banks or bridges?" I asked when coffee was served.

"Achieve?" Jim was indignant. "Man, this is an old-generation hang-up. Doing your own thing is what counts."

"Yeah," Dick concurred, "Shake it up. Show it up."

Sally surmised, "If people's washing machines would cease to work—power failures, you know—they could not take it, and they would finally rebel."

Here I almost erupted. "What nonsense. Let's forget for the moment the question of whether this country is ripe for, or is in need of, a revolution. What kind of strategy is this? What if you do blow up a few places? What will this amount to, what will it accomplish?"

"You can't tell," Dick replied. "You cannot plan a revolution. Do you think Stalin knew, when he robbed a bank, that it would lead to a revolution? When Lenin studied, did he visualize himself a revolutionary leader? You try things. You blow things up. If this won't work, we will try something else. Anyhow—now it is time to act. We are mad. . . ."

Sally spoke softly, describing her vision. "You get to the banks, which is where their money is. And to the Federal buildings and to the armories and to the bridges. . . . You blow it all up. . . . The people's confidence in their Government will be shaken and its legitimacy will be undermined."

"Oh, come off it," I said. "Blowing up a few windows, ceilings, and floors will have no such consequence."

This response, all three agreed, was mere rationalization—an excuse for passivity.

Upon leaving, it was clear to me that these youngsters, brought up in an ultra-permissive home, were rather different from the disciplined die-hards in the Old Left who spouted Marxist dogma in response to any or all questions. These youths in the New Left were apparently without a systematic ideology and lacked an overall strategy. They responded emotionally and instinctively to a few "cue" words, rhetoric that has more psychoanalytic connotations than political ones.

A Selfish Philosophy

To the extent that their philosophy emerged from this encounter, it appeared to be a selfish, indulgent one. There seems to be a willingness to approve of, if not to actually engage in, acts of violence without a clear sense of social purpose or consequence. All as if terror were a mere act of self-expression and spontaneity; planting dynamite, a form of finger painting. Societal processes go unrecognized in what is surely the most individualistic revolutionary talk since anarchism. Ultra-progressive education, hip talk and the use of mind-expanding drugs seem to have left these three unable to carry an argument to its logical conclusion. Moral considerations are brushed aside by pointing to the "evils of the system."

I wish I could conclude by saying that this or that course of action—changing our curricula in schools, subscribing to the latest edition of Spock (which is much less permissive than the earlier ones), hiring more policemen—would help these infantile would-be terrorists to grow up and face the social and moral consequences of the "ego-trips" they endorse so willingly. Granted, our educational system, child rearing practices, and social system and crime prevention techniques all are in need of extensive reform, but this will take time.

Meanwhile, many thousands of youngsters like Jim, Dick and Sally will be with us. One day their parents will cease to finance their games, and responsibility will set in. Then, perhaps, they will tire of playing revolutionaries. For the time being, however, the most we can do, I am afraid, is to make it as clear as possible to these would-be bombers that dynamite theatrics are utterly unimpressive modes of self expression and are of no societal consequence.

Dr. Etzioni is chairman of the sociology department at Columbia University and author of "The Active Society" (Free Press).

10-30-70

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CONTROVERSIAL MOVES by Nixonites, delayed now, will accelerate after election.

A November Inflation Alert will hit harder at labor and business. Pressure for adopting some sort of wage-price guidelines may grow, despite high-level resistance. A Pentagon settlement of Lockheed's C5A cost claims, sure to stir criticism, is due by the year-end. Coming rules intended to open up apprenticeships to minorities will nettle "hard hat" union men.

Urban-renewal changes coming after election will likely limit funds for big cities ruled by Democrats. Look for shifts in the Model Cities program to help poor whites, plus further efforts to dismantle the poverty-fighting OEO. A Thurmond protege may take over as Small Business chief; incumbent Hilary Sandoval has been busy wooing Mexican-American voters.

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SAIGON'S DRIVE into Cambodia this week may be just a beginning.

U.S. policy-makers plan more action by South Vietnamese forces in case of any big Communist offensive against the Lon Nol regime. Americans will provide support, if necessary, for Saigon's fighting men. Washington evidently feels the loss of Cambodia would be unacceptable—because of peril to the war effort in Vietnam.

The intervention, even without U.S. troops, could stir new opposition at home. Options include: More big South Vietnamese raids across the Cambodian border; ringing Phnom Penh with Saigon troops to prevent capture; maybe even sending them into Laos to cut Red supply lines. Some plans would entail U.S. air support, supplies, transport.

Some U.S. officials dissent. They foresee more domestic political harm than military gains, worry that the U.S. will get dragged in deeper.

CASH POURS IN for Conservative Party candidate James Buckley's New York Senate campaign. Wealthy Republicans chip in, spurred by polls indicating Buckley victory, plus an indirect Nixon endorsement. Buckley triples his TV ad budget, to $150,000, for the final few days. Democrat Ottinger slugs harder now. Republican Goodell seems out of the race.

HAPPY THRONGS of servicemen win early discharge from the armed forces. The number getting out ahead of time could reach half a million this fiscal year, rivaling last year even though total troop strength is down. Some are men who can't be sent to Vietnam a second time; others are headed for college or police training.

LEARNING INCOGNITO: Saigon's new commander in the Mekong Delta shows unusual desire to master his job. Lt. Gen. Truong, moved from northern provinces, is little-known in his new region. Sometimes he poses as interpreter for his senior U.S. advisers; Truong figures he learns more from subordinates' soft-soaping of the Americans than from reading official reports.

ANTIPOVERTY CUTS loom. Economizers at the OEO aim to trim spending for Community Action programs to $306 million next fiscal year, down from $333 million this year and $358 million last year. Local agencies participating may have to put in larger contributions.

POLITICIANS TAILOR their speaking styles for television. Example: Democratic Senate candidate Tunney of California confides that he shifts from a "hot" platform approach to a "cool" delivery to project sincerity on the tube. "On television," he says, "you have to 'internalize' your message"—speaking quietly, deliberately, with feeling.

FEARS OF '72 spur the GOP's effort to snatch Senate control this year.

Party strategists realize the chances won't be nearly so bright next time. Nineteen Republican-held Senate seats and only 14 Democratic ones come up for grabs then; this year 25 Democratic and 10 Republican seats are at stake. At least eight Democrats facing 1972 reelection seem safe; most of this year's crop are vulnerable.

Many of the Republican seats up next time seem open to Democratic capture. Popular Sen. Cooper of Kentucky will retire; ailing South Dakota veteran Mundt could quit; Oregon's Hatfield talks of bowing out. Among Republicans facing possible 1972 peril: Miller of Iowa, Idaho's Jordan, Griffin of Michigan, Wyoming's Hansen.

Democratic Rep. Hathaway of Maine already serves notice that he'll run for Margaret Chase Smith's seat. He hopes that fear of defeat will prompt her to retire.

MINOR MEMOS: Why did Nixon abandon plans for a pre-election TV show from California with Republican candidates from across the nation? One reason: Candidates from the East didn't want to be in the West at the campaign's climax. . . . Boeing Co., following White House example, distributes copies of the conservative American Security Council's national security ratings of Congressional voting records: Democratic Sens. Kennedy, Hart, Tydings all get zero. . . . The Republican National Committee sends out samples of a "Spiro T. Agnew Speaks Out" recording; a full 40-minute disc goes to party members who contribute at least $10 before the election.

Out in the Cold M-UH

Increasing Layoffs Rob Many of Their Pensions As Well as Their Jobs

Eligibility Rules Often Bar Workers; Unions Pressing For More Liberal Programs

A White Collar Is No Shield

11-4-70

By JIM HYATT
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

AVON LAKE, Ohio — At first glance 33-year-old Edward Herrera didn't fare too badly last April when he was laid off here by Fruehauf Corp. He eventually found a job paying $50 a week more at a nearby Ford Motor Co. plant.

Despite the higher pay, however, Mr. Herrera is still bitter about losing his old job. "I put in 11 years for nothing," he says. Because he was laid off well before age 40, when he would have become eligible for an eventual pension, Mr. Herrera took nothing with him when he left Fruehauf but his final paycheck.

As layoffs reach the highest levels in six years, and as corporations tighten their belts by closing plants, many workers like Mr. Herrera are learning that they're losing more than just their current jobs. Years of potential eligibility toward pensions are also evaporating. As far as earning a pension is concerned, many workers are, in fact, having to start their working careers over.

Private pension plans hold well over $100 billion in assets. About 17,000 such plans covering about 21 million workers are on file with the Labor Department, and several million workers are thought to be in plans not reported to the department. Pension plan coverage has become increasingly generous over the years —yet Congressional committees and others looking into pensions are discovering that because of high industry turnover even in good times, stringent eligibility requirements and today's widespread layoffs, many workers "covered" by such plans will never be eligible to collect a penny.

High Casualty Rate

Just how many workers lose out is a hotly debated question and no exact figures are available. "My very rough estimate is that it is quite possible that over one-third of all workers in pension plans will never get anything from them," says Michael S. Gordon, special minority counsel for pensions for a Senate subcommittee. "In some industries the ratio will be much higher."

Union officials estimate that Fruehauf laid off more than 1,000 workers in the final year of manufacturing at the plant here and say that at least 750 of them were let go short of pension eligibility requirements—age 40 and 10 years on the job.

Companies often try to save pension rights by liberal recall provisions or by offering workers jobs at other plants. But those choices often create a variety of problems. A Dallas man in his 30s was laid off recently by Texas Instruments Inc., where pension eligibility begins at 50. But he says it has been difficult finding another job because prospective employers fear he'll go back to TI if a recall occurs.

Other workers say alternate jobs are seldom offered on the best of terms. John Voss, a 38-year-old engineering aide, is two years short of pension eligibility at a General Dynamics Corp. division in Rochester, N.Y., and stands to lose perhaps $100 a month in potential pension when he is laid off late this year under a previously announced schedule. He says he might be able to get on with a nearby General Dynamics plant, "but I'd have to take a lot less pay." He also complains that "there's no telling when the other plant will lay off, too."

Small Comfort

Industry-wide "portable" pension plans often keep pension rights intact for workers who move to similar jobs, but in the current economy such plans are little comfort to many so covered. Evelyn W., a 40-year-old Cleveland woman lost a job last January as a packer at a sausage plant. Because of the business slowdown, "a lot of the other plants wouldn't even take an application," she says. She is 10 years short of being old enough to establish a pension right and figures she has lost a pension worth $70 a month at retirement. Currently she's taking accounting and secretarial courses at a junior college.

Layoffs hit especially hard at older workers who are dismissed short of retirement age. Jesse Stockton, 53, laid off after 23 years at Fruehauf, figures he'll never be eligible for another pension. At 65, he'll draw about $50 a month but working to 65 could have added another $36 a month to his check, union officials say.

Plant closings often take an even harsher toll on pensions already earned. An unexpected and sudden closing can leave a pension fund that doesn't even cover the built-up obligations already due workers. A classic instance: The 1963 closing of Studebaker Corp.'s South Bend, Ind., operations, in which several thousand workers with earned pension rights received only a small portion of the money they had expected.

Today's wave of plant closings is creating thousands of similar cases. Metals Forming Co., a unit of Gulf & Western Industries, is in the process of closing a plant in Ecorse, Mich., that employs about 175 workers. United Auto Workers officials say that because of the unexpected shutdown, only the most senior employes will get a pension.

Washed Out

In a letter to Congress last July, Leonard Woodcock, UAW president, asserted that "among the victims of that closing are a man and a woman, both 52 years old, each with 37 years of service. Their entire 37 years with the company were washed out as far as pension benefits are concerned."

A Gulf & Western spokesman says only that the company "intends to honor all provisions of its contract" and adds that "employes will receive the benefits to which they are entitled." That's true enough, the union says. The problem is that what they're "entitled to" is precious little.

The United Steelworkers of America says it recently talked one company into forking over an extra $35 million to bring a subsidiary's

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Out in the Cold: Increasing Layoffs Rob Pensions From Many Workers

Continued From First Page

pension fund into balance after the subsidiary folded. Such instances are not isolated. Melvin Glasser, director of the UAW's social security department, says in one recent week alone the union had "four requests to terminate pension plans from employers going out of business." Some benefits will almost certainly be lost, he adds.

Some workers find, unhappily, that their employer's pension plans are so restricted that virtually no benefits are available. Olga Jensen worked about 18 years for a San Francisco marine transportation company that suddenly was liquidated a couple of years ago. She was 47 at the time and expected that she would receive some settlement from a pension fund for her years of service.

To her surprise, Miss Jensen found that the fund only paid a pension to employes working to the age of 65 and that when the plan terminated, her expected Social Security benefits were deducted before any pension was calculated. As a result, she got nothing. "It was more than shabby," she says. She worked for a time at another company but decided the risks of losing another pension were too great. Taking a pay cut, she moved to the U.S. Customs Office, where the pension provisions were more liberal.

Lower-level workers aren't the only employes encountering pension problems. "The loss of pension credits is spreading into new sectors," says Merton C. Bernstein, an Ohio State University law professor. "Manufacturers are laying off white-collar managerial people."

A 49-year-old middle-management official at Texas Instruments is less than a year away from meeting the age 50 pension eligibility requirement, but he figures his chances are "less than 50-50" of making it in the face of major layoffs by the Dallas company. "It's like being in an artillery barrage when they have you zeroed in," he says.

One 58-year-old bank executive in the Midwest was recently fired just 18 months short of having 10 years on the job, a requirement for a pension. Bitter about the treatment, he calls such requirements "archaic and obsolete." He adds: "A place like this constantly reminds you that maybe you don't get much pay but a big percentage of your overall compensation is in various benefits, including the pension plan. When they forfeit the pension they fatten their own purse."

A 44-year-old Cleveland banker, fired after seven and a half years, frets that "I'm half way through my working career and I'm starting over again on another potential pension. If you change jobs every 10 years or so, you're not a job skipper in any sense of the word. Yet two or three moves and you can effectively end up without anything at all."

Such problems are especially widespread among professional and technical people out of work due to defense spending cutbacks. "We're getting some pretty pathetic letters," says one California job retraining specialist. "Because of the ups and downs of our business, they suddenly find themselves near retirement, laid off, with no pensions." One study found the average engineer spends less than six years at any single job, far short of most pension eligibility requirements.

In boom times, of course, high-salaried engineers didn't worry about pensions. "I've been buying a little real estate and thought I wouldn't worry about pensions very much," says John R. Goodwin, 49, an aeronautical engineer who has had 11 employers in his career but has never qualified for a private pension. He lost his last job, which paid $17,500 a year, just three months short of qualifying for a plan.

With hundreds of his colleagues out of work, however, he finds his real estate holdings, including his own $45,000 home in a Los Angeles suburb, impossible to sell. He has taken some temporary $3-an-hour drafting jobs and hopes to do some consulting work, but he figures he has lost any chance of ever earning a pension. "As far as I'm personally concerned," he says, "I think the game is up."

Alarmed at such developments, unions are taking increasingly tough stances in negotiations, seeking to improve pensions even at the sacrifice of current wages. "Unions are saying it is senseless to stick money in the pay envelope just to let Uncle Sam get it," says Robert F. Rainey, supervisor of pensions and trusts for H. K. Porter Co., Pittsburgh, an industrial equipment concern. He figures his company's pension costs have almost doubled in two years.

The United Rubber Workers Union this year boosted pension benefits to $7.75 a month per year of service, almost 50% higher than the previous level. In October Owens-Illinois Inc., Toledo, signed a new three-year contract with the Glass Bottle Blowers Association that will boost pension benefits in 1973 to $7 a month from $4 a month currently for each year of service. The union represents most of the company's 20,000 employes in 18 glass container plants.

But fatter pensions alone don't protect workers from layoffs, so unions are also seeking more liberal eligibility requirements. A major issue in the current strike against General Motors is a UAW demand for a full pension of $500 a month after 30 years. GM has offered such terms for workers at age 58. " 'Thirty and out' could double pension costs," says one corporate official.

Pension disillusionment has led to considerable pressure in Congress for tighter Federal controls and looser eligibility requirements. One measure sponsored by Sen. Jacob Javits of New York would set up a reinsurance fund to pay benefits that employers couldn't cover in the event they are forced to go out of business. It would also create an independent pension commission, similar to the Securities and Exchange Commission, to handle pension regulatory matters.

Moreover, a number of unions and employes are seeking fully "portable" pensions. Such a system, already used by some unions with industry-wide contracts, permits workers to simply change jobs and carry their accrued pension benefits with them. White-collar workers caught in the economic downturn are particularly interested in such a plan. The American Chemical Society is exploring portability for its members, and an official of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics says: "I know of four companies that six months ago would have shot you if you stood on their property and uttered the words 'portable pensions.' These companies are now investigating it. The climate is changing."

WALL STREET JOURNAL, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1970

Publey Opinion

Repression: It's Not Here Yet, but...

11-4-70 W-S-J

By DAVID C. ANDERSON

In a recent campaign speech, Spiro Agnew used an alalogy to describe how the Administration hopes to deal with political terrorism. "Just as we are stopping inflation without recession," he said, so will the Government seek to control political unrest without repression.

If the analogy is apt, it is also disturbing, perhaps because of the feeling it leaves that it may be far more apt than Mr. Agnew or anyone else would like to think. It is not yet clear that the Administration can bring inflation under control without deeper economic troubles, and there seems to be similar room for doubt about the idea of controlling terrorism without repression.

Even more disturbing, perhaps, is the fuzzy quality of the debate over the whole question. Mr. Agnew's comment was only a glancing reference; he never sought to develop the idea as a major campaign theme. And though some Democrats and others have voiced concern about the future of democratic traditions in America, few seem to see the issue very clearly.

There is great reason for confusion, of course, for the word "repression" is bandied with increasing carelessness. Its most fashionable use—by various kinds of radicals who assert that American society is repressive by nature—is largely unwarranted.

The Radical Impression

Repression in the radicals' understanding seems mostly a function of their own alienation, which has incurred the hostility of the larger society. One can argue over the merits of the alienation, and recognize that sometimes the hostility has led to illegal overreaction against the more flamboyantly alienated or those who profess openly to favor the destruction of America. But one cannot say that they are victims of true repression, which would involve the denial of free speech and due process as a matter of official policy.

The argument—or non-argument—fostered by the radical charges, however, too often seems to obscure a more legitimate cause for worry: The *potential* for true repression in America has risen to a troubling level.

The sources of the potential lie in some of the well chronicled changes of the last decade or so, whose long range meanings one can only begin to fathom.

There was the social-political change: Sustained prosperity, demographic shifts, the Vietnam war and other developments, all seemed finally to coincide at the end of the sixties in such a way that huge numbers of Americans began to grow disillusioned with the democratic process.

A new factionalism arose; in the extreme the left turned to militant intolerance and revolutionary violence; the right to overreaction and vigilantism. Though the actual anti-democratic behavior was limited to a very few, they could claim sympathy in some degree from large segments of the population; the Panthers. It's a mood, a tone, a license. The Justice Department sets a tone toward dissent, toward the Panthers. They circulate profiles of the leaders to the local police, there's a police raid in one city, and then another city gets the idea by example. . . ."

It may be pointed out, of course, that blaming Mr. Agnew for the Kent deaths amounts to gross oversimplification. The complex pot of campus and anti-war unrest was boiling vigorously long before he came along; he is entitled to his freedom of speech along with other Americans; and anyway, whatever his tone, much of what he says is true.

Furthermore, if there is an anti-Panther mood at the Justice Department, it is probably quite justified in the case of an avowedly revolutionary group with open ties to hostile foreign governments. Few, surely, would question an anti-Mafia mood at the Department—though, significantly, some Italian-Americans claim that it too has come to include unwarranted ethnic prejudice.

And, one must recognize, there is also a definite anti-police mood among the Panthers and other militants, a mood which could also be taken as the source of an informal, unconscious, nationwide "conspiracy" to snipe at the police.

But none of this should mean that Mr. Clark's concern is unwarranted. It is justified not because of any idea that the Panthers are unfairly pursued, but because the official mood may be taken by the pursuers as license to ignore the democratic guarantees normally afforded to any citizen, however criminal or revolutionary he may become.

In this light, for example, one may suggest that it is, after all, hardly essential for a well commanded, professional police force to make an arrest by opening fire on suspects who offer little provocation, as seems to have happened in a number of recent incidents between black militants and police. Or course it is true that the average policeman is only human; he may have trouble showing professional restraint because he has strong reasons for feeling contemptuous of the militants. But this is no excuse; rather, it is exactly the point.

Indeed, the tendency of the new politics and the new technologies to magnify the influence of the irrational in the democratic process ought to be taken very seriously by any responsible national leader. For even the appearance of undemocratic behavior sanctioned by official government may have implications as serious as the breakdown in respect for authority, and may even be a source of it.

If the problem is easy to state, however, it is difficult to grasp in practical terms.

How does a government restore a sense of maturity and perspective in an increasingly polarized society, especially when there are substantial arguments and deep feelings at both poles? What should it do about the impact of television, which can't, after all, be eliminated and shouldn't be controlled? How should it handle the use of the surveillance and information processing equipment, which has its essential and legitimate uses and which probably will be used by somebody, no matter what?

More germanely, perhaps, how does a leader keep from giving in to the powerful temptations to seek greater personal power from the polarized politics, or to abuse his access to the powers of communications and information he remains relatively free to command?

The questions are so unprecedented that a reporter bringing them up in a conversation with Richard G. Kleindienst, the Deputy Attorney General, and a man who claims to reflect the Administration's view of repression, finds him somewhat defensive.

Mr. Kleindienst concedes that unaccountable power of the Attorney General to authorize eavesdropping represents some dangers to freedom, especially when the eavesdropping is only for surveillance and not for use in court.

But the point, he contends, is that the Attorney General is a cautious man who is not about to misuse such authority. Indeed, he argues, since Mr. Mitchell is concerned with leaving a good record for the history books, his taking personal responsibility for the eavesdropping actually amounts to a check on his use of the power.

The President's Beliefs

Furthermore, he goes on, the President shares a deep sensitivity to the question of Constitutional liberties; his personal beliefs and attitudes actually are the best bulwark possible to prevent the collapse of American democracy as the far-out radicals stir up angry feelings of reaction.

And perhaps this reflects more of a policy than it seems at first glance. Whatever its sources or its dangers, the President clearly has concluded that the net result of the new changes is a surge of rightist feeling. And he seems to see his role, as Stewart Alsop suggested recently, as similar to that of Franklin Roosevelt facing a surge of leftist feeling: To accommodate and channel the new passions in ways that keep them from harming America drastically.

Thus the deliberate, rather than precipitate withdrawal from Indochina; the public embrace of the hard-hats; the tough-sounding anti-crime laws; the exhortations to the electorate to get back at the bombers and the "obscenity shouters" by voting for Republicans.

If this is a rational policy, however, one still cannot help a depressing feeling that the drift to repression, very much indeed like economic inflation, is stubbornly larger than government. For it is hard to see how a strategy of the right will do that much to reverse the impact of the technologies or wind down the escalation they abet of terrorism, fear and popular pressure for order. And history has shown, sadly, that the popular pressure will always prevail.

Mr. Anderson is a member of the Journal's editorial-page staff.

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A new factionalism arose; in the extreme the left turned to militant intolerance and revolutionary violence; the right to overreaction and vigilantism. Though the actual anti-democratic behavior was limited to a very few, they could claim sympathy in some degree from large segments of the population; the situation seemed to be evolving inexorably toward the classic confrontation of an anarchist minority and a majority demanding a return to tranquility at any price.

There was the increased mesmerization of the public by the electronic media. It eroded the traditional insulating time between events and their social impact, distorting perspective and judgment in the process. To some, anyone with long hair became a revolutionary; to others, the local traffic cop became an agent of evil oppressiveness.

And of course, the communications factor also meant that the distortions could begin to fulfill themselves as realities. People like Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman could play for media impact and win large followings. Publicity from a single bombing could set off a rash of bomb threats and more actual bombings.

Beyond communications, other new technologies grew to have an even more direct relevance to the increased threat to democratic freedoms.

Recent advances in electronic miniaturization and other areas vastly increased the range and efficiency of eavesdropping devices for example.

And the uncomfortable implications of such increased capability were hardly diminished by the desire of some public officials to claim broad powers to use it. Attorney General John Mitchell felt free to declare unilaterally and rather formally last year at the opening of the Chicago conspiracy trial that Government agents had a right to eavesdrop on anybody the Attorney General decides is a threat to the national security, without any court review, and without having to disclose what has been overheard.

Computers have also had an impact. Last spring it was reported that the Administration had decided to organize and intensify its surveillance of radicals in the United States because of their increasingly violent activity. Then during the summer it was disclosed that various agencies of Government had created a computerized data bank to centralize the information the Government collects on citizens and make it available at the punch of a key.

Should an Administration decide that a Quebec-style crackdown on dissidents were in order, presumably, the computers would play a vital role.

Straining the Democratic Process

If all of these developments are disturbing in themselves, even more disturbing is the apparent symbiosis between them. If the new political tensions, the communications, and the information and surveillance technology obviously have not yet destroyed the democratic process, they are straining it.

This, indeed, is the nub of the repression issue in its modern sense. Because of the divisive politics and the instant communications, it's suggested with good reason, the moods, prejudices and emotions of men in power, beyond more rational words and carefully framed policies, have a heightened impact both on the public and on the bureaucracies of government. The new, readily abusable powers of information and surveillance make it all the easier for the moods and emotions to play an unhealthy role in practical terms.

Thus, some are tempted to blame the inflammatory anti-student rhetoric of Spiro Agnew for the shootings of students by National Guardsmen at Kent State University. And when New Left journalist Jack Newfield recently asked Ramsey Clark if there is a systematic Justice Department conspiracy against the Black Panthers, the former Attorney General replied:

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Mr. Anderson is a member of the Journal's editorial-page staff.

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Brewers Being Investigated for Job Bias Relating to Hiring Rules for U.S. Suppliers

11-4-70 Discrimination - Race

By BYRON E. CALAME
By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — Federal bias fighters are quietly mounting a broad investigation of job discrimination in the brewing industry.

A top official of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance says it appears that minority-hiring regulations for Government contractors "are not being complied with" by several of the nation's largest brewers. If the brewers who do business with Uncle Sam—mostly beer sales to the military—don't respond to the regulations, this official vows, they could lose their right to bid on Federal contracts.

Several Federal officials say that some of the apparent job bias in the industry may be due to union referral-hall practices that discriminate against Negroes and other minority groups. If that proves to be the case, the Government would eventually take legal action against the unions, they warn.

A Federal survey of seven major brewers shows that blacks make up "pretty close to" 5% of their employes, one insider says. Officials say Negroes account for about 11.5% of the work force in the food industry, of which brewing is a part.

Seven Concerns Involved

The figures compiled in recent months cover Anheuser-Busch Inc. and Falstaff Brewing Corp., both of St. Louis; Pabst Brewing Co. and Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co., both of Milwaukee; Carling Brewing Co., a Cleveland-based subsidiary of Canadian Breweries Ltd.; C. Schmidt & Sons, Philadelphia, and Lucky Breweries Inc., San Francisco.

Preliminary and incomplete survey reports covering from a third to a half of the work force at each brewery shows the percentage of blacks is 2.2% at Anheuser-Busch and 2.5% at Falstaff. The figures for the other companies are Schmidt, 3.7%; Pabst, 6.4%; Schlitz, 7.3%; Lucky, 10.3%, and Carling, 14.3%.

Officials won't disclose the complete and final figures for each of the breweries, but they do confirm that the percentages of blacks in the total work force at most of the concerns are "roughly the same" as the proportions reflected in the partial reports. Information supplied to Federal job-bias agencies is considered confidential.

Requirements Explained

Minority-hiring regulations for Federal contractors, in essence, require that the percentage of Negroes in each individual plant should roughly approximate the proportion of blacks in the local community's population and labor force. In St. Louis, for example, 1967 Census Bureau estimates indicate Negroes make up 37% of the population; the figure is 34% in Cleveland and 14% in Milwaukee.

Where the number of Negro employes falls short of this requirement, contractors are required to take affirmative action by setting specific goals and timetables for achieving compliance.

In the brewery industry, much of the Federal officials' attention so far has focused on Anheuser-Busch, which employs about 10,500 persons at its various facilities around the country. Contract-compliance inspectors from the Agriculture Department, which is responsible for monitoring the affirmative action minority-hiring activities of all contractors supplying food products to the Government, visited the St. Louis-based concern last August. Officials quickly followed up with a check on the company's minority-hiring practices in September.

The Federal officials' interest in Anheuser-Busch coincides with a boycott of the company's products launched last summer by the Congress of Racial Equality in St. Louis. CORE leaders are demanding that the brewery hire 1,000 Negroes by next Oct. 1, replace retiring workers with blacks and submit quarterly reports to CORE on hiring. Part of CORE's strategy, St. Louis sources say, is to try to force Anheuser-Busch to deal more with it instead of the more conservative Urban League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Without mentioning Anheuser-Busch by name, Assistant Labor Secretary Arthur Fletcher indicated at a St. Louis news conference last month that data on more than half of that brewer's workers showed only 109 were Negroes. None of the available data on the brewing industry deals specifically with Spanish-surnamed Americans or other minority groups.

Federal officials unhappy with Anheuser-Busch's efforts to comply with minority hiring regulations imposed on most Federal contractors last February claim about 80% of the company's job applicants in the St. Louis area are Negroes. One Government insider asserts that applications from about 1,000 blacks are currently on file at Anheuser-Busch.

Actions Are Defended

August A. Busch Jr., president of Anheuser-Busch, contends that the company's "implementation of equal employment opportunities is unmatched in the industry . . . and what we are doing is right." The brewery boasts that "blacks are employed on every level of Anheuser-Busch's operations . . . from management positions on down."

A company-prepared "feature supplement" carried by three Negro newspapers in St. Louis last August claimed that as of July 1970 Negroes made up 19% of the workers in its breweries in Houston, Jacksonville, Fla., and Columbus, Ohio. The supplement asserted that 11% of all workers in the St. Louis brewery were blacks.

Federal officials, however, remain unimpressed. Says one: "This situation really stands out when you stop to consider that 50% to 60% of the people living around the brewery in the inner city (in St. Louis) are minorities."

Still, Federal bias fighters stress that part of the blame for the alleged job discrimination may wind up in the laps of certain unions representing brewing-industry workers. Major unions in this industry include the Teamsters and the Brewery Workers. Federal officials say that many of the union locals have labor contracts that require employers to hire through a referral hall.

"The union referral system—formally or informally—traditionally produces a lack of affirmative action," says one official.

The minority-hiring regulations spelled out last February require that an employer make a "good faith" effort to carry out an affirmative-action plan and achieve compliance. Records kept by employers to document their "good faith" efforts, Government officials concede, can later by used to pinpoint any job discrimination on the part of unions. If this evidence clearly reflects a "pattern or practice" of discrimination, the office of Federal Contract compliance can ask the Justice Department to file suit against the unions.

One Federal official asserts that the "biggest problems" in the brewing industry involve unionized plants. "The nonunion breweries are generally moving very aggressively," he says.

Reports filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission earlier this year by union locals with referral hiring halls also reflect the brewing industry's problem, officials say. Three brewery workers union locals in St. Louis with 2,167 members reported that only nine members, or 0.4%, were Negroes. The comparable percentage for all the city's nonconstruction union locals that reported was 16.3%, and 6.5% of the members of building-trades locals with hiring halls were Negroes.

Standard was called off in May 1969, it was held up twice to give Indiana Standard time to "evaluate uncertainties arising from widely publicized events in Peru."

One of the events was the seizing the previous October of most of the assets of International Petroleum Co., a 99.9%-owned subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey). The Peruvian military junta said when seizing the company that it owed $690 million or more for alleged profiteering and tax evasion.

Robert F. Koenig, then Cerro's president, had told the company's annual meeting earlier in the year: "We've been approached, like any good-looking girl, by companies from A to Z."

The announcement also said Studebaker-Worthington would change its name to Studebaker Corp. Mr. Ruttenberg would be chairman and chief executive; Mr. Koenig, who is currently chairman of Cerro, would become chairman of the executive committee and vice chairman of the firm, and Mr. Murphy would be president and chief operating officer.

The combination of Cerro and Studebaker-Worthington would result in a company with annual sales of more than $1.3 billion, the statement concluded. Studebaker-Worthington had sales in 1969 of slightly more than $801 million. Cerro's sales were slightly more than $477 million.

The boards of both companies are scheduled to vote on the plan next week, according to Leslie T. Welsh, a Studebaker-Worthington senior vice president. Stockholders of both companies will vote early in 1971.

There are about 48,000 Studebaker-Worthington holders, according to Mr. Welsh, and about 23,000 Cerro holders.

GOP Anti-Crime Line Falls Short of Goal, Buoying the Democrats

* * *

Sen. Muskie Rated His Party's Front-Runner for '72; Role Of Agnew Is Question Mark

11-6-70

By NORMAN C. MILLER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—President Nixon's slashing law-and-order line in this fall's election campaign failed to overwhelm Democrats, giving them new confidence in their ability to exploit economic and other issues in the battle for the White House in 1972.

This conclusion is being reached here on the basis of the week's election results. Other important findings are emerging as well:

—Maine Sen. Edmund Muskie, winning widespread party praise for an election-eve TV talk scorning the Nixon campaign tactics, now returns to the Senate firmly established as the front-runner for the party's Presidential nomination. But the Democrats' feeling of enhanced Presidential prospects will intensify the scramble for the nomination by such other contenders as George McGovern of South Dakota, Harold Hughes of Iowa and Birch Bayh of Indiana.

—Vice President Agnew, having failed to purge most of his "radical-liberal" targets from the Senate, could be confronted with a campaign by GOP liberals and moderates to dump him from the 1972 ticket. The failure of the GOP's Agnew-powered drive to win Senate control leaves the party with only a slim chance of capturing the Senate in the next couple of elections, for far fewer Senate Democrats will face risky races in 1972 and 1974 than did this year.

—The Democrats' sweeping gains in gubernatorial contests greatly improve the party's prospects for maintaining control of the House all through the '70s. New Democratic governors will have a strong influence in redrawing Congressional districts as required next year by the new census in ways that favor Democrats. The party's House position, moreover, is bolstered by the modest gains it scored in Tuesday's House races.

An Issue Loses Its Punch

The early political portents emerging from the off-year elections may well change unpredictably over the next two years, of course. But for now, they will influence 1972 strategy-setting that will begin almost immediately in both parties.

While the Democrats draw encouragement from the elections, it would be too much to say that the results are a severe personal defeat for President Nixon. The GOP did gain a bit in the Senate; the outcome might well have been worse without the heavy Nixon-Agnew intervention. The small Democratic House gains hardly demonstrate a repudiation of the President. And Mr. Nixon wasn't personally involved in many of the state contests where Democrats elected governors.

Still, the results were disappointing for the President and probably will cause a change of his political tactics. The Nixon rhetoric on crime, campus unrest and other social disorders will likely be deemphasized. With a few notable exceptions, the Nixon-Agnew effort to depict Senate Democrats as soft on law and order simply didn't work politically. In several states, such as Illinois and California, liberal Senate Democratic candidates successfully deflected the law-and-order attack by stressing their own opposition to violence and beat their Republican foes on the basis of personality and by lambasting Nixon economic policies and other alleged short-comings.

To be sure, the Senate victories of such conservatives as James Buckley of New York, J. Glenn Beall of Maryland and William Brock of Tennessee, as well as Ronald Reagan's reelection as California governor, show that a tough law-and-order stance can sometimes work. But with many successful Democratic candidates talking a good law-and-order game themselves, the issue loses its big punch as the dominant Republican campaign theme.

Assessing Agnew's Role

Though the White House has high praise for Spiro Agnew's campaign efforts, at least a few liberal and moderate Republicans hope that in time the President may dramatically signal a move away from the right by dumping the Vice President. The Agnew-led purge of Republican Sen. Charles Goodell was deeply resented by GOP Senators friendly to the liberal New Yorker, and some of them would like nothing better than a reciprocal purge of Mr. Agnew.

But the VP may well be stronger than his party enemies. He can claim to have helped a few Republicans get elected to the Senate. Moreover, his personal appeal remains strong in the South, where GOP candidates generally fared poorly. And looking south, Mr. Nixon still must worry about staving off 1972 inroads into the region's conservative vote by George Wallace, reelected as governor of Alabama and readying himself for another third-party run for the Presidency.

While Mr. Nixon sorts out conflicting pressures from right and left, resurgent Democrats will be competing zestfully for the chance to oppose him. Sen. Muskie, strengthened by a big win in Maine, already has an imposing campaign organization at work. He will attempt to capitalize on his center position in the party, cementing support from labor and other old-line forces while attempting to gain more backing among liberal activists who suspect he's too cautious. Mr. Muskie will try to show that his low-key, let's-talk-sense style, as dis-

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GOP Anti-Crime Line Falls Short Of Goal, Buoying the Democrats

Continued From First Page

played on election eve, makes him the best candidate to compete with Mr. Nixon for the votes of the silent majority.

But more controversial candidates can be expected to fight all the harder for a nomination that now seems worth a great deal. Sen. McGovern, hero of some antiwar activists, is expected to declare his candidacy, perhaps within a few months, and battle Mr. Muskie in 1972 primaries all the way from New Hampshire to California. Iowa's rugged-looking Sen. Hughes, who also has fans in peace groups, is putting together the nucleus of a campaign organization. Handsome Sen. Bayh of Indiana makes no secret of his interest, and some Democrats are encouraging equally handsome Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota to make a bid.

More distant possibilities also exist. The remote chance that New York Mayor John Lindsay will wind up on the Democratic ticket can't be ruled out, though defeats of Lindsay-backed candidates (Arthur Goldberg for governor, Mr. Goodell for the Senate) don't improve the prospects. Sen. Edward Kennedy's reelection victory in Massachusetts just might pull him back into Presidential contention, though he insists not. Hubert Humphrey's big Senate win in Minnesota, which helped pull in a Democratic governor, conceivably could rehabilitate him as a contender. Kennedy in-law Sargent Shriver, who took to the hustings for numerous Democrats, has worked himself into the speculation.

Young new Democratic victors seem certain to be talked up as Vice-Presidential possibilities. Among them are new Senators John Tunney of California and Adlai Stevenson III of Illinois, and Gov.-elect John Gilligan of Ohio.

Whoever winds up on the Democratic ticket, the crowded field of contenders will serve the important purpose of getting the party charged up for the Presidential campaign. Bright new faces and famous old names will likely be able to draw big crowds to party fund-raising affairs and thus fill the Democrats' depleted campaign coffers.

Some new Democratic Southern stars, such as Sen.-elect Lawton Chiles of Florida and Gov.-elect Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, may give the South new influence in the party. Their success in overcoming the Republicans' heralded "Southern strategy" is bound to make them attractions within the party.

More concretely, the Democratic net gain of nine to 12 governors (three are still undecided) puts the party in a good position to maintain its control of the U.S. House. With redistricting looming in almost every state, Republicans had hoped to win enough state legislatures and governorships to insure that many of their 1972 House candidates would have the advantage after lines were redrawn.

But in California, for example, Democrats regained control of both the state assembly and Senate and thus, despite Republican Reagan's reelection as governor, the district lines probably will be drawn in a way that would deny the GOP the six to 12 House seats it had hoped to gain from a Republican-controlled redistricting plan. Similarly, the loss of the Florida governorship to the Democrats will make it harder for the GOP to benefit from the three additional House seats the state is expected to gain because of population increases.

Population trends are such that the GOP still may benefit somewhat from redistricting; the general shift of population to the suburbs should help the Republicans. But the party controlling redistricting in a state can maximize its chances through artful gerrymandering, and thus the widespread GOP statehouse defeats cast a decade-long shadow over the party's chances of gaining control of the House for the first time since 1953.

Down the Middle

Election Likely to Move Democrats in Congress, Nixon Toward Center

Administration May Soften Tone; Some of Its Strong Critics in Senate Depart

A Noisy Lame-Duck Session

11-5-70 — 11-5-70

By ARLEN J. LARGE AND JOHN PIERSON
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — This week's unexcited voice of the voter promises to send both President Nixon and the still-Democratic Congress rushing hell-bent back toward the political center.

Mr. Nixon gave Democrats a bad fright with his law-and-order onslaught. All fall they scrambled, American flags shining in their lapels, to show a stern face toward rioters. The experience is likely to have a lasting effect on "social issue" voting patterns during the 92nd Congress convening next January.

But despite scattered casualties among some prominent Nixon critics, the Administration's strategy really didn't work. Missed was the statistically promising chance to capture control of the Senate; William Fulbright will still be glowering at Vice President Agnew as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The House will be a bit more Democratic—and more than a bit more liberal—than it is now.

So Mr. Nixon will probably try a different approach when sketching his legislative and political reelection blueprint for 1972. The middle-income, middle-American voter remains the great prize, but the Nixon regime will offer him something more substantial than speeches against the "radical liberals."

Pushing Spending Higher

Sources throughout the Administration report an inventive list of ideas with blue-collar appeal is under consideration: A massive new health insurance plan; help for victims of crime; reforms in auto insurance; Federal standards tending to lift unemployment compensation; and possible changes to make Social Security payroll taxes look less burdensome.

The final package, however it is assembled, clearly will push Federal spending higher, risking fatter budget deficits and a new surge of inflation. But Mr. Nixon's political and economic advisers are saying this kind of stimulus is what's needed to push unemployment back down to a winning level by 1972; if prices threaten to take off again, the President can always start jawboning against inflationary increases and some orthodox Republican economists even think the 1972 stakes would justify some kind of wage-price controls.

Thus, the outlook is for a new, upbeat Nixon pitch to the middle electorate—a pitch quite different from the angry rhetoric of recent months. "This year," says a White House aide with a chuckle, "it's been throw the rascals out; in 1972 it'll be keep the rascals in."

The Lame-Duck Session

But any early Administration attempt to sound positive new themes could be drowned out by the din from the old 91st Congress, which begins its lame-duck session Nov. 16. Senate Democrats will be meeting in a spirit of revenge for the election defeats and insults they suffered, while GOP lawmakers blame Democratic bungling for being dragged back into session at all.

One of Tuesday's Senate victors, Democrat Adlai Stevenson III of Illinois, will immediately take the seat he won from Republican Ralph Smith, an appointee serving in the place of the late Everett Dirksen. The liberal Mr. Stevenson's presence could be offset for at least part of the lame-duck session by James Buckley, the new Conservative Party Senator from New York taking over the purged liberal Republican, Charles Goodell.

Post-election bitterness might make it more difficult for Administration loyalists and liberal Democrats to link up and save Mr. Nixon's welfare reform bill on the Senate floor. Another Administration project adversely affected by the campaign's rhetoric may be a $290 million appropriation for the supersonic transport; a sizable number of Senators seeking to dodge the "big spender" label promised to vote against it. And campaign arguments over spending priorities are sure to continue this month in the form of another attempt by Senate liberals to cut Pentagon appropriations.

Some Nixon Critics Depart

In January, though, Mr. Nixon's policies should have a bit more running room in a Senate that's somewhat more conservative. Republicans have made a net pickup of two and possibly three seats, depending on the outcome of a near draw in Indiana between Vance Hartke, the liberal Democratic incumbent, and conservative Republican Rep. Richard Roudebush. Even without the Indiana victory, the 45 sure Republican Senators will be the highest number in 12 years.

Gone from the Senate will be some strong Democratic critics of Mr. Nixon's foreign and domestic policies—Albert Gore of Tennessee, Joseph Tydings of Maryland, Stephen Young of Ohio (who's retiring)—replaced by Republicans who campaigned as Nixon supporters. The change is even somewhat greater than party labels would indicate: Though the GOP failed to elect its candidate in Texas, Democrat Lloyd Bentsen is more conservative than the outgoing Ralph Yarborough, and New York's Mr. Buckley is more attuned to Administration policies than was Sen. Goodell.

On the other hand, the election of Connecticut's Republican Lowell Weicker probably won't bring Mr. Nixon any more support in defense and foreign-policy fights than he got from defeated Thomas Dodd, a firmly anti-Communist Democrat. And near-automatic support on such questions from Republican Sen. Smith of Illinois and George Murphy of California will give way to near-automatic opposition from their liberal Democratic replacements, Mr. Stevenson and Rep. John Tunney.

In the House the Democrats showed a net gain of eight seats, maybe nine. But this masks the influx of perhaps a score of yeasty new Democrats who benefited from vacancies and primary victories, as well as Tuesday's balloting. Such activist newcomers as Father Robert Drinan of Massachusetts, Bella Abzug of New

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Down the Middle: Election Is Seen Moving Congress, Nixon to Center

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York and Ronald Dellums of California are likely to have little reverence for musty House traditions. The strengthened liberal wing among House Democrats should bring new pressure for changes in the seniority system and perhaps help the candidacy of Arizona's Morris Udall for Majority Leader against more establishmentarian rivals.

Within the total House membership, however, the coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats is likely to remain a dominant force on what's come to be known as the "social issue"—matters dealing with crime, drugs, campus unrest and racial resentments. The untested new element next year will be Congressional response to the Administration's forthcoming economic policies.

Pressure to Accelerate

Although Mr. Nixon's first priority now would seem to be to get the economy moving again and cut the unemployment rolls by 1972, there is considerable disagreement within the Administration about how fast to go and what method to use.

One high official contends that Mr. Nixon's current policies, more or less unchanged, will succeed in achieving recovery on schedule. But an Administration economist foresees "tremendous pressure to greatly accelerate the economy." This official reasons that "to the extent the economy was an issue, it really hurt us, according to all reports." Despite some GOP gains, he says, "the political types will claim we would have done even better if it weren't for the economy."

Whether the President will allow the budget deficit to rise above the $10 billion to $20 billion already expected this fiscal year and next remains to be seen. While acknowledging that outlays could rise as much as $35 billion next year if the Government failed to adopt a tough budget policy, Deputy Director Caspar Weinberger of the Office of Management and Budget has vowed to find ways of paring even the so-called uncontrollable spending programs.

If economic stimulus is needed, Mr. Weinberger says, the Federal Reserve can pump out more money. But Administration pressure on the independent Reserve Board to loosen up on credit could make for rocky relations. At least some of the influential central bankers are in no mood to take the blame for any new inflationary flareup that might result.

Another question expected to revive is whether the White House should resort to verbal pressure against large wage and price increases. With expansionary forces likely to be unleashed to regain rapid growth, one official declares that this sort of Presidential leadership will be vital to prevent a dangerously rapid inflation. Another cautions that even last summer's mild finger-pointing at tire price increases "didn't win us any friends" in the industry. Nonetheless, the President's Council of Economic Advisers is expected to go considerably further in singling out excessive wage-price moves in its second Inflation Alert, due in mid-November.

Helping Crime Victims

Easing of inflation and a return to full employment could go far toward soothing the "middle-American" dissatisfaction that prevented Republicans from doing better in Tuesday's election. But there are strong indications that Mr. Nixon also plans to offer the "silent majority" some positive new programs starting in January. In some instances these will vie with similar Democratic proposals.

The program that comes up most often in conversation with White House aides is a health plan. The President has said he wants some sort of "family" health insurance plan to replace the Medicaid program for the needy. The Administration would like to present this as a supplement to the welfare reform measure now under consideration in Congress. But even if that bill is stymied or beaten in the coming lame-duck session, the family health insurance plan would be pushed on its own. Details of the plan are still being worked out, but it would likely cover more families than are eligible for welfare or medicaid.

With most of his anticrime proposals now on the law books, Mr. Nixon may shift the emphasis to helping the victims of crime. Under Justile Department study is a proposal that would grant tax exemptions to persons who invest in burglar alarms and another that would indemnify persons injured in robberies and other crimes. In addition, officials are considering a proposal that would make it a Federal crime to shoot a policeman.

In his State of the Union Message in January, Mr. Nixon is expected to make a strong pitch for the blue-collar vote. And the Administration is likely to refocus a number of existing programs toward lower-income whites and away from blacks. Model Cities program managers are now selecting several cities in which to experiment with community-wide rehabilitation; this would extend planning beyond the original target neighborhood (often black) to other neighborhoods in need of uplift (poor-white, blue-collar).

Debtors' Dilemma

Critics Charge Laws On Bankruptcies Fail To Protect Individuals

Creditors Often Continue Trying to Collect Funds Through Suits, Harassment

But Some Debtors at Fault

11-5-70

By RICHARD A. SHAFFER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BOGALUSA, La. — Corbett Taylor "just laughed" when Home Finance Service filed suit against him to collect a $568 personal loan. "I had already gone bankrupt on that loan," he says, "and I was sure I was safe."

But Mr. Taylor didn't laugh long. By the time it was all over, Home Finance had collected not only the original $568 but also legal fees, court costs and interest, which brought the total to $939.

A fate similar to Mr. Taylor's appears likely for many of the 178,202 persons who filed for personal bankruptcy in the year ended last June 30. "The plain truth is that for many, many people today, bankruptcy just isn't solving their problems," says Royal E. Jackson, chief of the bankruptcy division of the administrative office of U.S. courts. One reason is that, contrary to common beliefs, creditors don't automatically mark off a debt once a person is bankrupt.

A Lack of Legal Protection?

Obviously, many who take the bankruptcy route are not innocent victims of misfortune and therefore deserving of creditors' solicitude. Indeed, some creditors say such innocent victims represent a smaller percentage of personal bankruptcies than ever before. Nevertheless, many authorities contend that, despite changes made last year by Congress to rectify the situation, bankruptcy laws still fall far short of their basic aim—to extricate persons hopelessly mired in debt and enable them to get a fresh start.

Consider Corbett Taylor's case:

In 1962 Mr. Taylor, then 30, went through Federal bankruptcy court after a fire destroyed his home and a seven-month strike at Crown Zellerbach cut off his $5,000-a-year income as a boiler-room helper. His debts mounted to $16,350.

But a year after Mr. Taylor was "discharged" from his debts—the term used in such cases—he was sued in Bogalusa city court by Home Finance, a subsidiary of CIT Financial Corp. Mr. Taylor says he didn't have the money for a lawyer, and when he failed to show up in court, the judge returned a default judgment against him. This was later upheld by an appeals court. Home Finance then initiated garnishment proceedings and collected the total of $939.

Mr. Taylor concludes that he "didn't gain much, if anything, by bankruptcy. My advice if you're planning to try it is—don't."

Bankruptcy is a Federal process governed by the Bankruptcy Act of 1898, which has been amended several times. A referee in bankruptcy presides over proceedings, which take place in the bankruptcy division of a Federal district court. Although he acts like a judge, the referee is only an employe of the court and is under the supervision of a Federal district judge.

Procedure for a Bankruptcy

To "take bankruptcy," a person files a schedule of assets and liabilities with the clerk of a district court. Creditors are given a period of time to file claims against the estate, and a [illegible] for the estate is usually appointed by [illegible] creditors.

Debtors' Dilemma: Bankruptcy Laws Are Failing to Protect Individuals

11-5-70

Continued From First Page

fees and would pay the debt in order to end hounding by the hospital.

The Congressionally approved changes, which take effect next year, require that creditors seeking to reassert debts after bankruptcy file such suits in Federal courts, not in state courts as has been the general rule. Theoretically, such a change would place all the information in the hands of a single court, thus lessening chances of an unfair decision. The new law also sets a time limit for the creditor to try to force the debtor to reassume an obligation.

Some skeptics, however, believe the changes may compound problems. One of these is Linn K. Twinem, chairman of the American Bar Association committee on consumer bankruptcy. He concedes that current bankruptcy laws are "in a rather sad state." But he doesn't believe the new law is the answer because he says, among other things, it will encourage court congestion.

At present, he contends, there is a "practical restraint" on creditors because they must face the "burden and expense of filing suit in state court" to try to force a consumer to reassume a debt after bankruptcy. Under the new law, creditors won't face additional costs in bankruptcy court.

Fraud Still Looms

Prof. Shuchman is also dubious. He notes that under the amended law, a discharge in bankruptcy still won't cover debts created by fraud. A finance company, for example, can still collect on its loan after bankruptcy by proving that it was misled by a false financial statement in extending the credit.

And that shouldn't be difficult in most cases, Mr. Shuchman says. As one test, he distributed typical loan-application forms to a class of law students. Each student was asked to list all his debts on it. Later, each form was discussed with the student, and Mr. Shuchman found that "there wasn't a single one of them that wasn't materially false within the meaning of the Bankruptcy Act."

In any case, the new law, passed after 15 years of unsuccessful efforts, promises to do little for another major problem of the bankrupt—continued out-of-court harassment by creditors who seek to collect a debt in spite of bankruptcy. After seven out of every 10 bankruptcies, creditors try to renew discharged debts, according to a report by Paul J. Garrity, a law professor at Boston University. Apparently they often succeed.

A Lake Charles, La., painter, John Daigle, alleges that after he went through bankruptcy, the manager for Port Finance Co. there got him to reassume a $4,000 debt by threatening him with criminal action. Mr. Daigle sued to get the reassumed debt thrown out. The manager denies the charges, saying Mr. Daigle reassumed the original $4,000 debt in order to get an additional $250 loan.

A jury decided in favor of Mr. Daigle, but an appeals court reversed the decision. The Louisiana Supreme Court refused to consider the case. Mr. Daigle's attorney says, however, he plans to take it to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Creditors Deny Harassment

Creditors unanimously deny that they harass bankrupts unfairly. Mr. Twinem, who besides his ABA committee assignment is a lawyer for Beneficial Finance Co., makes this comment:

"Where the bankrupt is honest but a victim of poor judgment or circumstances beyond his control, I have advised—and it has become the general policy of the organization to treat the bankrupt with courtesy and consideration. He should not be threatened, intimidated or coerced in any respect. At the same time it is recognized that many honest bankrupts want to pay their obligations. . . ."

Mr. Twinem adds, however, that the "dishonest bankrupt" is "to be dealt with [illegible]

bankruptcy experts say. About 80% of those who do are in debt trouble within five years "to the point of repossession and collection procedures," reports David R. Earl, author of a book, "The Bankruptians." He is also chairman of the state board that supervises collection agencies in Oregon. Within seven years, he says, 10% of bankrupts file for bankruptcy again and within 10 years the figure reaches 20%.

Many of the post-bankruptcy mishaps are blamed on such traits as financial ignorance or plain dishonesty. It's clear, however, that to certain merchants, the newly bankrupt is a special target who is free of debt and has a demonstrated appetite for credit.

"Regardless of your current bankruptcy and credit difficulties, we can deliver to you a like-new used car immediately," reads a solicitation letter from a Chicago car dealer.

Says a letter from a clothing and jewelry store that includes a $10 certificate for a down payment. "This is to tell you how sorry we were to hear about your bankruptcy."

The letter concludes: "Your account has been set up for $200 with no money down."

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Procedure for a Bankruptcy

To "take bankruptcy," a person files a schedule of assets and liabilities with the clerk of a district court. Creditors are given a period of time to file claims against the estate, and a trustee for the estate is usually appointed by the court or, less often, elected by creditors. The court may then grant a discharge in bankruptcy—a piece of paper saying the person "hereby is discharged from all debts and claims" besides those "excepted from the operation of a discharge in bankruptcy." And there's the hitch for bankrupt persons. Exceptions include debts created by fraud, alimony, taxes and child support.

In most cases, the key word is "fraud," and the standard procedure has been for the creditor to file suit, generally in a state court. If the debtor shows up, the director will usually allege that the debt was incurred through fraud. The critics contend that the laws allow fraud to be legally proved far too easily.

Many bankrupt persons apparently aren't aware of the exceptions. In at least 20% of bankruptcy cases, creditors file suits to collect debts that the bankrupt individuals believe have been forgiven, according to a study by Prof. Philip Shuchman of the University of Connecticut law school. The practice is so common that in one New York State court not long ago post-bankruptcy lawsuits accounted for 24 of the 57 cases on the calendar.

Winning by Default

"These suits are quite successful as collection devices," says Prof. Shuchman, who found that creditors win seven cases out of 10. Many of these are won by default when the debtor, like Mr. Taylor, mistakenly thinks he is free of the obligation or when he lacks funds for a lawyer's fee.

In the Bogalusa city court, such lawsuits can be filed for as little as $10, and unless the bankrupt answers within five days, "we got ourselves a judgment, just like that, for $400 or $500 on the average," says attorney Don Arata, who represents Home Finance and seven other finance companies here.

Even when the bankrupt is sufficiently sophisticated to take steps to protect himself, it obviously requires persistence and some painful outlays of cash. Before a Congressional subcommittee, Mr. Jackson of the Federal courts' bankruptcy division told the story of an Ithaca, N.Y., man who went through bankruptcy several years ago. Among his debts was $800 owed to a hospital.

This is the version given by the man's lawyer:

After his debts, including the $800, were discharged in bankruptcy, the man moved to California and later to Chicago. In each area he found himself the defendant in a suit by the hospital to collect the money. He won both cases but at a total cost of $250 in fees for lawyers. The man again moved—this time to Cleveland—and again the hospital sued. When a Cleveland lawyer said he would charge $150 to represent the man, he gave up. He said he was through putting out money for lawyers'

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In any case, the new law, passed after years of unsuccessful efforts, promises to do little for another major problem of the bankrupt—continued out-of-court harassment by creditors who seek to collect a debt in spite of bankruptcy. After seven out of every 10 bankruptcies, creditors try to renew discharged debts, according to a report by Paul J. Garrity, a law professor at Boston University. Apparently they often succeed.

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Mr. Twinem adds, however, that the "dishonest bankrupt" is "to be dealt with firmly and within the strict limitations of the bankruptcy law." Even then, he says, "coercive or abusive practices should never be employed."

Beneficial turned to a state court for help after the bankruptcy of James H. Lathrop, a New Orleans disc jockey and rock-music promoter also known as Herb Holiday. Beneficial had lent Mr. Lathrop $2,088 on the strength of a financial statement showing his total indebtedness at no more than $21,004.

When Mr. Lathrop filed for bankruptcy a month later, however, it developed that he owed about $61,000 and that on the same day he borrowed from Beneficial he made two other loans, from individuals, totaling $3,125. The court ordered Mr. Lathrop to pay Beneficial the $2,088 because his "intent was to deceive."

Criticism of the Current System

Critics of the current system maintain that even when there isn't coercion or harassment by creditors, bankruptcy procedures are ineffectual and badly conceived.

In nearly 75% of all consumer bankruptcies, there aren't any assets to distribute among creditors. Thus, the primary—some say the only—purpose of bankruptcy is to give the honest debtor "a new opportunity in life and a clear field for future effort," as the Supreme Court phrased it as long ago as 1934.

The system doesn't meet that goal, the critics charge. And one glaring omission, they say, is the limited amount of rehabilitation—guidance that would help prevent the bankrupt from again sinking into a financial morass.

A minimum of such guidance is provided under the so-called wage-earner plan, a special nonbankruptcy program under which the debtor pays all or part of his obligations through the court over a period of up to three years. Otherwise, "financial counseling is almost nonexistent" in bankruptcy, says Robert Dolphin Jr., author of a study in the field.

The need for such rehabilitation, the critics assert, is obvious. Most bankrupts, perhaps as many as 95%, subsequently use credit again,

Social-Issue Ballots Result in Mixed Bag; Clear Trend of the Times Doesn't Emerge

11-5-70

A WALL STREET JOURNAL *News Roundup*

Anyone trying to read the tenor of the times by the way voters balloted on scores of state referenda may just as well forget it.

In contrast to the dollars-and-cents bond issues, the vote on social propositions—lowering the voting age, selling liquor by the drink or having a state lottery of some sort, for example—stitched a patchwork quilt with no discernible trends.

Whether or not to lower the voting age was the most commonly asked question, appearing on ballots in 15 states. Five of them were approved. Maine and Nebraska dropped the limit to 20 years old from 21, Montana and Massachusetts lowered it to 19, and Alaska reduced its requirements to 18 years of age from 19. Meanwhile, Washington, Colorado, Wyoming, South Dakota, New Jersey and Minnesota declined to reduce it to 19 years of age, and Connecticut, Florida, Michigan and Hawaii voted not to let 18 year olds vote.

For all the interest in the issue, the voting may prove to be an exercise in futility. The Supreme Court has agreed to review the age issue on Constitutional grounds, and, if it decides on any specific age, its word will unquestionably be the final one.

Disparate Ecology Votes

Ecologists seemed to make headway in the East but lost ground in the West. Rhode Islanders approved an environmental "bill of rights," and Floridians agreed to increase the amount of money spent on clearing up sewage. The Florida move allows the state to pledge its support to bond issues for construction of waste treatment facilities.

Voters in the state of Washington, however, rejected a proposed five-cent deposit on a bottle or can of soft drink or beer. The purpose of the measure was to make the empties valuable and thus reduce littering.

In California, voters apparently rejected a proposal to unlock the state's constitutionally guarded highway construction funds for support of pollution studies and mass transit systems. With 97% of the vote counted, the proposal, backed by a wide range of conservation and ecology groups, was losing by a vote of 3,037,421 to 2,565,393.

This particular California vote has a more than local interest, because the state's powerful "freeway lobby," composed of construction interests, auto dealers, cement, and oil companies, believed passage of the proposal could lead to raids on similarly guarded construction funds in about 26 other states. The lobby argued that passage of the proposal would have the effect of raising taxes.

(While Californians rejected opening the highway funds, they approved bond issues of $310 million for antipollution and environment improvement projcts.)

Divided on Lottery

A state's right to have a lottery—on the ballot in two states—split right down the middle. Virginians approved it by a narrow margin, while Arizona voters apparently defeated theirs. With about half of Arizona's 865 precincts reporting, the vote is running at more than two to one against the measure.

The question of how openly liquor can be sold proved to be a hotly contested issue in several states. Texas voters cleared the way for "open saloons" for the first time since before prohibition. But Kansas voters not only retained their ban on liquor by the drink but may have signaled a tightening up on private clubs.

The Texas vote knocked out of the state constitution a provision banning "open saloons" and authorized the legislature to enact a mixed drink law, under local option.

In Kansas, a provision to authorize liquor by the drink led in early returns from urban areas, but the rural vote later reversed the trend. The Rev. Roy Hollomon, head of the powerful Kansas United Dry Forces, said he regarded the vote as a mandate "to tighten up private club laws." Kansas currently has privately owned retail liquor stores, and state laws allow a private club system where members pool their liquor and are served by the glass. Mr. Hollomon maintains the private club laws are loosely enforced.

Church-State Issue

Just what the separation of church and state means was interpreted differently by voters in different states. In Maryland balloters approved a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayers in public schools. In Nebraska, a proposal allowing state aid to be granted to private and parochial schools was rejected. In Michigan, where legislative bodies moved to provide public funds to private and parochial schools, voters supported a measure to ban payments of parochial schoolteacher salaries.

The state constitution itself was on the ballot in three statewide elections. In Virginia, the first constitutional revision in 42 years was put to vote and passed by a large margin. But in Arkansas and Indiana new constitutions were turned down.

Among issues on the ballot in various states:

—Washington voters approved a measure to legalize abortions performed by licensed physicians in accredited hospitals or other medical facilities.

—In Massachuetts a majority of voters indicated they preferred President Nixon's policy of planned withdrawal over either an immediate pullout or no pullout of troops at all.

—A heavy vote from the upstate portion of New York overpowered New York City's support of a measure for low-rent housing.

—South Dakota and Washington balloters turned down proposals for a state income tax.

—Residents of Warren, Mich., a community near Detroit, voted to reject Federal funds for urban renewal. Citizens apparently believed Federal funds would allow the Federal Government to interfere in local affairs and customs.

And in Berkeley, Calif., homosexuals affiliated with the Gay Liberation Front held their own election, voting down a proposal to take over a town near the Nevada border. The proposal, recently publicized and bitterly opposed by the town's residents, had been advanced as an avenue of escape from discrimination and harassment. In the election, the opposition group that won the ballot denounced it as "sexist," "racist," and "impractical," according to United Press International.

Handicraft Hazards: Pottery Made at Home Can Be Very Harmful

* * *

Toxic Metals Used in Glazes Prove Lethal in Some Cases; A Radioactive Coffee Cup

11/11/71

By BARRY NEWMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Remember that ~~adorable clay pitcher~~ your neighbor's kid made for you at summer camp? It's perfect for keeping orange juice ice cold in the refrigerator. And once in a while you store stewed tomatoes or sauerkraut in it.

Here's a way to get even more enjoyment from that product of creative little hands: Get rid of it.

For unless you know precisely how that piece of crockery was made or have gone to the trouble and expense of getting it analyzed by a laboratory, the toxic metals in the glaze could be lethal. Glazes are the glass-like coatings fused at high heat to earthenware surfaces. They typically contain significant amounts of lead or other heavy metals that add color and speed the fusion process.

Commercial manufacturers of pottery tightly control the fusing time, thickness of the glaze and a number of other factors. Moreover, they constantly monitor their products and submit them to outside testing laboratories to make sure dangerous levels of lead aren't being released.

The problem is that the number of amateur potters is growing rapidly. The American Crafts Council, which calls ceramics the most popular craft, lists 462 recognized pottery courses being taught around the U.S. That's twice the number of five years ago. And that only hints at the number of others who teach pottery on an informal basis and those who teach themselves.

Anyone can make pottery at home for an investment of $200 or less. Finished products can be sold without licensing and inspection. There isn't any system for certifying ceramics teachers, and there aren't any requirements that they be trained in the lethal possibilities of toxic glazes.

Several Deaths

Over the past three years, there have been at least a half dozen deaths in the U.S. and Canada from pottery poisoning. All but one resulted from imported items or those made by independent craftsmen. (In the one attributable to a commercially manufactured product, a 17-month-old Philadelphia child died earlier this year from lead in a crock made by Metlox Potteries of Manhattan Beach, Calif. The Food and Drug Administration recalled two of the company's lines found to be unsafe. Metlox cooperated fully in the recall.)

After a two-year-old Montreal boy died recently from lead in a handmade pitcher bought in Nova Scotia, a group of doctors tested 264 pottery pieces bought at U.S. and Canadian handicraft and department stores. They reported in the New England Journal of Medicine that half "released sufficient lead to make them unfit for culinary use." Thirty of the 40 handcrafted dishes tested were "potentially" poisonous. Of 147 glazes "in use by schools, clubs, studios and potters," the doctors found 111 unsafe.

Efforts to detect the offending items have been limited so far. The FDA has detained 602 shipments of foreign pottery in the last two years and in July began spot checks of domestic manufacturers. But the agency says it can do little to monitor independent craftsmen. "It's too big a problem," says Benjamin Krinitz, head of the FDA's New York food section.

State and local governments agree and contend there are other, more pressing problems. "Nobody's come in sick, and the law says we don't have to test the stuff until there's a case," says a spokesman for New York City's Health Department. In California, a bill barring sale of pottery that doesn't meet certain standards was introduced this year. But it died in the Senate finance committee.

Another problem is that there isn't any simple way to test for lead in pottery. Field kits are only in the development stage and haven't been widely distributed. Tests in private laboratories cost up to $20 for each item.

In an effort to reach independent craftsmen, the Lead Industries Association, a trade group, recently issued a 10-page booklet warning beginning potters to refrain "altogether from designing and firing cups, mugs or other food and beverage utensils." The association says a program is being developed for labeling of safe pottery sold in stores. And it says it is asking manufacturers of pre-mix hobby glazes to mark their products if they are safe for use with foods.

But it isn't known how effective such voluntary measures will be. For one thing, many glaze makers seem unwilling to put warning labels on their products. Jack D. Wolfe, a Brooklyn supplier, says "I've been selling glazes for 30 years and not one person has complained or gotten sick."

Meanwhile, a growing number of potters are becoming concerned about their products. Camille Billops, who lives and works in a big Manhattan loft, discovered only a year ago that her handiwork might be hazardous. Like most potters who go to established schools, she was trained to make "stoneware" in a high temperature kiln. But when she set up her own

Please Turn to Page 31, Column 4

Handicraft Hazards: Pottery Made at Home Can Be Very Harmful

Continued From First Page

shop, she bought a relatively inexpensive—and potentially dangerous—low temperature kiln.

It wasn't until she had given away several pieces that she learned certain glazes weren't safe when fired at low temperatures. A laboratory confirmed that her pots were poisonous. "I called everyone and told them to break those pots," she recalls. "They looked great on old oak tables, but I wasn't going to wait until somebody died before I did anything about it." Mrs. Billops has quit using lead glazes and inscribes "No Pb" on the back of her crockery. (Pb is the symbol for lead.)

Taking out the lead, however, may be even more dangerous than leaving it in. The Lead Industries Association says its research hasn't found any element that will "impart all of the desirable properties to a glaze that lead will—and do so with reasonable economy and complete safety when properly handled."

After she stopped using lead, Mrs. Billops took to rummaging among the piles of plastic boxes filled with red, blue and green powders in the corner of her loft, searching for a substitute. Much of what she found—compounds of chrome, cadmium, sodium, uranium and other metals—was listed among the most deadly elements in a weighty book called "Dangerous Properties of Industrial Metals."

She took one cup glazed with uranium oxide to the Atomic Energy Commission. It turned out to be radioactive. "They told me it was safe," says says, "unless it's ingested." Uranium oxide isn't on Mrs. Billops' shelves any more.

But if lead and uranium aren't safe, what is? Mrs. Billops and other potters are confused. Most research done so far on glazes has concentrated on mass-produced dinnerware. The Lead Industries Association admits "we don't have all the answers" about low temperature lead glazes used by amateurs. "As for low temperature leadless glazes," the trade group says, "it is still unknown whether these are safe for food contact surfaces."

Affirmation From the Left

The Bookshelf

Somehow the tricks of the media, or perhaps the tricks of the mind, leave the impression that the past few years have been absolutely dominated by the torrent of books and articles celebrating the new radicalism. It comes as something of a surprise to discover how much absolutely withering criticism the radicals have also suffered.

More than 20 critical articles have now been collected and put into a unified framework in "The Radical Left: The Abuse of Discontent," (Houghton Mifflin. 366 pages. $8.95) edited by William P. Gerberding and Duane E. Smith, members of the political science department at the University of California at Los Angeles. Few collections of articles could show a higher average quality, and the cumulative effect is a singularly incisive critique of both the ideas and the personality of the New Left.

There is, for example, Renata Adler's New Yorker article reporting on a convention of radicals at the Palmer House in Chicago—a delightfully understated piece showing the leftists at their most jejune. At a different level, there is Nathan Glazer's "America's Race Paradox," one of the best treatments of the racial problem's central irony—that things are getting subjectively worse as they get objectively better.

In general, the articles are grouped into five sections. One treats the tactics of the New Left, with their intolerant and anti-democratic implications. One examines university revolt in particular. Another treats race and guilt, and one defends certain particulars of our political system—interest politics, Presidential nominating conventions, etc.—typically attacked with special fervor by radicals.

The remaining section, "Intellectuals and Politics," is of particular interest for the instinct it shows. The editors shrewdly understand what many people have started to sense barely if at all: That the rise of often sophomoric radicalism in the late 60s is intimately related with the intellectual history of the decade. Radicalism became fashionable in the face of the kind of devastating criticism offered in this volume in large part because it served some special inner needs of the intellectual class.

The articles in this section explore such questions as the tension and ambivalence always found between the intellectual and a society's power-holders, and the dangers of the intellectual's inevitable proclivity toward utopian political schemes. Since the contributors are themselves indisputable intellectuals, they can make such criticisms both with immeasurably more grace and far deeper understanding than Spiro Agnew does.

"The Radical Left" also serves to show again that there is a swing to the right, a backlash even, at the intellectual as well as political level. Most contributors to this volume are pragmatic liberals; they may not be representative of the breed, but they do represent the current position of some of a certain type of distinguished liberal. Yet listen to the editors summarize their purposes:

"1. to argue that traditional democratic politics have served this nation rather well on balance in terms of such criteria as freedom, justice, material well-being and playing an honorable and effective role in international affairs;

"2. to argue the legitimacy and perhaps the superiority of a political system where interests tend to play as vital a role in politics as ideas (or ideals);

"3. to suggest that proposals for change should be carefully examined lest their unanticipated consequences turn out to be worse than the problems allegedly being resolved;

"4. to point out that the means employed by many of the new radicals are in violation of traditional libertarian norms and are a threat to the survival of those norms both by themselves and by virtue of the reactions they produce from hostile and at least potentially anti-democratic forces on the Right;

"5. to suggest that an exclusive and fervent preoccupation with idealistic politics and objectives is by itself no substitute for—and carried to extremes, is sometimes incompatible with—such positive political qualities as tolerance for dissent and disagreement and appreciation of the uses of diversity and prudential judgment; and to suggest, moreover, that such single-mindedness sometimes carries within it the seeds of a dogmatic, crusading style of politics that seeks to rule or ruin;

"6. to suggest that certain styles of politics, especially those with a revolutionary or utopian quality, are often more the consequence of their advocates' psychological disorders than they are an appropriate response to the shortcomings of the political system."

It would be hard to imagine a more concise statement of the conservative creed as it applies to the current state of affairs, and one of the shortcomings of this book is its failure to give credit where credit is due. One need not expect the editors to prostrate themselves before ideology of any sort, but there could be at least a grudging recognition of the debt this book owes to conservative thinking.

Instead, conservatives are treated with the usual cheapshots, such as the balancing of the irresponsible left with the responsible right. An accounting of the "Socratic gadfly" in American society runs "Russell Kirk and Tom Hayden, James Kilpatrick and Stokely Carmichael." Who would write, say, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Robert Welch, Tom Wicker and Billy Hargis?

Beyond that, other criticisms would be minor. Mr. Gerberding's arguments for blacks accepting the system leans rather too heavily, perhaps, on the notion that the numerical balance gives them no choice no matter how racist Americans are. It's also worthwhile to stress that latent strains of racism are balanced by considerable reservoirs of good will.

The book might have profited from a section on the Vietnam war, arguing as Mr. Gerberding does, that the mistakes there are made from honorable motives. Possibly the articles developing this point are not available, certainly we have only the barest start toward a realistic understanding of the precise motives, or for that matter the precise mistakes.

Such faults are easily forgivable, though, in so remarkable a collection of writings. At its roots "The Radical Left: The Abuse of Discontent" is an affirmation of American society, which is precisely the need of the day. And the quality of mind its contributors display suggests that affirmation after all will hold the day against even the recent torrent of flighty abuse.

—ROBERT L. BARTLEY

Notable & Quotable

Malcolm Muir Jr., editor-in-chief of Atlas, writing in the October issue of the magazine:

In the West at least, the traditional image of America as a blundering, violent nation of well-intentioned ruffians is fast dying out—and being replaced by what? Perhaps by no image at all. The tumult of the Sixties convinced many Western observers that America, despite all the idealistic brouhaha, is just another nation of people—as subject to weakness and folly as any group of human beings. Perhaps now, at the beginning of the Seventies, this altered vision of America will clear the way for a more serious study of how the nation deals with its youth, its technology, its minorities, and its environment. For, as a French journalist friend of ours said, "You're us. A few years ahead, a lot richer, but you're just us."

file pending

September 10, 1968

Miss Jean Fairfax
N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle,
New York, New York 10019

Dear ~~Miss Fairfax~~ Jean:

In reply to your Memorandum, dated September 4, 1968, I wish to advise I will attend the EEOC Meeting in Washington, D. C. on September 16, 1968.

Yours truly,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Education Project

EFV/km

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUDSON 6-8397

HON. FRANCIS E. RIVERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

JAMES M. NABRIT, III
Acting Associate Counsel

M E M O R A N D U M

September 4, 1968

TO: Randolph Blackwell
E. T. Kehrer
Richard Lyle
Courtney Siceloff
✓ Emory Via
James Wood
Mordecia Johnson

FROM: Jean Fairfax

RE: Meeting at EEOC
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Monday, September 16, 1968
9:30 a.m.

George Butler has just informed me that he is scheduling a meeting of representatives of federal and private agencies that have been involved in the Textile Industry Project. Please let me know whether you will be able to attend this meeting. I will let you know the room number later. George Butler's office number is 1103.

Kathy:
Write Miss Fairfax that I will attend, please
Emory

JF/11

Contributions are deductible for U. S. Income Tax Purposes

9/24/68

Jim ✓
John L. ✓

I thought you might be interested in seeing this proposal.

I talked with Karter briefly about it.

Please return.

Jerry

CONFIDENTIAL
Not for Quotation

DEVELOPING BLACK ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE PULP AND PAPER AND SAWMILL INDUSTRIES

prepared for

The Division of Legal Information and Community Service
NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, Inc.

by

Thomas Karter

INTRODUCTION

This report on developing black entrepreneurship in the pulp and paper and related wood industries has been prepared at the request of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. (See the attached June 17, 1968, letter from Mr. Allen Black, Jr., Regional Director.)

Initially, the intention was to study methods of developing more employment and higher wages for black entrepreneurs producing pulpwood for sale to pulp and paper mills.

During preliminary discussions with officials of the U.S. Forest Service, the U.S. Department of Labor and the American Pulpwood Association, these agencies expressed their concern and the concern of the pulp industry of the need to expand the number of woodsworkers in the South. They stated that low wages, poor working conditions and irregular employment restricted the entry of workers into logging operations. These poor employment conditions were traced largely to the present marketing mechanism. Individual jobbers, usually with fixed production quotas from pulp mills, bargain for the production of many small producers, who may work alone or who may employ several woodsworkers. It is to the jobber's advantage to have an oversupply of producers and production. While many producers and woodsworkers are black, I met no one who knew of a black jobber.

why no black jobbers?

It was evident that black entrepreneurs would have to move into the marketing mechanism if employment was to be stabliized and income improved for black woodsworkers and black producers. The most effective way to exert some control over the marketing mechanism is to control the end product and work back into the woods.

Consequently, after a discussion with Mr. Black, the scope of the report was expanded to consider sawmill operations as well as

pulp mill operations. Such a sawmill operation could produce sawtimber for woods products industries, such as furniture, housing, agricultural needs, etc., and produce chips for the pulp industry. In addition, a sawmill corporation could negotiate directly with pulp mills for quotas for pulp production, and could also organize the logging and marketing operations. Independently of the pulp industry, the sawmill corporation could also organize logging and marketing operations for sawtimber, thus developing a mechanism for cutting and using all types of wood, not only pulpwood. Eventually, the sawmill operation could organize and operate a number of woods products industries, or stimulate other black organizations to produce and market furniture, lumber, etc.

The sawmill operation is more feasible than a pulp mill in gaining some control over the production and marketing of timber, as the investment needed for a sawmill ranges from $100,000 for a small operation to several millions for a large one, while the investment needed for pulp mills usually starts at $30 million and can go to $75 million and above.

investment to be a sawmill much much smaller!

The scope of this report therefore covers the development of black entrepreneurship in connection with the pulp and paper and sawmill industries, and suggests how black entrepreneurship employment and earnings can be expanded in this industry.

PROJECT FEASIBILITY

From my discussions, observations and analyses, I judge that it is quite feasible to expand black entrepreneurship and black employment in connection with the pulp and paper industries. The U.S. Forest Service forecasts point to a pulpwood production increase nationally from the 1966 level of 54.5 million cords to 118.7 million in 1985, some 2.2 times greater.1/ With more than 200 million acres of forest-land, the South offers unlimited opportunity for future timber growth. In 1966, the South accounted for about 33 million cords or 61 per cent of the nation's total. It is expected that the South will have to supply approximately 77 million cords by 1985, 2½ times as much as 1966, or 65 per cent of the estimated national total.

The U.S. Forest Service expects a major expansion in the potential markets for lumber, plywood and other timber products due to an expected increase in housing starts. During the recent four years, total lumber production nationally, as well as in the South, has been relatively stable. In 1967, national production of lumber totalled 35.9 billion board feet, of which the South produced 10.5 billion board feet, compared with 34.7 and 10.2 respectively in 1963. During this same period, the number of

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1/ The Demand and Price Situation for Forest Products, 1967, Miscellaneous Publication No. 1066, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

housing starts dropped by about one-fourth. Consequently renewed housing activity is likely to have a substantial impact on lumber production.

Furthermore, there is likely to be a considerable expansion in the production of southern pine plywood, which means that a higher proportion of the nation's lumber production is likely to come form the South. For example, in his recent address to the Georgia Forestry Association, Mr. V. J. Sutton, U.S. President of Bowaters Company, pointed out that the production of Southern pine plywood (only 80 million square feet a year in 1964) is expected to be four billion square feet annually by 1970. If the expected increase in population and housing develops, there will be a corresponding need for more lumber--and more saw-logs. This need for increased timber production indicates a parallel need for increased woodworkers, yet the industry is facing a critical manpower shortage. In my discussions with the American Pulpwood Association, the Employment Service and the Forest Service, it was apparent that they are trying to come to grips with the problem, and they expressed a sincere interest in training programs in this area.

The critical manpower shortage of woodsworkers exists primarily because of low wages, poor working conditions, and the lack of steady employment. While training of woodsworkers is important, wages and working conditions must be improved, as discussed below. In addition to training and employment of woodsworkers, opportunities exist for increased black ownership in the trucking and marketing of timber. Indeed, unless there is control of the marketing of timber, it will be difficult to expand "profitable" black ownership, or to substantially increase wages and employment for black woodsworkers.

As explained above, it is quite feasible to control the production and marketing of sawtimber by operating a sawmill, and using the sawmill as the base from which to immediately extend the operation into the woods for cutting, shipping and marketing timber--both for pulp mills and sawmills--and eventually expand into numerous wood products industries. ?

Consequently, I recommend that the NAACP Legal Defense Fund begin a woods program with a medium sized sawmill that would require about $750,000 for new plant, equipment and operating capital. According to the Department of Commerce, the expected net profit for such a sawmill by the third year of operation would approach $150,000. A specific feasibility study would provide firm estimates of capital requirements and profit potential, as indicated below. what size tract would be needed?

Why Build a New Plant Instead of Buying an Old One: The black man in the South is faced with the problem of not owning industries, and he has two alternatives for acquiring ownership. He can either build a new plant or he can often buy an existing plant in the area. These "hand-me-down" plants are certainly cheaper and may utilize

more labor than new plants, but within the near future new plants will be constructed which are likely to force the older plants into bankruptcy, and add the workers to the unemployed roles.

Furthermore, according to the U.S. Forest Service, the competitive situation of the Southern lumber industry has improved in recent years with the closing of small sawmills, which were high cost mills due to high unit labor costs. Though unit labor costs are high, the average earnings for Southern workers are the lowest in the nation. Consequently, there are many small and old sawmill plants that are for sale, but these would be as noncompetitive nationally or locally in black ownership as they were in white ownership.

I suggest, therefore, that the black corporation avoid the purchase of an old plant (which may seem like a bargain), and invest immediately in new plant and equipment. In this way, the black corporation can compete (and beat) white corporations operating older plants and thus the black corporation need not depend entirely on the "soul brother" market for its sales. Furthermore, it will be easier for a black corporation operating a new efficient plant to obtain additional capital to build new sawmills in other areas. In this way, black employment will be increased, and such employees working in the most automated sawmills will be able to earn substantially more than their brothers working in old sawmills. Also such an automated sawmill operation will be in a good financial position to develop integrated wood products industries, such as furniture factories, lumber yards, etc.

Comparison with Germany after World War II: The German people owned very few factories at the end of W.W.II, as their factories were largely destroyed by the Allies during the war or dismantled shortly thereafter. Consequently, when Germany industrialized she had no choice but to construct new factories with the most modern equipment. Today, German industries are among the most advanced in Europe.

The Black people down south should consider the German experience and begin their ownership of industry with the most modern plants and equipment and not invest in "hand-me-down" plants and equipment.

FUNCTIONS OF A BLACK SAWMILL CORPORATION

In addition to operating a sawmill, the black corporation owning the sawmill plant would also:

1. Negotiate with pulp mills and other users to supply them with pulpwood or sawtimber. The markets for the sale of pulpwood or sawtimber (for housing, furniture, agricultural uses, etc.) must be developed before final decisions are made to construct a sawmill. Initial contacts with pulp mills should be made at

top company levels.

2. Bid on stumpage rights on publicly-owned land and on private land. (Stumpage rights means the right to cut and market trees on someone else's land.) Negotiation should begin at top company levels to obtain stumpage rights on large tracts of land owned by pulp companies.

3. Operate a woods program by hiring and supervising woodsworkers and truckers to transport the timber. Such a woods program should be geared to large acreage on public or private land that is suitable for mechanized harvesting methods.

4. Organize the marketing mechanism from the woods to the sawmill and pulp mill by hiring jobbers. These jobbers would negotiate with cooperatives and black producers for their timber production, which would supplement the direct production by sawmill employees described above in 3, and they would arrange for the steady flow of timber to sawmills and pulp mills according to quotas negotiated with pulp mills and sawmills.

5. Assist black producers and cooperatives in arranging for loans, training and technical assistance to expand their production and reduce their costs, and thus enable them to provide more stable employment with higher wages for woodsworkers.

6. Organize and stimulate training programs for woodsworkers.

7. Develop wood products industries that would be integrated into the sawmill operation.

8. Expand this integrated woods to end use operation into other areas in the South.

EMPLOYMENT POSSIBILITIES

According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, a medium-sized sawmill operation, requiring an investment of some $750,000 and capable of processing 10 million board feet a year, could employ the following:

20 men full-time in directly related jobs in the sawmill

35 men full-time in logging and cutting

35 men full-time in indirectly related jobs, i.e. selling, administrative and management, trucking and hauling

Job descriptions for production personnel are attached.

One of the key employees of the sawmill operation is a jobber to be employed directly by the sawmill corporation. His responsibilities involve bidding for stumpage rights on public and

privately-owned land, locating markets and arranging sales with pulp and timber users. He would also coordinate the timber production of cooperatives and black producers with the sawmill operation and arrange for the purchase of all their timber by the sawmill.

The sawmill corporation could also establish a multi-county or statewide mechanism to train black farmers and farm workers on chainsaw operations, and assist them in marketing their production to pulp mills and sawmills. While the sawmill operation would buy for its own use from local producers, the statewide mechanism would assist other black producers to produce more at less cost, and to obtain a better price for their production. At least 1,000 small black producers and workers in Mississippi could be served through this training, technical assistance and jobbing mechanism for both pulp and sawtimber operations.

Caution: The training of additional woodsworkers should not precede the development of this technical assistance-jobbing mechanism. Otherwise there is likely to be little benefit to the workers as you may flood a local market with trained people and chainsaw equipment.

EARNINGS

In order to ensure regular employment and high wages for woodsworkers, the jobbing end of the logging operation should be strictly controlled by the corporation, by having the jobber and woodsworkers employed directly by the corporation. Although woodsworkers employed directly by small producers in Mississippi earn as little as $60 per week, when they are lucky enough to be employed, woodsworkers working directly for a company are making more than $150 a week on a piece-rate basis in many parts of the country, according to the U.S. Department of Labor. The difference, of course, is that company operations use the most efficient methods and machinery, and are tied in directly to a consumer, which minimizes loss of time in the woods operations.

Small producers who usually employ 3-5 men, or who buy the production of a small number of chainsaw operators, earn about $10,000 a year, according to the Mississippi Forest Service.

Production workers in Mississippi sawmills and furniture plants earn about $75 a week, while production workers in papermills earn about $125 per week, according to the U.S. Department of Labor.

POSSIBLE SITE

The site for a sawmill operation (which would also be equipped to produce chips for pulp mills) should be located close to a National Forest in order to assure a continuous supply of timber. From this site, the corporation could bid for stumpage rights on private land, but the corporation would not be dependent solely

upon such private sources for its timber supply.

There are six National Forests in Mississippi which are listed in the table below which also shows the estimated amount of timber to be cut in FY 1969.

The Forest Service in Washington, D. C. suggested the Holly Springs National Forest as a possible site for a training center. The Holly Springs National Forest is in the north-central part of the state, and close to the Mississippi Delta area which has the greatest number of unemployed and underemployed farmworkers in Mississippi.

ESTIMATED ANNUAL ALLOWABLE CUT IN FY 1969
IN NATIONAL FORESTS IN MISSISSIPPI

National Forest	Sawtimber (millions of board feet)		Pulpwood (thousands of cords)	
	Pine	Hardwood	Pine	Hardwood
Holly Springs	5.0	2.4	6.4	4.8
Delta	-	6.5	-	-
Tombigbee	3.5	.6	1.9	-
Homochitto	21.9	1.2	11.0	-
Bienville	15.8	4.9	12.0	15.0
De Soto	31.0	3.9	43.1	.6
Total	77.2	19.5	74.4	20.4

Source: Data supplied by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, National Forests in Mississippi.

Another site to be considered is the De Soto National Forest which is in the south-eastern part of Mississippi, and which has the greatest amount of timber to be cut of all the National Forests in Mississippi. De Soto borders the western end of the black belt of Alabama which means access to a large number of unemployed and underemployed farm workers.

Before a specific site is selected, there will have to be a feasibility study to:

1. Determine the end use of the timber. For example, the sawtimber will have to be evaluated to determine whether it is best suited for the furniture, housing or the agricultural industry and the specific type of use within each industry.

2. Determine whether a market exists in the area for such wood products, and, if not, whether a wood products industry or other industries can be feasibly started in the same general area as the sawmill.

3. Determine the investment needed for plant and equipment costs and operating capital, and the potential profit from such an operation.

A number of firms are available to conduct such a feasibility study, and also to assist in plant design, plant construction, plant start-up and the training of staff. Information is attached on one such firm, Stone and Webster.

FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT
FOR PLANT AND EQUIPMENT

The sawmill operation, by locating near the Holly Springs or De Soto National Forests (EDA-designated areas), will be eligible for an EDA loan up to 65% of total investment. A list of EDA designated counties and information on EDA loans are attached. The balance of the investment funds might be obtained from the Ford Foundation which is interested in investing capital in Southern economic development operations, or from the OEO Research and Demonstration Division in Washington, D. C.

In addition to EDA, the Small Business Administration is interested in assisting Negro-owned business enterprises, and is a good source for loans for wood products industries spinning off from the sawmill operation, and for wholesale and retail outlets such as furniture stores, which can be expected to sell final products.

Rural cooperatives are eligible for Farmers Home Administration (FHA) loans which would cover equipment, marketing and related costs (30 years at 4 1/8%). Small producers are also eligible for FHA loans for chainsaws, trucks, etc. (See attached information.)

FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT FOR
TRAINING PROGRAMS

The sawmill corporation can operate training programs itself as well as stimulate the development of training programs operated by other agencies, and thus have a pool of trained people to select from when the corporation is ready to begin production.

As an employer of woodsworkers or sawmill operators, the corporation is eligible to receive on-the-job training funds to reimburse the corporation for the cost of training new employees. The corporation would pay wages, and the U.S. Department of Labor

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

could finance the cost of trainers, materials, and related training costs. On-the-job training programs are administered through the Bureau of Work Training Programs which has a regional office in Atlanta which covers Mississippi and other Southern states. However, OJT funds are not readily available due to Federal budget cutbacks.

Also, as an employer, the sawmill corporation could request trained employees from the state employment service agencies, and, if not available, the E.S. could establish MDTA or other training programs to fulfill the employment needs of the corporation. Such information should also be forwarded from the corporation directly to the U.S. Department of Labor in Washington, to have the Department assist in negotiating training programs at the state level.

The Economic Development Administration also has funds for training programs. However, these programs are administered by the employment service.

In view of timing problems, the shortage of funds for manpower programs, and the attitude of the governor of Mississippi, the state agencies are not likely to meet the needs of a black corporation. Consequently, it probably will be necessary for the corporation to plan to conduct most of its training and to receive funds directly from the U.S. Department of Labor. I am discussing with Labor Department officials the possibility of obtaining funds for an experimental training program funded directly out of Washington.

OEO is another source of training money. There are several education-training programs in the Mississippi Delta funded by OEO for farm workers. I've discussed with the Director of the Office of Special Field programs in OEO the possibility of converting some of the existing programs to train woodsworkers, sawmill operators, etc., or to contract with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund for such training. OEO will be in a better position to negotiate such possibilities after they receive their appropriation for FY 1969. The OEO farm worker programs need not be funded through local community action agencies, nor are they subject to the Governor's veto.

I am attaching a copy of an approved MDTA program to train loggers in New Hampshire, and a proposed Mississippi Forestry MDTA project that was not approved. Public agency personnel developed the proposals, although the American Pulpwood Association and some industry people assisted in developing the New Hampshire proposal.

The American Pulpwood Association is available to assist the corporation in designing a program for woodsworkers. They will also train the teachers in the program, and provide teaching materials. Some of their training materials are attached.

Companies selling heavy equipment, such as Caterpillar, are also willing to train people on the use of their equipment.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Forest Service is willing to provide some training materials and some minimum advice on woods operations, particularly in relation to proper logging methods on National Forests. The Forest Service mentioned the possibility of setting aside some land in the Holly Springs National Forest for a training site.

AVAILABILITY OF RAW MATERIALS

The Bidding Process for Publicly-Owned Land: The National Forests of the United States are managed by the Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Timber from these forests is regularly put up for sale, on a sealed bid basis, to commercial operators or to local residents. The amount of timber sold by the Forest Service has more than trebled during the past 16 years: in 1966, 12.1 billion board feet were cut, as compared with 3.5 billion in 1950. Even with this increase, however, the annual cut from the National Forests is still a mere trickle when compared with the volume available. According to E. W. Schulz of the Forest Service, "Allowable pulpwood cuts. . . are moving up substantially and we are willing and able to market this material -- but can't without customers. We could and would increase annual allowable cuts if imminent markets were in sight."[2] Mississippi's sell goal for FY 69 is 144 million board feet, the greatest concentration of cutting being in De Soto Forest. The Mississippi Forest Service has put out a time schedule for 1969, listing the time of year when each sale will be advertised for bids (see attached).

The Forest Service is required by law to make formal public advertisement, for at least 30 days, of all sales over $2,000 in appraised value. Sales of lesser amounts may be advertised informally for shorter periods when more than one prospective purchaser is interested. Certain sales are regularly set aside for small businesses, as authorized by the Small Business Act of 1958. Advertisements specify such items as the date and place of bidding, location of sale, volume and species offered for sale, and the minimum bid price acceptable to the Forest Service, based on their appraisal of the timber's fair market value. In addition, a sale area map of acreage to be cut is sent to the prospective bidder. Trees to be cut are marked or otherwise designated for cutting and the Forest Service encourages prospective bidders to examine the timber and make their own estimates of the volume and value before bidding. All items in the sale must be bid on, and the purchaser is responsible for the removal of all species and products in the sale, although he is permitted to subcontract part of the job to another operator.

The Forest Service requires a deposit to accompany the bid when submitted. Deposits of unsuccessful bidders are returned upon award of the contract to the highest bidder. The deposit of

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2/ E. W. Schultz, "Pulpwood Supply-Demand Situation on Southern National Forests," Southern Lumberman. December 15, 1967, 118-120.

the successful bidder is retained as advance payment on the timber to be cut. This is a pay-as-you-cut operation, the bid deposit serving as the first advance payment in advertised sales. In all but the smaller sales, the successful bidder furnishes a performance bond which is not less than 10 per cent of the total value of the estimated quantities at bid rates, rounded to the nearest $100 if bid value is between $2,000-$10,000, and to the nearest $1,000 if the bid value is over $10,000.

The successful bidder must pay an additional cost for erosion control measures and will be required to provide some roadbuilding except on smaller sales. The estimated costs of roadbuilding, erosion control, and similar items are taken into consideration in appraising the timber. These additional costs to the purchaser required by the Forest Service will make cutting on publicly-owned land somewhat higher than on private land.

The time allowed for completing the contract varies in accordance with the volume. The average period for completion is one to two years.

Attached is material on the bidding process received from Forest Supervisors of the Southern states. Included are sales advertisements for Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama and North Carolina. In many of these sales only one bid was received by the Forest Service, often for only a few cents more than the minimum acceptable amount. (See letter from South Carolina Forest Supervisor.) The Corporation staff will have to thoroughly analyze this bidding process during the early stages of the operation. With such limited competition in many of the bids listed for the past year, the Corporation should be able to gain access to a great deal of raw material. In addition, negotiations with the Forest Service regarding sales under $2,000 might result in a special arrangement being made to permit the Corporation to pick up these sales for a nominal sum, both for cutting and for training sites.

Private Land: Access to stumpage on privately-owned land introduces the need to negotiate directly with a number of small landholders, or in some States with private corporations that own the land or control the stumpage rights. In these cases, it will be necessary to spend some time negotiating adequate stumpage before locating a sawmill plant.

In addition to the above sources, the sawmill corporation should negotiate to obtain timber directly from cooperatives and black producers and, in time, from white producers.

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

Contact has been made with a number of organizations regarding their role and cooperation on this project as described below. (The correspondence is attached.)

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The Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture: The Forest Service sells timber rights on publicly-owned land, as described above, and thus represents a major source of raw material. The Forest Service has a considerable body of information on the total industry, and will be interested in assisting the corporation in any way possible, including assisting in establishing and operating a training center on National Forests, and advising on the cutting of timber.

The American Pulpwood Association: The APA is very interested in participating in training programs. The APA will train the staff trainers and provide publications, materials and supplies.

Equipment Manufacturers: The equipment manufacturers, such as Caterpillar Tractor Co., and Corley Manufacturing Co., Chattanooga, Tennessee, will provide engineering services to the corporation regarding the right type of equipment to use in the woods, in trucking operations and in the sawmill. Such services are the usual free services provided by equipment manufacturers. (See their attached brochures.)

Caterpillar participated in a training program in South America and donated the use of some heavy equipment at no cost to the project. The same arrangement may be possible for the initial Mississippi training project, particularly if the NAACP Legal Defense Fund makes such a request of the President of the Caterpillar Corporation.

U.S. Department of Labor: The training programs of the USDL are discussed above.

U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity: Education and training programs for farm workers and demonstration programs are discussed above.

U.S. Department of Commerce: The Economic Development Administration (EDA) in the U.S. Department of Commerce provides business loans, funds for feasibility studies, funds for training programs, and technical assistance to business groups. EDA often coordinates other public programs that are critical to the success of economic development programs. EDA is very interested in economic development programs in the southern forests.

STEPS TO TAKE TO ESTABLISH A PROGRAM

1. A Sawmill Corporation: Develop a corporation to seek and invest capital in a sawmill operation and to operate the total program. The corporation would also launch out into other areas of the South with other sawmill and woods operations, as well as developing a variety of wood products industries, such as furniture and lumber for the housing industry, as discussed above.

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2. Developmental Funds: Some developmental funds will be needed to organize the program. Initially, at least three staff persons should be hired by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund to serve as the sawmill corporation developmental unit and they would eventually become the nucleus of the management team when the sawmill corporation begins to operate. One person should be experienced in the field of management. He would be responsible for coordinating the entire developmental effort. A second person should be experienced in sawmill operations. The third should be experienced in logging operations. These three should be backed up by outside experts and consultants.

Part of the time the three-man developmental unit should be spent visiting other sawmill and logging operations. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund would have to arrange such an internship program with large mills and logging operations outside the South.

The three-man team should work very closely with the feasibility study group, as they would have to make an input into the study, and they would be responsible for implementing the recommendations of the feasibility study.

About $65,000 would be needed to pay salaries, travel, administrative expenses, consultant fees, etc., for the developmental staff.

There are two possible sources for such developmental funds: the Ford Foundation and the OEO Research and Demonstration Division, Washington, D. C.

The national NAACP Legal Defense Fund should immediately approach the Ford Foundation for a $65,000 developmental grant. In addition, the Ford Foundation should be asked for a commitment of investment funds to match EDA loan funds. Assuming a $1,000,000 investment, the maximum EDA loan would amount to $650,000 which means a loan from Ford of $350,000.

If Ford is not interested in moving quickly and positively on this request, a proposal could then be drafted for the OEO Research and Demonstration Division, which has expressed an interest in funding black entrepreneurship programs. I am recommending Ford first, because of the difficult financial situation facing OEO.

3. Funds for a Feasibility Study and Sawmill Design: A feasibility study would have to be developed which would: locate a specific site; identify the specific type of timber and the end product uses of such timber; identify the exact type and cost of equipment needed in the woods, for the trucking operation and in the sawmill; design the sawmill; locate markets for pulp and for the sawmill products; line up sources of supplies of both public and private stumpage; develop a financial plan for the total operation, including fixed capital and working capital, and locate funding sources to supplement the EDA loan; and develop the application for EDA loans.

The cost of such a study is in the neighborhood of $40,000. In addition to the Ford Foundation and OEO, the Economic Development Administration could fund all or a major portion of such a study, including technical assistance during the year in starting up the sawmill operation. EDA would be more likely to fund this study if they knew that the Ford Foundation was willing to fund the developmental staff and to be interested in providing the investment funds needed to match EDA investment funds.

Stone and Webster, an experienced engineering firm, is now developing a proposal for a feasibility study which they should submit within the next week or two to me.

The attached EDA materials describe how to apply for EDA technical assistance services, including EDA funding for a feasibility study.

4. The national NAACP Legal Defense Fund staff should open negotiations with several pulp firms (International Paper Co., Plywood Champion Papers and St. Regis) with major operations in Mississippi to discuss the project and ask for agreements from them to purchase pulp from the corporation, and to gain stumpage rights on land owned by the pulp firms. These discussions should cover future sites as well as the initial sawmill program. Later such discussions should be expanded to other firms and other states.

5. The national NAACP Legal Defense Fund staff should open negotiations with the U.S. Department of Labor for training funds for the sawmill operation as well as the logging operations. These discussions should cover future sites, as well as the initial sawmill operation as the problem with the State Employment Service will have to be dealt with in other southern states as well as Mississippi.

6. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund should hold a strategy meeting with other groups working in the south to discuss the overall economic development question and begin structuring a retail, wholesale, production mechanism to support the initial sawmill operation, as well as to lay the groundwork for additional sawmill operations.

(Attachments are at LDF Office)

September, 1968

LIST OF PEOPLE CONTACTED

Mr. E. P. Wright
Washington Export Manager
Caterpillar Tractor Company
1030 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Mr. E W. Schultz
Deputy Chief
Rm. 3101
Forest Service
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Robert D. Raisch
Director
Division of Cooperative Forest Management
Forest Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

Mr. David Herrick
Forest Products Marketing
Rm. 3833
Forest Service
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Jack McElroy
Assistant Division Director
Division of Job Corp Administration
Forest Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

Mr. V. B. MacNaughton
Forest Supervisor
National Forests in Mississippi
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Norman Baker
Program Assistant
Office of Technical Assistance, Rm. 7830 A
Economic Development Administration
U.S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Franklyn Miller
Agricultural Research Service
Rm. 839
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

Mr. William S. Bromley
Executive Vice President
American Pulpwood Association
605 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

Mr. Willis F. Sloan
Chief, Farm Labor Operations Division
Bureau of Employment Service, Rm. 903
U.S. Department of Labor
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. S. Eldon Cully
Bureau of Employment Service, Rm. 913
U.S. Department of Labor
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Noel Klores
Director
Office of Special Field Programs
U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

JOB DESCRIPTIONS

WOODSWORKERS

Logger, All-Round--all-round man; stock cutter. Fells trees and prepares them for final logging operations, performing any combination of the following tasks: Saws or chops down trees. Cuts limbs from felled tree (Limber). Saws felled trees into logs of specified length (Bucker). Fastens drawing noose about logs for removal to loading or mill (Chockerman). May drive tractor to haul logs from forest.

Log Marker--Measures and marks bole (trunk) of felled trees for cutting into log lengths, using scale, measured rod, or tape rule, and crayon or ax. Estimates waste due to shape of tree or defects and lays off bole to obtain maximum timber yield consistent with standard log lengths. May estimate board feet content of felled trees and record estimate as work record of individual or crew.

Log Scaler--Estimates marketable lumber content of logs: Measures log, using scale stick, Scribner decimal scale, or other measuring devices. Estimates loss of board footage caused by sawing waste and defects, and rejects log containing excessive amount of unsound lumber. May grade and mark logs for use as veneer. May operate bull chain. May be designated according to location of work as Deck Scaler, Landing Scaler or Pond Scaler.

Log Grader--Grades logs at mill pond, logdeck or in the woods. Cuts notch in log with ax to determine condition of log for mill processing according to mill standards. Notches or marks end of log with stamping ax to designate it for veneer, pulp, or lumber processing. May estimate board footage.

Log Loader--Loads logs onto trucks and railroad cars, using skid poles, cant hook, or peavey. Positions skid poles with one end on ground and other end against vehicle to form log rolling incline. Hooks cant hook or peavey onto log and pushes or pulls handle of cant hook or peavey to roll log up incline and onto bed of truck or railroad car.

Log-Loader Operator--Operates truck-mounted lift to load logs onto flatbed truck. Starts truck engine. Moves lever to release cable and lower lift arms to ground. Inserts extension into lift arms. Rolls log onto lift extension arms, using cant hook. Moves lever to raise log and throw it onto bed of truck.

Logging-Equipment Mechanic--Adjusts, maintains, and repairs gasoline and diesel-powered logging equipment and acessories, such as air compressors, cranes, donkey engines, and road graders. May overhaul and repair tractor and automotive vehicles.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Logging-Operations Inspector--Inspects logging operations to insure that workers adhere to correct provisions and safety laws and to prevent loss of timber through breakage and damage to residual stands. Examines logging area for utilization practices, sanitation, observance of boundaries and safety precautions, and prepares report of logging efficiency and progress.

SAWMILL OPERATORS

Sawmill Worker--Performs any combination of following duties in preparing logs for cutting into lumber and storing cut lumber in sawmill. Unloads logs from trucks or cars. Rolls logs onto sawmill deck (Deckman). Examines logs for defects, such as imbedded pieces of iron or stone, decayed wood and splits, and marks them for removal by other workers. Rolls logs from deck onto log carriage (Log Turner). Rides log carriage of head saw and adjusts position of logs in carriage to cut planks of required thickness (Block Setter). Sorts and guides planks emerging from saw onto roller tables or conveyors for trimming edges. Straightens lumber on moving conveyors (Lumber Straightener). Operates sawing machine to straighten edges of rough lumber (Edger Man). May operate saws, and power hacksaws to slot, groove, miter, and trim tubing, bar stock, sheet metal and plastics. Mounts specified saw blade in machine, using handtools. Adjusts speed, feed, and blade tension. Tilts saw or table and adjusts guides, stock blocks, or fixture at specified angle. Bolts and adjusts automatic feed attachment on power hacksaws. Welds and anneals bandsaw blades, using saw attachments. May lay out guidelines and reference points on stock or parts, working from blueprints, sketches, templates, or sample parts. May lay out and fabricate wood fixtures and guide blocks.

Deckman--Rolls logs from trucks or conveyors to log deck, using peavey. Arranges logs on deck in position for feeding logs to saws. May move levers to activate mechanism that kicks logs from conveyor to deck. May use ax or pick to remove undesirable material from bark, such as stones or nails.

Block Setter--Tends equipment that alines log to be sawed into planks, riding on log carriage. Moves control to set carriage blocks and dogs that hold logs into position. Starts carriage that moves log toward headsaw on signal from Head Sawyer. Observes dial to ascertain that carriage blocks are set to hold log to be cut into planks of specified thickness. May replace saw blades in headsaw.

Dogger--Rides on log carriage of headsaw and sets dogs (holding spikes) that hold logs to carriage for sawing. Raises dogs high enough to clear log and rolls log onto carriage, using peavey. Pulls lever to drop dogs that dig into log and hold it against carriage blocks in sawing position. Releases and resets dogs each time log is turned on carriage for further sawing. May replace saw blades. May work in 2-man team.

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Trimmer Man--Operates bank of circular saws to cut out defective sections of boards. Scans boards as they move on conveyer to saws to determine which cuts will produce highest grade. Moves levers to raise or lower one or more saws along trimmer bed to cut lumber into lengths and trim out defects. May regulate flow of lumber to saws.

Edger Man--Automatic --Operates multiple-blade sawing machine and conveyor system from panel board to straighten edges of rough lumber and saw lumber into boards of prescribed widths. Starts conveyor to move lumber and scans board as it passes to determine cut that will produce highest quality and grade. Presses panel buttons to space saw blades and trips pedal to start feed rollers leading to saws.

Gang Sawyer--Automatic-- Controls carriage to feed log to machine equipped with multiple saws, to saw log into dimensional lumber by moving levers and pedals on panel board while riding on carriage. Moves control to transfer log from conveyor to log carriage, position log for sawing, and aline log with saw blades. Advances carriage to feed log into saw and keeps pressure against saw while log is cut.

Heading-Saw Operator--Operates heading saw to cut pieces of heading material from heading bolts (lengths of split logs). Loosens nut and adjusts guides to thickness of heading material. Stands bolt on end in swing carriage of machine. Moves bolt against guides and clamps it with tooth-edged clamp. Starts saw and pushes swing toward saw to cut strips of heading material from bolt. Withdraws swing, removes heading strip, and repeats cuts until bolt is completely sawed.

Head Sawyer--Automatic--Operates head saw, log carriage, and conveyor system by means of panel buttons and hand and foot controls to saw logs into rough cants or boards. Starts conveyor that transfers log to log carriage with kicker arms. Activates log turners that turn log, scans log to ascertain best approach for trimming and cutting, and alines log with saw. Sets specified depth of cut and activates carriage to force log against saw blade to cut board. Scans exposed face of log after first cut to determine grade and size of next cut.

Packager, Head--Operates double-end trimming machine to saw simultaneously several pieces of lumber to identical lengths. Sets movable saw at specified distance from stationary saw. Stacks lumber in machine and butts end of lumber against guide block. Moves lever to clamp lumber in machine. Starts saw that cuts off ends of lumber. Places sawed lumber on conveyor.

Rock Sawyer--Operates circular saw to cut wide kerf in bark of log in front of and in line with headsaw to remove rock, gravel, or tough bark likely to damage headsaw.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

JOBBER (Logging Contractor)

Arranges contracts with mill, logging company, governmental agency, or individuals, to harvest timber. Coordinates activities of persons engaged in logging operations. Inspects areas to be logged to estimate costs of operation and submits bid for contract. Engages men and equipment, and organizes, schedules and supervises operations according to production requirements, safety laws, and terms of contract. Consults with company and governmental foresters and inspectors regarding logging method and safety and efficiency of operation. May keep time and production records of crew.

December 31, 1968

Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP
Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10039

Dear Jean:

The enclosed went out on December 23rd. I sent copies of my letter and the materials from you to Courtney who was to write McCreedy and Fitt. Let me know if you hear anything.

I will be in Galveston, Texas at the Flagship Hotel from the evening of January 3rd through January 10th.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

February 5, 1969

Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP
Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10039

Dear Jean:

In the materials I sent to you the other day I failed to mention that Callaway Mills (LaGrange, Georgia) was acquired by Deering-Milliken, Inc. in April 1968 which, of course, places it within the orbit of the Big 10.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

cc: Mordecai Johnson
Bob Valder
Allan Black

February 26, 1969

Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP
Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10039

Dear Jean:

I plan to make the TEAM meeting on March 9th. Unless there is a special reason for coming in early or staying late I will not need a room reservation for Saturday or Sunday night.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

cc: Bob Valder

April 18, 1969

Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10039

Dear Jean:

Lyle and I will see you at Hilton Inn around 11:00 a.m. Thursday.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Dictated but signed in his absence

Jean Fairfax

Dear Jean:

Lyle and I will see you at Holtan Inn at around 11:00 AM Thursday.

Sincerely,

Jay

Sign in my absence & Send.

Legal Defense Fund

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y. 10019 • 586-8397

Southeastern Regional Office
Division of Information
216 W. 10th Street — Charlotte, N. C. 28202

January 14, 1970

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

At our meeting in Washington last month I believe you mentioned having some contacts in Covington, Virginia who were somehow involved with or knowledgeable about Westvaco Paper Company. If this is true, could you send me those names, addresses and phone numbers.

Thanks much.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder
Regional Director

BV/sp

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New York, N. Y.

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Bradford Young

The "Committee of 100", a voluntary cooperative group of individuals, headed by Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.

January 26, 1970

Mr. Robert Valder
216 W. 10th Street
Charlotte, North Carolina 28802

Dear Bob:

Sorry to be so slow in getting back to you. What I said about Covington, Virginia was that I lived there for a year and a half and graduated from high school in Covington and have never returned. I do not have any good contacts regarding West Vaco. However, I think I could give some assistance in uncovering a few.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Legal Defense Fund

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019 • JUdson 6-8397

Southern Regional Office
Division of Legal Information and Community Services
216 West Tenth Street Charlotte, N. C. 28202
(704) 333-3047
(704) 332-6121

(Rollada)

August 5, 1970

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

While going through Atlanta the other day I did not have a chance to stop and talk to you. I was simply wondering if you could tell me the status of the MIND Program in Macon and Rome, Georgia and anywhere else where that program may be operating.

Any information you could provide on MIND Program would be appreciated.

Thanks much.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder
Regional Director

BV/dr

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 12, 1970

Mr. Robert Valder
Legal Defense Fund
216 West 10 Street
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

Dear Bob:

As I have attempted to explain before, the programs in Macon and Rome are not run by MIND. They are operated by the U.S. Research Development Corporation. These particular programs are financed through an experimental grant from the Ford Foundation to the American Paper Institute.

These programs have been operating more than a year. There have been some difficulties, some missteps, and some corrections. They were recently refunded. The aim of the programs is to up-grade the employability of existing workers and it is also attempting to provide some new purposes to those not yet employed.

I have not yet looked at the operations in Rome and Macon for nearly a year, but my impression is that they are on a sounder basis. I do have some other information in my files, if you are interested.

You may recall that these programs were involved to some extent in an EEOC settlement and court case. I do not know where else in the South USR & D is operating, but I could probably find out.

Please let me know if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Clear Copy On Skin
FLUORESCENT

Emory F. Via, Director
Resource Development Center

EFV/gms

August 13, 1970

Mr. Robert Valder
Legal Defense Fund
216 West 10 Street
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

Dear Bob:

As I have attempted to explain before, the programs in Macon and Rome are not run by MIND. They are operated by the U.S. Research Development Corporation. These particular programs are financed through an experimental grant from the Ford Foundation to the American Paper Institute.

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Please let me know if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resource Development Center

EFV/gms

August 17, 1970

Mr. Robert Valder
Legal Defense Education Fund
216 West 10 Street
Charlotte, North Carolina 28802

Dear Bob:

The enclosed report is from USR&D and will catch you up-to-date on some of the activities in Rome and Macon.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resource Development Center

EFV/gms
Enclosure

October 7, 1970

Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP
Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10039

Dear Jean:

I have your request fof leads to Black Leaders in Appalachia. Did the same material go to the state councils on human relations, especially Virginia, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Did something go to Galen Martin in Louisville? There are one or two people in TVA that might be helpful. In a few cases the State AFL-CIO would have useful contacts. The Labor Education Program at the University of West Virginia has run a training program throughout much of Appalachia for union people working on poverty problems. The staff there might have some leads.

I have asked others on our staff to pass their suggestions on to me. If you would like any assistance on the suggestions in the above paragraph, let me know.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

Jean Fairfax

Legal Defense Fund

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y. 10019 • JUdson 6-8397

July, 1970

Dear Friends, Emory

This is a preliminary and very impressionistic report of my recent visit to Australia and New Zealand. It would be better to wait until materials which I collected and documents which I have ordered arrive but I am eager to share some thoughts while they are fresh for whatever advantage first impressions have. I'll correct them later after I've studied the literature and talked with seasoned observers. So this is a personal letter to a few friends. No quotes, please.

Last March the New Zealand Race Relations Council invited me to participate in a seminar on Race and Development which was scheduled for early May. I accepted and agreed to present a paper on "Race and Conflict" - a topic about which American blacks have more than academic knowledge. The Council's planning committee then postponed the seminar and suggested that I should come anyway on a speaking tour. I made a counter proposal, which was accepted, that I would make a private, fact-finding trip with no major public appearances, the purpose of which would be to assess race relations and to make recommendations relative to the sharing of resources and experiences between the USA and New Zealand and to the involvement of New Zealand in the World Council of Church's new Ecumenical Programme to Combat Racism. With plans to go to New Zealand, I then decided to make a shorter visit to Australia, which was arranged by WCC and the Australian Council of Churches.

Since we Americans tend to lump Australia and New Zealand together, I must begin by reminding my fellow citizens that these are not twin states that can be crossed with a Staten Island-type ferry! Separated by 1500 miles of ocean, these two distinct nations have quite different political and social histories and project unlike images. Australia is almost 2/3 the size of continental USA; New Zealand's two islands have about 2/3 the square miles of California. Australia is a commonwealth with problems of Federal-state jurisdiction which are very familiar to Americans. New Zealand functions as a unitary government from Wellington with relatively minor decisions made by local governing bodies. One gets the impression that Australia sees herself as potentially a big

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power on the world scene for she sits on vast unexploited resources. Sydney ranks easily as one of the world's major cities with handsome modern buildings and a spectacular opera house under construction. Newspapers from all over, including the daily Wall Street Journal, are available. Downtown Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, with its two and three story wooden buildings and even the largest city, Auckland, are unpretentious in architecture. The visitor feels the isolation of New Zealand from current winds of change and concern about the inability to cope with developments (such as Britian's participation in the European Economic Community) which expose New Zealand's dependence on her foreign markets. It is said that New Zealanders are more English than the English. If so, this seems to be a cultural affinity to an England of an earlier generation.

Few would doubt that Australia lines up with the nations guilty of white racism and of disparities between the economic status of the poor and the affluent. On the other hand, New Zealand has had the reputation for model race relations and for pioneering in social legislation. It was the first nation to grant the suffrage to women. With a welfare state philosophy, it has provided a basic economic floor, broad health benefits and extensive state-subsidized housing and has had practically no unemployment. One gets the feeling that New Zealand has eschewed wealth and glitter for the few in order to guarantee comfortable living for all her citizens. Friends who took me to see state housing complained about the dreariness of these developments. It was obvious to me that they have never seen real slums or public housing USA style!

Having attended in Geneva the first meeting of the Advisory Committee to the World Council of Church's new Ecumenical Programme to Combat Racism, I boarded a BOAC flight in Zurich on Wednesday, June 3, at 6:30 p.m. which stopped in Teheran, Bangkok and Hong Kong before it deposited me in Darwin, Australia, on Friday, June 5, at 3:00 a.m. No one in his right mind would travel like this without a break but fortunately I do not approve conventional wisdom so I was able to be in the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory Friday morning to hear witnesses testify in the Yirrkala land rights case, the first major civil action suit brought by Aborigines in Australia.

During my two days in Darwin, I met Yirrkala Aborigines who had come from their home 400 miles east and conferred at length with John Little, one of the attorneys in the case, and with Mrs. Nancy Williams, an American anthropologist who is

studying the area. I interviewed Philip Roberts, an Aborigine liaison officer for the government, and Margaret Valadian, a social worker who is one of Australia's three Aborigine university graduates. Mr. and Mrs. Jack Goodluck, who work with the Methodist Church and who know the area well, were extremely helpful in briefing me about the overall situation in the Northern Territory.

I was in Sydney for three days on a schedule arranged by Frank Engel, general secretary of the Australian Council of Churches, wh is very knowledgeable about the land situation. I had excellent sessions with ACC and mission board staff members, students, lawyers, Aborigine leaders, representatives of civil rights organizations and community workers. I also met some American young people who are in Australia under the auspices of the Ecumenical Institute of Chicago. I had a very good interview with a key government official, Dr. H. C. Coombs, head of the Australian Council on Aborigine Affairs.

I spent June 10 in Brisbane, Queensland, with Kath Walker, Aborigine poet and civil rights leader, who had participated in the Notting Hill seminar in 1969 and who had invited me to sit under her mango tree to receive an all day stream of visitors -- Aborigines who she said could tell it to me like it is! Among these were a recently radicalized staff member of One People of Australia League (OPAL) and an Aborigine clergyman who had visited American Indians who had presented him with a magnificent feather headdress which he was delighted to display. He was also great with the didjeridoo, the Aborigine equivalent to the basoon. Stan Davey, the former executive secretary of FCAATSI was visiting Kath at the time and provided useful background information about this organization's present problems and about the land situation in Western Australia, where he is now living.

FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

1. Everyone I met corroborated a statement made to me by a high official, that Australia's history of race relations is "appalling" and that it is a miracle that the Aborigines on the mainland were not completely exterminated as they were in Tasmania. Racism has been implemented in almost unbelievably cruel practices, such as the forcible removal of half-caste children from their Aborigine mothers. (I shall never forget the deep sadness which came over the face of a woman I met as she told me that she had no idea who her people are because she had been taken from her mother.) Aborigines have been non-persons; they have not even been included in the census.

2. Race relations now vary widely. Until recently, Aborigine affairs have been a state and not a Federal responsibility. I was surprised that no one could give me a current overall analysis of the civil rights of Aborigines with a state by state breakdown. Some states have very few Aborigines. South Australia has taken the most progressive steps and it is heartening to know that the Honorable D. A. Dunstan whom I met in London in May 1969 at the international consultation on racism has since become the premier. Queensland, Western Australia and the Federally-administered Northern Territory are apparently the areas of greatest concern. Living "under the Act" in Queensland is offensive and burdensome to Aborigines who are denied freedom of movement, control over their earnings, etc. The referendum on May 27, 1967, which authorized the inclusion of Aborigines in the census and which gave the Federal Government power to legislate in re Aboriginal affairs, is considered a major landmark in race relations.

In response to my queries about the prospects for a national civil rights statute, I got different answers. Most persons I met would agree with the need but see little chance of getting such legislation at the present time. Dr. Coombs told me he does not think more national legislation is needed because where the Federal and state governments have concurrent jurisdiction the Federal can assume jurisdiction and prevail. The only legislation needed would be appropriations. He said that he believes Queensland is in violation of the United Nations Convention Against Discrimination. The role of his Council which is in the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs is to undertake research, to advise the government, to coordinate the activities of the states and to facilitate contacts between whites and Aborigines. Coombs is against special agencies for minorities and sees his role as encouraging the appropriate departments (education, housing, health, employment, etc.) to become more effective in responding to the needs of the Aborigines. I got the feeling that he feels restricted under this Administration which emphasizes the persuasive role of the Federal officials in relation to the states (where have I heard that before?). Federal officials, including Coombs, were in Queensland while I was there, conferring with state officials but most of my contacts were not optimistic about the outcome.

3. Before the Europeans came, there were between 200-300,000 Aborigines. By the 1930's the population had fallen to 50-100,000. Current population figures are guesses since Aborigines have not been counted in the census and because there is difference of opinion concerning how to identify the part-Aborigine. Persons who identify themselves as Aborigines have been conservatively estimated at 140,000 although Aborigines whom I met believe that the nation will be surprised at the size of the group when the census has been completed. Aborigines are the fastest growing section of the population - the birth rate is twice that of whites. 50% of the Aboriginal population is under the age of 15. If the current high infant and child mortality rate is reduced (the infant mortality rate is three and a half times that of other Australian babies; the death rate for the second year of life is twenty times the Australian average; in one town 66% of Aboriginal children registered died before they were four years old), white Australians will be facing an increasingly larger minority group.

4. Land is the central issue. The Aborigines "were disinherited of almost all their lands by the white population. The only land now available to them is the reserves which are Crown lands to which they have no title (and which are) vulnerable ...to military and scientific requirement...or economic development. A landless people is a rootless people. A rootless people tends to become an indigent people." (National Missionary Council of Australia, June, 1963.) There are three kinds of settlements: mission stations, government settlements and cattle stations. Some mission stations date from the last century; others are only 30 years old. A brochure of the Australian Council of Churches states:

> The missions were established out of Christian concern for the people. This concern was for both their spiritual and material well-being, so the missions provided religious instruction and worship, and centres for community, life, for education and medical care. They were also places where the Aborigines might gradually adjust themselves to the pressures of the advancing white civilization. Some were begun in the 1930's quite deliberately to be buffer areas and adjustment centres for nomadic tribes. In time, many Aborigines chose to adopt a settled life where

food and goods they valued were available. As a result, many mission stations have taken on the characteristics of small urban communities.

A church worker with a somewhat different perspective told me that the churches established stations as hand-outs for government rations and tobacco. They convinced the Aborigines to permit children to remain in residence for education. Thus communities were built up and the first cadre of educated Aborigines was created. Now there are no rations although the government provides "training subsidies." Idleness and apathy are real problems on these stations because paternalism was built in from the beginning. He stated there is a tendency of Aborigines to see their work on the stations as just keeping the white man's thing going.

In recent years, the churches have been rethinking their role. So far as I could find out this has meant some new statements of policy, the inclusion of Aborigines in participation in decision-making at the stations and intercession by churches to secure economic benefits for Aborigines as companies move in to exploit mineral and other resources. Churches have turned land over to the government but I do not believe that any churches have actually transferred land to the Aborigines.

Two crises over land were in the news while I was in Australia. One is the Yirrkala land rights case. A billion dollar bauxite deposit in the Gove Peninsula in the northeastern part of the Arnhem Land Aborginal Reserve is being exploited by Nabalco Proprietary, Ltd., a consortium under 70% Swiss and 30% Australian ownership. Eleven Aboriginal tribes live in Arnhem Land which is almost the size of Virginia. Under the leadership of Dadaynga Roy Marika, the 600 people of the Yirrkala village submitted a petition written on bark and later filed suit against Nabalco and the Australian Government to establish that they are the rightful owners of the land. Initial funds for the litigation were provided by the Methodist Church but the government has since agreed to pay expenses not covered by private funds. (The government is suing itself!)

John Little, one of the team of lawyers for the Yirrkala, told me that the Northern Territory was

originally part of South Australia. The articles patent conferring this land grant explicitly stated that the land use of the Aborigine people must be respected. The legal strategy is to prove that the Yirrkala people have occupied the land from time immemorial, followed accepted routes for hunting and successfully dealt over the years with invaders and with outsiders who came in to trade but did not take over the land. When I asked him why the Methodist missionaries had not initiated action immediately when the firm first announced its intentions, he said that the missionaries were at first more interested in the economic advantages which the mining would bring. They welcomed the opportunity to sell their produce and to make bricks needed for construction. A new city for 4000 employees is being built. I got the feeling that concern for the Aborigines' rights was a later development but I must check this out. At any rate even though the mission's lease has expired, it seems to be playing an active role in the suit now. A white woman and a young black man from the mission served as interpreters the day I was in court.

When I asked John Little about the possible outcome of the litigation, he said that the case would certainly go to the highest court. Whatever the outcome, he thinks it will result in a Royal Commission to review the entire land rights situation. The Yirrkala people have been brought from their isolation into the middle of this international battle, but he did not know of any efforts to help the people plan for their future. Both John Little and Nancy Williams, the American anthropologist, have high regard for the intelligence of the Yirrkala and the quality of their leaders. She observed, however, that they really have no comprehension of the potential impact on their way of life of this mining operation. Among other things it will produce a red mud which renders areas unsafe. I met Mr. Marika at the court and gave him a clipping from the New York Times which was an article on the suit with his picture that had appeared a few days before I left the USA. Was he surprised! I wish I could have discussed with him what the Yirrkala's goals are: Do they want to throw the industry out or to negotiate a tough agreement for royalties, economic development, training, jobs, etc.?

A very different kind of crisis has developed at the Vestey's Wave Hill cattle station. In August 1966, Gurindji employees walked off the cattle station operated by the Wave Hill Pastoral Company, Ltd. (British) which has leased 6000 square miles, at 10¢ a square mile, until the year 2004. Protesting poor wages and working conditions, the Aborigines petitioned for the return of their tribal land, about 500 square miles. They left the welfare settlement at Wave Hill and established a strike camp on the banks of the Wattie Creek. The government has rejected the petition and has pressured them in various ways to return to the government-operated settlement. University students have publicized the plight of the Gurindji and have assisted them in building permanent homes at Wattie Creek. The situation seems to be at a stalemate.

There are a number of problem areas but I also heard about opportunities and about efforts to make positive approaches: Catholic interest in buying a station for a cattle ranch; an area abandoned by the Anglicans which has some freehold land which could be developed into a good cattle ranch and peanut farm; the development of an Aborigine-owned cooperative bakery on land controlled by the Anglicans; the role of the Anglicans on Groote Island where they bargained with the Broken Hill Proprietary Company for royalties and guaranteed job opportunities, etc.

5. Great interest was expressed about the economic advancement of the Aborigines as individuals as well as the economic development of their communities. Discriminatory wage rates were mentioned but I was unable to get specifics. Unemployment in Australia generally is negligible; apparently, it is a way of life for Aborigines. Many live in places where there is no work; many have had no training. Opportunities for Aborigines to work above the unskilled level are almost nonexistent. The government has made $5 million available to help Aborigines go into business but my Aborigine contacts told me that very little information has been disseminated about this money and it is extremely difficult to qualify for these grants. Later, when I asked Dr. Coombs whey the money was moving so slowly, he said that the government wants a high success rate for the initial grants. Funds are also available for community economic development from government and from the Aboriginal Benefit Trust Fund which receives royalties for lands. One contact observed that plenty money is available for community development; lacking are human resources, imagination and projects.

Margaret Valadian is scornful of the focus of the militant Aborigines on rights and told me that the emphasis should be on community planning. She would like to see a national trust created with money from corporations which would be used for feasibility studies, planning and the systematic development of sound projects.

I visited the Cooperative for Aborigines in Sydney, a hostel for Aborigine boys who are brought to the city for training in organizing cooperatives. It was clear that these delightful chaps are more interested in individual job opportunities. The hostel provides the needed contacts and support for them.

6. Education is of course an urgent issue. There are only three Aborigines who are university graduates. One of them, Margaret Valadian, has a social work degree from Hawaii and has traveled extensively in the USA. There have been many efforts, especially through scholarships, to increase the number of Aborigines in the universities. However, there have been only about six students a year and the drop out rate has been high.

The National Union of Australian University Students Aboriginal Scholarship Scheme (ABSCHOL) began as an effort by white university students to encourage the enrollment of Aborigines. As the government has increased its scholarships, ABSCHOL has shifted its program. It is now more interested in scholarships and other kinds of support to secondary students and it is doing significant community work. It is trying to effect exchanges in curriculum and attitude changes in educators so schools will relate more effectively to Aborigine children. ABSCHOL has conducted field studies to document injustices suffered by Aborigines. It is deeply involved in the Wattie Creek situation. Law students have investigated police practices. With the help of faculty members, they are planning a community legal aid project.

There is tremendous interest in Australia in early childhood education. Alex Grey who did some pioneering work in New Zealand in parent-run centers is now affiliated with the University of Sydney and has brought in Maori women to help promote centers among Aborigines, especially in New South Wales. Funds from the Van Leer Foundation in the Netherlands are supporting this work. I was asked a lot of questions about our Headstart Program.

Aborigines spoke to me of their concern to exercise more control over the education of their children, to have a curriculum which will incorporate the wisdom of their legends and to have their languages taught in the schools.

Australia has compulsory school attendance laws but I got different responses when I asked whether they apply to Aboriginal children.

7. Assimilation has been the policy of the government. This seems to have been based on the assumption that Aborigines would choose to adopt the ways of white Australians and that government should assist those individuals who do so. This policy is now being challenged by Aborigines who have apparently decided they do not wish to disappear as a distinct ethnic group. An official refers to the "phenomenal revival of Aboriginal ceremonial life... which is attracting back to tribal participation Aborigines who had grown away from their own communities, even part-Aborigines who had had previously no established tribal background." Several persons commented to me on their growing sense of identity as Aborigines rather than as members of tribal groups.

The government's Arts Council is promoting cultural revival. Dr. Coombs told me of the sponsorship of a traveling theater, apparently reviving an old Aborigine art form. I also heard of an Aboriginal Drama Group which will begin soon in Sydney as campus theater. There is an Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies in Canberra but I got the impression that this government body has the concern of the archivists to preserve something which may die out rather than to promote the contemporary expressions of a living culture. Aware of Aborigines' interest in language development, I asked Dr. Coombs about the role of government in promoting bilinguaism. He said there are about 700 Aborigine languages and that there are only a few places, perhaps in South Australia where bilingualism is feasible. Coombs impressed me as a very compassionate and candid public official but even this liberal white man did not comprehend the depth of feeling I had sensed in Aborigines on the language question.

Australians who have finally accepted the concept of upward mobility for individual achieving Aborigines

will undoubtedly find it hard to understand the Aborigine's rejection of assimilation and may be threatened by the political implications of development and civil rights as a communal and not just an individual concern.

8. Perhaps the most dramatic expression of demands by Aborigines to control their own destiny came earlier this year when militant Aborigines tried to change the direction of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI). FCAATSI, a 14-year old broadly based civil rights organization, has been a coalition of white liberals, unionists, educators, churchmen, students and Aborigines. It played a key role in getting a favorable vote during the 1967 referendum. Apparently, it has concentrated on an annual conference which may Aborigines feel was full of good will but too sentimental and without follow-up. Defeated (primarily by trade unionists) in their effort to bring FCAATSI under black control, militant Aborigines pulled out and formed the National Tribal Council which will be completely run by Aborigines. Whites may belong but without voting privileges. Many of my contacts believe both organizations are needed but deep personality conflicts may prevent the division of work and a mutually supportive program. The predominatly white churches and student groups are now trying to decide how they will line up. When I met with FCAATSI leaders (some Aborigines have remained), I got the feeling that they are pretty demoralized by the split. FCAATSI is without a general secretary; the National Tribal Council has its membership primarily in Queensland and Victoria and has as yet no assured funds which would enable it to function as a national organization.

The One People of Australia League (OPAL) in Queensland was also feeling the wrath of Aborigines at white-dominated groups working for Aborigine welfare. While I was in Brisbane, a black staff member blasted OPAL for being too conservative and has probably resigned since.

9. I found great concern about the racial dimensions in Australia's external relations: immigration policy, developments in Papua-New Guinea over which she has trustee responsibilities, relations with South Africa and Rhodesia, etc. I gather that the country has an almost

hysterical fear of communist (especially Chinese) invasion. Apparently, Chinese came into the northern area during the gold rush in the last century and also built the railroads. Some who were in business were permitted to stay; others were forced out in the 80's. Jack Goodluck said that Darwin might have been like Singapore, had the Chinese stayed. Darwin recently had a Chinese mayor.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Before I left Sydney, I discussed with Frank Engel my recommendation that the Australian Council of Churches should create a Commission on Aboriginal Development and Racism which would concentrate on the following:

   a. <u>Aborigine Land and Development</u>

      (1) ACC should provide the leadership and the secretariat for an ecumenical land project under which cooperating churches would inventory all lands over which they exercise any control (mission stations now operating; abandoned and unoccupied mission stations; stations which have been turned over to the government but over which the churches have some moral influence; freehold land which is not in optimum use) and develop plans to transfer the land to Aboriginal control with built-in timetables and target dates. This would mean: (1) the immediate involvement of Aborigines in the planning; (2) the commissioning of feasibility studies to determine the optimum land-use of the stations; (3) the ranking of these lands for priority

attention giving consideration to such factors as their economic promise, urgent economic needs of the people; Aboriginal leadership potential, etc.; (4) the exploration and implementation of various models of ownership, e.g. community corporations, cooperatives, etc. and (5) training in needed basic skills including management. Although the churches may now control only a small percent of the land in Australia, an ecumenical act of this scope would undoubtedly have a terrific impact on the entire nation.

(2) ACC should offer to make available to the Yirrkala people an experienced consultant on community development, preferably an African, Asian or other nonwhite person who could assist them as they think through what they should do with their land once they receive a final court decision. Whatever the decision is, their life is not going to be the same. They need to understand what kinds of options will be open to them and how these can be exercised to enhance their control over their own destiny as well as the development of their community.

b. United Nations Year Against Racism (1971)

I discovered considerable concern that Australia should have more than a perfunctory official observance of this year. ACC could coordinate the activities of private bodies to ensure a meaningful program.

c. The Civil Rights of Aborigines:
National Civil Rights and Anti-discrimination Statute

One possible project for the U.N. Year might be to convene a lawyers' committee under a distinguished jurist which would: (1) compile and analyze laws affecting Aborigines state by state; (2) hold hearings around the country to get documentation on the actual status of the civil rights of

Aborigines; (3) draft a model national civil rights statute; (4) involve the mass media in extensive publication of this material.

d. Jobs, housing, education, police-community relations, etc.

Action programs could be developed based on information gathered above. One would hope that the National Tribal Council or a reorganized FCAATSI would provide the lead in these areas so the role of the churches might be primarily supportive.

e. The racial dimension of Australia's external relations (immigration, relations with South Africa and Rhodesia, sport, Papua-New Guinea) should also be the concern of this Commission. Since involvement in these issues tends to result in statements rather than action projects which restructure institutions, I would give this item a low priority although I think it should be included in a total program.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES:

a. WCC should encourage the ACC to undertake the Aborigine Land and Development Project as a project of WCC's Ecumenical Programme to Combat Racism. WCC should agree to provide matching funds for the secretariat of this ecumenical effort (Frank Engel estimated that expenses for staff salary and travel would be around $16,000) with the understanding that the financing of feasibility studies would be raised separately from government, corporations, etc.

b. Through its development agencies, WCC should provide a community consultant to the Yirrkala people.

c. WCC should advise Swiss churchmen about their country's involvement in the economic exploitation of the Yirrkala and assist them in getting the facts and in putting pressure on the investors to guarantee justice to these Aborigines.

d. WCC should advise British churchmen about the role Vesey's is playing in denying to the Gurindji tribe their basic rights and should suggest ways of exposing and correcting this situation.

e. In view of the Aborigines' sense of common cause with the Indians of North America (and also because they may have too rosy a picture of developments here) WCC might sponsor a strategy seminar in 1971 for Canadian Indians and Eskimos, U.S.A. Indians and Aborgines.

f. Should ACC decide to convene a lawyers' committee to investigate the civil rights of Aborigines, WCC should provide an experienced black civil rights attorney from the USA as a consultant.

g. WCC should send a letter of congratulations to Mr. Dunstan, premier of South Australia, offer our support as he provides leadership in eliminating racism from his state and ask how we can help.

h. Contacts should be made with the Ecumenical Institute of Chicago to set up channels of communication between WCC and EIC's staff in Australia. Several persons whom I met were very enthusiastic about a seminar on urbanization which EIC held in Singapore. The American representatives now in Sydney should be sharing their insights with WCC.

i. I am ambivalent about the feasibility of sending a WCC-sponsored Team of Inquiry to Australia. This is no place for generalists because the problems are so complicated. The country is so large I wonder whether the kinds of experienced consultants whom we would want to send would have the time and energy to stay long enough to size up a wide range of problems and to visit key trouble spots. Here are the possibilities as I see them:

(1) Postpone for the time being the idea of a Team of Inquiry, especially one

which would try to include New Zealand, Papua-New Guinea, Fiji, etc. If we decide to pursue my recommendation that our WCC Advisory Committee should divide into area working parties, the South Pacific group might schedule a regional conference on racism late in 1971 and invite people from the area to meet with us. We might do some limited, low-visibility traveling around the edges of this meeting.

2. Limit the mandate of the Team of Inquiry to the land issue and make it an international team of persons knowledgeable about all phases of it including the legal rights, development, etc. If ACC decides to launch the land project, a team could be scheduled to give the project support and visibility as well as technical assistance.

ORATION

by Kath Walker

Here, at the invaders spirit place,
We, who are the strangers now,
Come, with sorrow in our hearts.
The Bora Ring, the Corroborees,
The sacred ceremonies,
Have gone, All gone.
Turned to dust on the land
That once was ours.
Oh spirits from the unhappy past,
Hear us now.
We come, not to disturb your rest.
We come, to mourn your passing.
You, who paid the price,
When the invaders spilt your blood.
Your present generation comes,
Seeking strength and wisdom in your memory.
The legends tell us,
When a race dies,
So too, dies the land.
May your spirits go with us
From this place.
May the mother of Life,
Wake from her sleeping,
And lead us on to the happy life,
That once was ours.
Oh Mother of Life,
Oh spirits from the unhappy past,
Hear the cries of your unhappy people---
And let it be so---
Oh spirits---let it be so.

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Presented at the DAY OF MOURNING' at Leichardt Street Methodist Church, 12th April, 1970.

NOTE FROM JF - This was indeed "Censored." Kath Walker was not permitted to read her oration.

CENSORED

NEW ZEALAND

Within a few hours after I arrived in Wellington on June 11, I was on national television and within 24 hours I was caught up in the midst of a demonstration. Both of these events reflect the urgency felt by many New Zealanders to break out of their isolation from the world-wide racial revolution. The television interview about racial developments in the USA - which began, by the way, with a request for comment on Roger Wilkins' recent and devasting analysis - occurred at that particular time because the prime minister who had been scheduled to appear backed out at the last minute. My protests over supplying the live, warm body for an interview which NZBC needed but for which I was unprepared were overcome by appeals to help fill a vacuum of understanding - and at prime time over the single network which reaches practically all homes. The appearance opened up some interesting contacts. Throughout my 2-week visit people stopped me on the streets to engage me in conversation and even to invite me to their homes. I was contacted by several Americans, including a black girl from Minneapolis who is in New Zealand with the American Field Service, who had some very perceptive observations about national characteristics. Because of the remarks I made on television, persons, particularly Maori, may have been more candid with me in discussing their own racial feelings than they might have been with others strangers. Everyone who responded to the program, however, was not just interested in race. Many persons, both men and women, were obviously primarily interested in my role as a woman in public life - an indication, apparently, that most women in New Zealand play very traditional, home-centered roles.

The demonstration on the eve of the departure for South Africa of New Zealand's rugby team was the climax of ten years of protest against participation in international sports with nations with racist policies. More on this later. But as I was jammed in the crowds on the street in front of my hotel, watching the very nervous police who seemed to have no strategy for handling hundreds of students, many of whose faces were half-painted black, I felt very much at home. My gut reaction and sense of apprehension were unwarranted (Did the presence of the fire engines mean mace? Would trigger happy cops shoot into the crowd?) for this was still not the USA!

I was in Wellington for four days on a full schedule planned by James P. Delahunty, who is the chairman of the seminar planning committee of the New Zealand Race Relations Council. He arranged an excellent briefing session with a group of very knowledgeable persons include a Maori woman Member of Parliament, a Maori labor leader, professors of anthropology, social administration and

education and lawyers, including an ex-United Nations official. I attended a Polynesian Society Seminar for Workers in Voluntary Service, young people engaged in tutoring and other projects in the minority community. I spent an exceedingly valuable Sunday in Porirua, a suburb of Wellington, most of the day on the Porirua Marae where I attended a national seminar for Maori wardens, ate an enormous and delicious traditional Maori meal and had a good session with some young people. Later my hosts drove me around a very extensive area of state housing developments.

Also, in Wellington I interviewed the chairman of a Maori Land Board, New Zealand's ombudsman and the Minister of Maori Affairs, had an excellent conference with about 25 labor leaders, visited the museum, was in several homes for social evenings and attended a meeting of the seminar planning committee.

From Wellington, I flew to Christchurch in the South Island where I was the guest for two days of the New Zealand Council of Churches. I attended a meeting of the Executive Committee to report on the World Council of Churches' new Programme to Combat Racism. I had a good session with two clergymen, one Maori and one Samoan, who were helpful in interpreting the racial situation in the South Island where the non-white minority is small. One evening I attended a meeting of a Catholic peace group, held in a private home, to which a Maori architect had been invited to give his views on race relations. A very pleasant morning was spent driving into the hills around Christchurch with Rev. and Mrs. Taylor and A.Gnanasunderam of Ceylon who is directing the NZCC's Church and Society Commission from an office in Auckland.

I was in Hamilton for several days as the guest of the Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE) and professors at the University of Waikoto. My hosts were Mr. and Mrs. David Swain (sociology). I spent a morning at the district office of the Maori Affairs Department with three Maori welfare officers. Two briefing sessions were arranged: one with persons from CARE, child welfare, youth work, mental health, the Pan-Pacific Women's Association, the Maori Women's Welfare League and students; the other with academics from education, political science and sociology. Professor James Ritchie, who has been one of the country's major researchers and writers on the Maori, has been attempting to establish a Centre for Maori Studies and Research at Waikato so it was good to get acquainted with him and with persons who will be involved in the Centre if it ever gets funded. I had two sessions with students: an evening of action songs and discussion with the Campus Maori Club and a meeting where I answered questions about

developments in the USA. Jim Milroy, a Maori welfare officer who has been asked by his tribe to go to law school at their expense, took me to Ngaruawahia to the Turangawaewae Marae.

On June 20 after morning coffee with the Donnels (Mary is a Maori of the Maniapoto tribe, has been active in CARE and is on the executive committee of the New Zealand Race Relations Council), we drove to Auckland where I spent a week as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. James Gale (he teaches at Auckland Teachers College and is the chairman of NZRRC) and their five children. I attended meetings of the executive committee of NZRRC, of the Auckland Regional Committee on Maori Adult Education and of the Church and Society Commission. At a gathering of lawyers I talked about the Legal Defense Fund's litigation program. I also spoke at a public meeting. I had a number of individual interviews with professors at the University of Auckland and attended a class at the Teachers College. I had several talks with a Gnanasunderam. Through him I met a very thoughtful Maori who is the director of the Anglican church's educational work in Auckland.

I devoted most of my time in Auckland in gaining insight into the life of Maori and Polynesians in urban areas: a Sunday afternoon dance for young people organized by Pat Hohepa, chairman of the Auckland District Maori Council, conversation in the home of Manitete Fanoti, head of the Samoan Progressive Association, visits to a primary school with a high proportion of Polynesian children, to a Play Centre run primarily by Maori mothers, and to the Orakei Centre where Maori are trying to develop a communal life in an urban setting. I accompanied a delegation of concerned community leaders to confer with a principal who had expelled some Maori students. I especially value the time I spent with students: two evenings with Maori and Polynesian university students, a delightful session with Polynesian high school students, a visit to the Queen Victoria School, a session with seminarians at the St. Paul Theological Seminary and an evening with some African students. I was in homes of Maori or racially mixed families on many occasions.

FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

1. Most Pakeha (as white New Zealanders are called) and many Maori, too - if I can believe a most voluble Maori taxi driver in Auckland - are firmly convinced that their country has no race problem. They believe that the outright bigot would not be encouraged and point to the mixed marriages and to the absence of the usual visible trappings of a racist society (although I was told that discrimination in public accommodations existed as recently as 10-15 years ago in some parts of the country).

The egalitarian nature of New Zealand's welfare state, which has established a basic economic floor for all citizens,

extensive state housing (Maori families are "pepper potted" to discourage racial concentrations in housing!) and the lack of unemployment would seem to describe a society which is more interested in a decent standard of living for all than in privilege for a few. Pakeha are quick to brag about "our Maori," the cultural uniqueness they give to the nation and the preferred status which Maori have. There are special scholarships; earmarked government funds are available for housing loans for Maori; Maori have four guaranteed seats in Parliament, etc. Even some of the social scientists whom I interviewed stated that a racial problem is more potential that actual and preferred to talk in terms of cultural or class differences rather than race. Others stated that prejudice exists in New Zealand but "has a different flavor."

Whether New Zealand merited in the past her reputation as a paradise of race relations, recent developments portend a situation which could become critical, if not explosive. The question is, therefore, whether this country which her own citizens admit is very complacent and conformist, will be able to cope with the demands of the new era in race relations.

2. For a country as sports-loving as New Zealand is, it is not surprising that its watershed in race relations may have come with the departure of the All Blacks, New Zealand's rugby team, for a South African tour in spite of heavy opposition from students, churchmen, civil rights types, Maori, etc. Ten years ago the All Blacks went to South Africa without any Maori players, bowing to apartheid requirements and arousing a storm of disapproval from many citizens who vowed, "never again!" Undoubtedly, the rugby promoters thought that a clash between football-lovers and apartheid-haters would be averted when South Africa agreed to accept the team in 1970 with Maori players as "temporary" or "honorary" whites.

The controversy was hot; efforts were made up until the last minute to keep the team from leaving, including pressure on the Government to intervene and demonstrations at the airport on the morning of the departure. The heat and bitterness of the public discussion, the divisiveness it reflected and the kinds of arguments used by both sides have implications far beyond the sports issue.

Raising the basic issue, whether New Zealanders are really racist at heart, one magazine queried: "Why, in a society which prides itself on its race relations are there apparently so many people who cannot or will not see the basic injustice of racial policies in southern Africa?" The friendship, family ties and similar life styles which white farmers, businessmen and Government officials

in New Zealand share with South Africans and Rhodesians have been brought into the open by this controversy. New Zealanders lobbied unsuccessfully to persuade the International Olympic Committee to let South Africa compete at the next Olympic Games. Coming at a time when New Zealand needs good relations with nonwhite members of the Commonwealth as well as with her Pacific Asian neighbors, her insensitivity to the seriousness of the apartheid issue and the naivete of the proposition that good will toward South Africa and the sending of a multiracial team might serve to modify apartheid have justified anxiety. A comment by an African sportsman that, "New Zealand stinks" got inch-high black headlines in a local paper while I was there.

Maori were split about whether the tour should be cancelled. Some leaders felt the team should go because they had given their word; the earlier condition for going to South Africa had been the acceptance of Maori players. Some reacted against the nature of the protest. The vice-president of the N.Z. Maori Council, for instance, in a long letter to a local paper complained "more in sorrow than in anger" about the wearing of black arm bands because "It is an 'ohia' or ill omen to trifle with the tapu of death." He then went on to suggest that the appropriate manner of expressing resentment would be "to compose a 'Kai-oraora' chant ... an abusive song in which the composer gives vent in poetic language to his ... strong feelings, amounting to hate in some instances." Putting himself in favor of the tour with a plea for expressions of goodwill to the departing players, weakened his appeal to Maoritanga. The unwillingness of certain traditional Maori leaders and government employees to come out clearly against the tour, their ambivalence and some of the arguments they used have cost them support from Maori activists. If Pakeha sympathy (or ambivalence) toward apartheid means that white citizens are drifting psychologically into tougher racial attitudes, this will undoubtedly radicalize more Maori, especially youth.

3. The controversy over the tour which would not in itself force a major racial confrontation - such protests tend to leave the losers in a state of exhaustion and disarray - is significant for the question it raises about the ability of the Pakeha to cope with the racial implications of recent demographic changes. The famous Hunn Report comments on the good old days when the races "got along nicely, naturally and separately." It was generally accepted by both Pakeha and Maori that the cultivation of the land and a rural way of life were "good for the Maori" - a philosophy which was undergirded by government programs, such as the Native Land Development Scheme and by education which stressed agriculture and homemaking but not academic studies. The inadequacy of the

land development program to accommodate a growing population resulted in surplus labor in the rural areas. Unemployment, underemployment and the attraction of urban life, led to an increase of Maori in urban areas from 9.3% in 1936 to 28.7% in 1961. Projecting a total Maori population of 250,000 by 1973, Hunn estimated that half of the Maori would then be in urban areas.

The implications can be understood only when one understands that: (1) Maori population is increasing probably faster than any other in the world; (2) it is a very youthful population; half its members are under 15; (3) Maori have a smaller family income for larger size families and lower educational attainment. It is hard to get precise figures on the total Maori population because of differences of opinion concerning who is Maori for statistical purposes. There are probably around 200,000 Maori now with predictions going as high as 750,000 by the end of the century. By that time, Auckland, which is already the largest Polynesian city in the world, may well have a majority non-white population, for the influx of Pacific Islanders is also increasing while white Europeans immigration is tapering off.

All of the ingredients for the development of a brown underclass are present. It looks as if New Zealand will not be able to avoid the problems which other countries have faced in the urbanization of a racial minority with lower socio-economic status. Maori and Pacific Islanders have already complained about the exploitation they suffer from unscrupulous landlords. If New Zealand's international economic situation becomes more precarious, resulting domestic unemployment, even if temporary, could be disastrous for race relations. The first to feel the impact of a recession would be nonwhite youth who are already expressing their restlessness and alienation.

Youth gangs have already been formed in Auckland. Composed of Maori and Pacific Islanders, calling themselves "Storm Troopers," "Nigs," "Hells Angels" and "Highway 61," - sometimes united behind Black Power slogans and sporting big boots, fancy hats, earrings - these are the first generation of rootless, urban-born nonwhites. The existence of these gangs, largely formed of young people who have been expelled from or have dropped out of school, is an indication of the unpreparedness of the Pakeha to adapt their institutions to a changing community. Jack Shallcrass, an educator, has stated very perceptively, "They are no longer 'our Maoris' - quaint, though equal of course - but almost neighbors, whose behavior is often disturbingly different."

The implications are clear: cities will increasingly be made up of young people who do not understand the rules of the game (especially when they are not explicit) or who will challenge them and want to write their own. This is already being seen in the problems which Pacific Islanders and Maori have with the police in the urban areas and the growing disquiet about the unjustified arrests of nonwhites.

It is also important to note that New Zealand's white population is not so homogeneous as is generally thought. I was surprised to find settlements of Yugoslavs.

4. The 1966 census revealed a median Maori family income of $1871 in comparison with $2191 for Pakeha. This figure does not express the full gap, for the Maori income was providing for 5.2 children in comparison to 2.4 in the white family. Most Pakeha do not believe that this disparity reflects job discrimination. The union leaders with whom I conferred admitted that they have no program for attempting to prevent the development of a brown urban proletariat, but insisted that individual Maori would have no trouble making it if they worked hard and that the apprenticeship doors were open for qualified youth. With the exception of some hostels for apprentices, I heard very little of government programs to meet the needs of out-of-school nonwhite youth. Furthermore, the more I inquired, the more I heard of examples of job discrimination which would certainly be a deterrent to ambition.

I met a Maori civil engineer, educated at Cambridge and with previous experience in Britain, Zurich, at the Aswan Dam and even in South Africa (where he lived, unbelievably in a white area), who decided to return to New Zealand so his children could be closer to their Maori roots. For the first time in his professional life he encountered discrimination in employment. Convinced that he cannot get the level of responsibility for which he is qualified and to which he had been accustomed, he has decided to leave the country.

An experienced Maori educator, with the top credentials in his area, told me he is sure he would not get a certain appointment for which he is qualified. An Indian woman born in Australia spoke with great bitterness about the difficulty her Fijian husband has had in getting emeployment to meet his qualifications.

On the basis of my interviews, I am convinced that a study of nonwhites in top jobs in public or private life would reveal how shockingly small the number is, especially for a county which prides

herself on the excellence of her race relations! There are undoubtedly a number of Maori in middle level positions; most however are in unskilled, semi-skilled and the lowest professional and technical jobs. An editorial in an Auckland paper during my visit commenting on the appointment of New Zealand's first Maori magistrate (this was considered to be news!) went on to state that there is not a single Maori probation officer - a fact which "makes a Maori who has had to accept a European form of justice . . . bewildered, resentful and unlikely to cooperate."

5. In a multi-racial society the government's educational policies and practices reflect the majority's attitudes toward racial minorities. In his excellent M.A. thesis last year, "Planning, Policy and Practice in Maori Education 1936-68," Peter D. K. Ramsay, following Myrdal's concept of the "spiral of cumulative causation," states that the Maori were forced downward into a depressed socio-economic class into which they were firmly entrenched by the early 50's. He describes the contributing role of official educational policy and neglect: poor facilities and teaching in the rural Maori schools; lack of appreciation of Maori culture; severe limits on opportunities for an academic education and failure to take cognizance of the demographic shift. The special Maori schools (these were not completely segregated; Pakeha in the area would attend them) were phased out following a recommendation of the National Commission on Maori Education in 1954. It is important to remember that many of the problems of the urban Maori today grow out of failure of earlier educational policies.

There is now tremendous concern about the failure of the schools in the urban areas. Many of these problems center around the inability of Pakeha teachers to handle multi-racial student bodies and the irrelevance of the curriculum to the needs of Polynesian. I was told that 70% of the nonwhite children opt out of school for, as James Ritchie has written, it is in the school that the Maori "sees the system working toward his exclusion." In 1967, 81.3% of the 4000 Maori school leavers left without a certificate. In addition there has been an increase in the past 3 years in the number of Maori who are expelled from school. A principal who had just expelled some students was quite startled when I queried him about whether a student has any due process rights when he is expelled. Apparently, principals have broad discretion in expelling students and terminate a disproportionate number of Polynesians who then either drop out completely or become part of a floating group of youth who go from one school to another trying to get admitted.

In Auckland in September 1967, 1/6 or 15,000 of the pupils were nonwhite. Some schools have fewer than 1% nonwhite while others have a majority of Polynesian children, as many as 70-90%. Some are trying to make this a positive intercultural experience. One of the pleasantest experiences I had was with the Polynesian Club of Hilary College, a secondary school which has 70% Polynesian pupils. One of the hotly debated issues is language. I was told that the major

educational error was the forbidding of the speaking of Maori on school grounds from 1876-1932; Maori who did so were punished. When I asked the Minister of Maori Affairs whether his department was promoting the development of the Maori language and Maori studies, his answer was negative. He went on to say he looked forward to the time when "we would all be just New Zealanders" - apparently, his concept of integration does not include this aspect of the preservation of ethnic heritage to which Maori give such high priority now. A Swiss principal of what is regarded as a model primary school (he has a large number of low-income nonwhite children and feeds them lunch - the one place where I found a school lunch program in New Zealand!) was also against introducing Maori language. He had too many other things to do. Maori may have a hard selling job to do even on liberal whites who concede that it was wrong to eliminate Maori language but who now believe it is too late to foster it.

A major need is for teachers and curriculum materials for multi-racial schools. There is a widespread feeling that the teacher training institutions are not doing an adequate job. I was glad to visit a seminar on teaching in a multi-racial classroom and to receive a copy of an excellent mimeographed primer, "Some Suggestions for Teachers of Maori Pupils" prepared by an ad hoc group convened at Auckland Teachers College and composed primarily of Maori contributors. One chapter on "The Strengths of Maori Children" is particularly good for it helps the Pakeha teacher get away from the idea that the different child as a problem. Sesame Street was previewed while I was in Auckland and well received.

One of the major crises facing Maori education now concerns the church-sponsored, residential private schools. Founded by missionaries, they taught in the vernacular from the beginning and have prided themselves on their bilingual, bicultural graduates, many of whom have become leaders. They are now bankrupt; but because of the church-state issue, do not want to become dependent on government support.

New Zealand has the largest pre-school movement in the world. Play Centres and Family Play Groups are completely run and dominated by parents. The centres are linked together in an association, follow certain procedures have specified requirements for training and equipment and receive a modest government subsidy. Family Play Groups are smaller and more informal but in both cases there is indigenous control and considerable interest among Maori because there is the feeling that in these centres "Maori destinies are more confidently in Maori hands as a basis for an integrated society." USA's Headstart Program has been closely followed in New Zealand but not always with approval. I read in one article, "One would wish to avoid the experience of a 'Headstart' programme, massively conceived and generously endowed yet essentially paternalistic, sociologically unsubtle and doomed to anti-climax, and even failure."(!)

A working party of the Maori Adult Education Committee

whom I met are presently conducting a survey of adults and out-of school youth over 15 to determine their interest in: second chance education, advanced academic courses, arts and crafts, carving, leadership training for voluntary organizations, etc. Members of the Tuuhoe tribe have arranged seminars in Auckland on "Te Kawa o te Marae" (marae etiquette and the format of formal speech making).

Funds from Maori trusts are often used for educational purposes. The Maori Education Fund, a quasi-government agency which has a capital fund from Maori lands and trusts, the interest of which it can use along with direct government grants, provides money for scholarships, pre-school programs and research.

6. Millions of acres of Maori land were alienated by white settlers in the last century. What happened from then until 1967 when Parliament passed what Maori bitterly call the "Last Land Grab Act" is impossible to comprehend on a short visit. (I am glad that the Church and Society Commission is planning to sponsor a seminar on the land issue). So, instead of trying to absorb a century of very complicated history and to understand the legal issues, I decided to focus my questions on how Maori, especially urban Maori, feel about the land.

Maori harbor deep resentment that their lands were taken, large areas of which were confiscated, and point out that even though half of it was returned, most of this has ended up in Pakeha hands. Maori were pushed onto marginal land. Later commissions declared that the confiscations were wrong, but the injustice was never corrected. Compensation which was paid was only token.

Maori are incensed that the 1967 Act could have been passed over strong opposition and are not quieted by statements that the version of the Act which was passed had some of the objectionable features removed and that parts of the Act are not being implemented anyway. The government has done little to clear up the confusion over this Act. What is clear to Maori is that it reconciles Maori land use into Pakeha patterns, accelerates the alienation of the land and is discriminatory legislation. Uneconomic or unproductive Maori land can be taken. The authority to bring idle land under production does not, however, apply to Pakeha although the bulk of unproductive land is owned by them.

Douglas Sinclair, an Auckland University professor who is an authority on land has written that, "The Maori Trustee has now reverted to his former infamous character of Maori Land Purchase Officer, and he is back working for his old firm, the European farming community and their lackeys, the county councils."

The land issue is clearly the symbol of unjust acts against a people and will continue to be a hot political question until it is resolved with equity. It is when one asks individual Maoris what the land means to them personally that one gets quite different answers. For some urban Maori the possession of land is regarded in the full traditional meaning of Turangewaewae, "a standing place for

the feet," giving every man and woman his direction and dignity and a right to speak and participate as a responsible member of Maori community. Others are only concerned about how the land can work for them - land is a source of cash for education and personal advancement. For still others land should be the base for the economic development of the Maori community with land development under Maori control and not the government.

The involvement of the churches in the alienation of land should be investigated. I found considerable concern among churchmen about the role of the Anglican Church, for example. Most of the land owned by the Anglican Church in the Auckland area is controlled by the Melanesian Mission Trust and the St. Johns College Trust. How the land was originally acquired, the accountability of the trust boards to the Church, and the possibility of broadening the interpretation of the mandate of these trusts should be studied with the objective of using these funds for Maori development programs and also returning land to Maori control.

7. "The closer we get, the more we're taking a damn close look!" The message in these words to me by a Maori civil servant was repeated all over the country. I was amazed at the soul-searching and the depth of bitterness which I encountered in Maori who had impressed me as being highly assimilated. For many Maori the search for identity is clearly a painful process for it may involve the re-evaluation of close relationships with Pakeha, including spouses. In others, one senses a feeling of release from the "white man's bag," the joy of fresh discovery of a heritage which can be recreated in a new setting.

Many Maori now feel that they gave up too much, gave in too easily and permitted the Pakeha to develop an ethos of racial harmony without challenge. They now want to set the record straight. A Maori labor leader described New Zealand as a racist society overlaid with paternalism. Young people spoke with deep resentment of being made to feel inferior and of the self-hatred and insecurity they have developed. "Whakama" -shyness and withdrawal- has often been the Maori response to contact with Pakeha arrogance. Maori describe the Pakeha attitude toward Maori customs as a mixture of tolerance, amusement and irritation - but seldom respect, except when Pakeha want to parade Maori before foreign visitors. I vividly recall the strong negative outburst when I asked a Maori student whether his Pakeha roommate would understand tangi (the traditional observances at the time of death). Many Maori believe that the change from the earlier official policy of assimilation to the present one of integration does not reflect any shift in Pakeha toward a two-way, genuinely bicultural society. Maori are still expected to do all the adjusting.

One young Maori bitterly commented that he will have no more of the Pakeha ranking system - "our Maori are the noblest of the coloured races, not niggers!" for he feels a closeness to his black brothers in Africa and the USA.

Persons who exploit others usually silence their consciences by attributing to the oppressed the blame for their own conditions. Maori are increasingly refusing to accept the blame for lower academic and economic achievement, higher crime statistics, etc., and are documenting how Pakeha, acting as private citizens and as implementers of official public policy, have contributed to the Maori's problems.

I spoke to Maori or Polynesian student groups only on the condition that they would let me question them. I usually opened up by asking what it means to them to be Maori in white New Zealand. I wish I had had a tape recorder because I often felt that for some of them this was the first time they had discussed this question in public and that they were surprised at what they found themselves, or their few Pakeha collegues, saying. A high school lad asked me whether American blacks want to be white after integration! There was an upsurge of emotional response when I told him - and other student groups - that 350 years after having been torn from ancestral lands, roots and language, blacks - even bourgeois blacks who have made it in the system - are convinced they do not want to die as a cultural group and that the search for identity is as important to us as the struggle for civil rights.

Maori are not only taking a close look at their relations with Pakeha; they are looking at their own heritage particularly to see whether their traditions which have rural roots can be transplanted and made to thrive in an urban environment. There have been efforts by urban Maori to establish the marae, the land in front of the meeting house where ceremonial greetings, speech-making and discussion of community issues take place. I was really moved when I visited Maori homes where the host welcomed me in Maori with the traditional greeting to the stranger, stating that his urban dwelling was his marae.

Young people are embarrassed when they cannot speak Maori and are putting pressure on adults to set up classes. In some cases this is causing a break with assimilated parents! One young woman, first generation urban-born spoke of her parents' consternation - for this they sacrificed themselves - that she intends to reestablish roots with rural relatives, is studying Maori and intends to bring up her children as Maori. The action songs (which really only go back to World War I and which often have Western tunes) and haka (traditional war dances) are highly popular and are used as a cultural rallying point for rootless urban youth. Canon Wi Huata in Hamilton states frankly that he sees his mission as a clergyman as promoting cultural rivival and solidarity.

Maori are evaluating the relevance to the urban situation of special Maori institutions created by government for an earlier era. Since 1868 there has been a special Maori electorate with four seats guaranteed in the Parliament. I found no consensus on whether this electorate should be continued. Some persons, like Mrs. Whetu Tirakatene-Sullivan, M.P. for the Southern Maori Electorate, are

very bitter because the Labour Party to which most Maori belong has never put a Maori up for a safe seat. She would favor increasing the number of Maori seats (the number has never changed in the century) to reflect the growing population. Other Maori feel that the electorate should be abolished and that Maori should participate in the mainstream political process and not be the captive of any party.

The Maori Welfare Act of 1962 created a complicated structure of local welfare committees and district councils which ultimately elect the New Zealand Maori Council. NZMC has been challenged for being unrepresentative and conservative but I gather there is more interest in reforming it rather than abolishing it. Dr. Pat Hohepa (University of Indiana and Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a specialist in linguistics at Auckland University) was recently elected chairman of the Auckland District Council and will undoubtly bring in fresh ideas. For example, he wants to have the youth gangs represented on the Council.

This same Act created the Maori wardens, apparently, out of concern about public drunkenness, "to assist in stamping out mischief before it becomes crime and the maintenance of law and order." Wardens are appointed by the Minister of Maori Affairs but serve without pay and buy their own uniforms. An institution which grew up with considerable community support in the rural areas, it is now causing resentment in cities particularly by youth who feel that the wardens have arrogated too much power to themselves and identify too closely with the police. They still focus on liquor, monitor the bars and can get a prohibition order from a magistrate which, if not challenged, could prevent a Maori from drinking. I was surprised to find that many of my most liberal Maori friends want to reform but not abolish the warden system and were quite surprised when I told them we would fight it as unconstitutional in the USA since wardens usually exercise their authority only over Maori.

Many deeply concerned Maori work for the government and are increasingly frustrated because they feel a conflict between their official instructions and their need to respond to their community's needs. One very highly placed Maori admitted to me with great sadness that he is often troubled because he is involved in the perpetuation of colonialism! Maori working for the universities feel freer but completely Maori-controlled agencies which could employ some of the very able men and women I met would certainly be an asset during the critical years ahead.

8. New Zealand's immigration policies have been challenged by CARE and other groups as being "predicated on the false concept of the inherent superiority of the white race." As I entered the country, I noted the kind of racial and other data requested from Pacific Islanders. Islanders from the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau are New Zealanders and apparently move in and out freely. Citizens of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa have major problems. A Samoan may only enter on a 3-month permit during which time he must get housing and

a job guaranteed. He must then return to Samoa to reapply for a longer permit. The Indian woman of Australian citizenship is sure she is treated differently from white Australians.

I found difference of opinion about tensions between Maori and Pacific Islanders. My Auckland taxi driver sounded off with great bitterness against the Samoans, reciting all the traditional stereotypes against them, and added the comment that they have had no contact with other people but have just stayed home "practicing incest!" At the Auckland University Maori Club when I asked their opinions, the most articulate Maori students vowed there is no problem because "we are all Polynesians alike" but sank into silence when a young Tahitian spoke with deep feeling about his sense of being excluded as a non-Maori who had no land to stand on. A lovely high school girl from Tonga whom I met at Hilary College told me about the problems she had as a child but she is obviously a student leader now and one of the key performers during the action songs. The Polynesian Club there is genuinely international; the students performed a Samoan war dance in addition to the Maori action songs. As I mentioned earlier, the integration of Pacific Islanders and Maori into the gangs seems to present no problem.

I was told that Pacific Islanders do most of the unskilled work in hospitals.

Some New Zealanders, both Pakeha and Maori, feel that the churches foster divisiveness by maintaining separate national missions. The Samoan Congregational Church was singled out for this criticism on several occasions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Every effort should be made to counter New Zealand's isolation and to bring her concerned citizens into closer fellowship with people all over the world who are working to eradicate white racism. Specifically:

a. New Zealanders with special concerns, such as the urbanization of racial minorities, should be enabled to visit other countries where innovative projects have been developed.

b. The exchange of specialists should be promoted. I would particularly recommend arranging for:

(1) An American black social scientist to spend a term in New Zealand to be divided among the key

universities; he or she could also give a few public lectures, and perhaps a series of talks on television, write articles for the press, etc.

(2) An American black civil rights lawyer to confer with key lawyers in New Zealand; I found great interest in the affirmative role of the lawyer as an advocate but little comprehension about how this could be done within the New Zealand legal tradition.

c. Publications of public and private agencies such as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Institute of the Black World and the Southern Regional Council should be sent in; also documentaries, studies, reports of hearings on such issues as: land, Indian rights, bilingual and multicultural education, preschool programs, black consciousness, etc.

2. Because of the urgency of the land issue, the World Council of Churches should:

a. Set aside 25% of its special racial justice fund to use for this purpose;

b. Convene an international consultation on land rights to put people who are working on this issue in touch with each other. To be invited: Australian Aborigines, Maori, USA Indians, Spanish-Americans and Alaskans, Canadian Indians and Eskimos, South American Indians, lawyers, representatives of U.N. agencies, etc.

c. Support the New Zealand Council of Churches if it develops an ecumenical project on land rights.

3. High priority should be given to the political organization of urban Maori and Polynesians. Purpose would be: to advise people of their rights; to develop a platform and an agenda of priorities on such issues as land, jobs, education, language, criminal justice, the Maori electorate, etc.; to sponsor voter registration and to run candidates accountable to the people. I do not think that questions such as the future of the Maori electorate can be decided until a grass roots political organization has been created which can make its own decision. If such a movement emerges, I would strongly recommend financial support from the World Council of Churches.

4. Assistance should be provided to the New Zealand Race Relations Council as it thinks through its role and develops its structure. Workable models from other parts of the world should be suggested. The present leadership is quite aware that it may face the same challenges which liberal-white dominated civil rights organizations have met elsewhere: it may be too late to involve the

articulate, militant Maori. However, there is an important job for the Council to do right now in documenting the facts of white racism, providing a national platform for Maori and Pacific Islanders to "tell it like it is" sponsoring an interracial, broad-based forum for hammering out public policies to guarantee racial justice and in developing the needed support among the Pakeha for these policies. NZRRC could provide a useful service immediately by publishing a brochure on what a citizen's civil rights are (I shall never forget the student who blurted out that he has been studying law for two years and doesn't know what his rights are!) and how they can be secured.

5. Foundation support from the USA or Europe should be found for the Centre for Maori Studies and Research which has been proposed for the University of Waikato. If basic support for the total program cannot be found, perhaps the Centre could be encouraged to develop an international division which would receive outside financing and which would be devoted to: developing a clearinghouse of information on race relations all over the world; facilitating and hosting international exchanges of specialists in race relations; providing technical assistance to groups working in a wide variety of fields to promote racial justice in the South Pacific (e.g. James Ritchie is already working on a culture-free tests).

Dear friends, if you are still with me, I hope you have caught my enthusiasm for my trip. The experience was exhilarating and exhausting (I slept all the way from Auckland to Philadelphia)! To the extent that my insights are valid, it is because new friends opened their minds, hearts and homes to me, suffered my endless questions and changed schedules to accommodate my insatiable curiosity. My last host took to his bed in a state of post-Fairfax collapse!

Now I want to do my part to forge closer links of understanding and common endeavor between individuals and organizations working for the eradication of racism in New Zealand, Australia and the USA. I am eager for your reactions to my recommendations and for specific suggestions concerning how they can be implemented.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax

March 4, 1971

Miss Jean Fairfax
Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10039

Dear Jean:

I am sorry that there was not more time for us to talk when you were in the office recently. Several of the ideas raised in your meeting with us and Winifred should be pursued. I think that several of us should talk about what our roles can be in helping prevent or to constructively meet crisis situations. Certainly, also, several of us could work on the problem of appropriate expose articles.

Regarding a conference which would involve the lawyers and provide a current realistic grasp of some of the problems, I believe we could be of substantial assistance. The kind of detailed experiences that Leon and others could relate, the reports, and some very impressive tapes could all be utilized. We would be quite hesitant, as we indicated, to actually call in many students for firsthand recitals.

Would you be able to make an Employment Discrimination Strategy seminar on April 24-25? You will recall that I raised this with you but you did not have an opportunity to respond to the proposed date.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

NAIRO

M E M O R A N D U M

OCTOBER 1, 1970

TO: ATLANTA NAIRO MEMBERSHIP

FROM: BOB HUGHES - 526-4396
JOHN MORRIS - 289-2177
KEN CROOKS - 688-8778

RE: SPECIAL CALL MEETING ON NAIRO'S FUTURE
OCTOBER 7, 1970, 12:00 NOON

You received inthe mail recently, a special campaign news bulletin dated September 23, 1970, indicating, in clear and specific terms, the dilemma which faces our professional organization.

We in Atlanta must make a decision for our chapter's future as well as the future of NAIRO.

This memo comes to request your participation in this most important meeting.

PLACE: 136 Marietta St., N. W.
Suite 235

DATE: Wednesday, October 7, 1970

TIME: 12:00 NOON

Please plan to come.

Ker

SEP 28 REC'D

NAIRO

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN NEWS BULLETIN
September 23, 1970

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • 387-7050
EDWARD HOWDEN, PRESIDENT

A LETTER TO NAIRO MEMBERS AND FRIENDS
-- from the Chairman of the NAIRO Recruitment, Re-enrollment and Funding Campaign

Enclosed is a brochure which states the rationale and objectives of the 1970 NAIRO Campaign. Please take time to read it now, before you continue reading this bulletin....

Now that you have read about the Campaign, I hope you are looking through the folds of this bulletin and the brochure for a pledge card and return envelope.

But you won't find one. This is an important matter, so we aren't casually mailing out pledge cards.

Instead, we have organized the Campaign to give you an opportunity to talk to a colleague -- or, in some few cases, at least to correspond with one -- about the question of building a professional association in general and NAIRO in particular. That local colleague will ask for your pledge in person.

One reason for doing this the hard way is that we think you might have some questions, some doubts, some criticisms, some ideas; and, frankly, we figure the odds are against your signing a pledge until you've had a chance to voice and discuss your own thoughts and ideas about NAIRO.

More importantly, raising money isn't the only objective of the Campaign. Underwriting a realistic budget is only a necessary step toward building a useful Association. So we want to raise the money in a way that involves some associating. We want you to share your questions, your doubts, your criticisms, your ideas with us, your colleagues, as a part of that process of building. So we aim to get these responses from you, even if you don't make a pledge. "Will you give?" is only one of the questions to which we need your answers.

Of course, if too many withhold financial support, there won't be a chance for the in-kind contributions to bear fruit.

I admit that this is a strange campaign. At this point, were this a standard financial effort, this bulletin should be full of glowing reports of going chapters, growing enthusiasm, and glowing prospects of success. But I'll hand you no such flapdoodle. The fact is, I've no idea whether the effort will attain its monetary goal or not. (It can, but will is another matter.) Here is where we are now and what is supposed to happen:

-- 36 Board members have pledged $4,184.00. That's not bad. So far, only those in the "leadership list" have been solicited.

-- In each of the ten regions the NAIRO regional chairman is cooperating by beginning prospect lists for each chapter or area and enlisting local campaign chairmen. These regional chairmen are J. Griffin Crump (Great Lakes), James F. Sanders, Jr. (Mid-Atlantic), Hollis B. Bach (Mountain States), Mrs. Nelson Rostow (Northeast), Ellis Harris Casson (Pacific), William E. Knox (Plains States), Robert E. Hughes (Southeast), J. Edwin Stanfield (Southwest), William P. Condo (Upper Atlantic) and Thomas Ebendorf (Upper South).

-- All necessary campaign materials are ready.

-- Local campaign organization is to be completed by the end of September.

-- Solicitations are to be completed by October 16th. Someone will be in touch with you by then, to seek your participation.

-- Results will be relayed through the regional chairmen to the NAIRO office and a report will be released at the start of the Annual Conference in Tulsa, October 26th.

-- By the end of the Annual Conference we will know whether the Campaign has succeeded or failed to reach the minimum $50,000 in pledges. Your pledge will be activated only if that much or more has been promised by that time.

By conducting this campaign we are simply asking these questions:

Do you need a professional association?

If so, do you have a modicum of time and a fair share of money to invest in one?

If so, will you give NAIRO a reasonable chance to become a good one?

We know you will come to a reasoned decision, so we aren't going the high-pressured propaganda route. The questions are before you and we await your answers with interest.

-- Edwin Stanfield, Chairman
NAIRO Campaign

CAMPAIGN PLAN

1970 NAIRO RECRUITMENT AND FUNDING CAMPAIGN

Introductory Comment

NAIRO's Board of Directors, meeting in Chicago, June 26-27, 1970, authorized a recruitment and funding campaign aimed at securing at least 1,000 members and pledged support averaging $5.00 per month from each of them by the end of our Annual Conference in Tulsa, October 26-30. In the campaign, members and potential members of NAIRO will be asked to commit themselves to make a monthly (or quarterly) donation to NAIRO during the period of October, 1970, through December, 1971. Payment of any pledge of $3.00 per month or more will be taken in lieu of the member's next annual dues. These pledges will be activated provided at least $50,000 is thus pledged for the 15-month period. If fully successful, the campaign would mean an income of $75,000, over the 15-month period for NAIRO, from its membership alone.

Here are some of the elements of the Board's thinking:

(1) If NAIRO is to be an effective Association, some means must first be found to provide its basic operating income. Much is needed in the way of increased staff, greater efficiency, improvement of services and programs. But it is meaningless to discuss these things until a minimally adequate income is secured.

(2) As a professional association of workers in the field of human rights, human resources, and intergroup relations, NAIRO should look to its own constituency for basic income. The Association cannot rightly expect foundations or other outside sources to support it, except for special projects, such as the NAIRO Intern Program which was conducted a few years ago.

(3) The Campaign must be considered as the first step toward reconstitution of NAIRO. The Board was well aware that NAIRO cannot appeal to members or potential members on the basis of its past performance. In effect, we shall be asking NAIRO members to "gamble" a realistic level of support for 15 months. The Board believes that, given this minimally adequate level of support, NAIRO can be made both viable and vital by the end of 1971. As noted above, the pledges made will be activated only if pledges totalling at least $50,000 are made -- so that no one need pay anything (except for the Board members who are being asked to make advance pledges beginning in July) unless the over-all response is sufficient to give the Association a realistic chance to reform itself.

(4) $5.00 per month or $60.00 per year from each member is, after all, only reasonable in support of a professional association. Most such associations have dues set at that much or more. By arranging for payment on a monthly or quarterly basis, we should be able to secure this realistic level of support in a way relatively painless to NAIRO members.

One can anticipate several side benefits of such an effort:

(1) If the Campaign Plan is carried out carefully (as it will have to be, if it is to be successful), we are almost certain to increase NAIRO's membership.

(2) Payments to NAIRO on a monthly or quarterly basis will increase interest in the Association and help to sustain it.

(3) Successful execution of the Campaign Plan by local chapters or, where there are no chapters now, by interested individuals, might well result in formation of new chapters and better functioning of the old ones.

(4) Since "he who pays the piper calls the tune," broader, more democratic particpation in the Association's business and activities will likely result if the members are the primary source of support.

A grant from the Alliance for Labor Action enables us to keep the office open and employ an Acting Executive Director until the end of 1970. This gives us a chance to carry out the Campaign. The grant was announced by Mr. Wiley Branton, Director of the Community and Social Action Commission of the ALA, at the Chicago meeting of the NAIRO Board. In transmitting the first installment of the grant, Mr. Branton wrote, "...continued payment of the balance of the grant is conditioned on NAIRO's good faith efforts in seeking additional financial support for its programs."

So it is up to us. We have a chance. We have a plan before us. The Campaign Plan outlined below is designed with the thought in mind that we are all very busy people. So no one person is asked to do too much. It is important, however, that a lot of people do a little bit -- and do it on schedule. If one person procrastinates, everybody down the line is fouled up, and the chances of success are greatly dminished. As someone once said (no telling who), "The secret of success in any undertaking is nothing more or less than doing the parts you don't want to do when you don't want to do them!"

One final word: Beware of shortcuts! Inevitably somebody is going to be tempted to try an easier way -- "Why bother with all of those lists?" or "I'm too busy for appointments -- I'll just telephone the people on my list and get the pledges that way." Each step of the plan is tried-and-true, and experience in countless such campaigns has shown that shortcuts lead to trouble -- or even failure. The plan will succeed -- but only if it is carried out step by step.

-- Edwin Stanfield
Campaign Chairman

Austin, Texas
August 3, 1970

CAMPAIGN SCHEDULE -- STEP BY STEP

Step One

To be taken by: NAIRO Board of Directors
To be completed by: June 27, 1970 (Chicago Board Meeting)

Authorization of Campaign. Adoption of Campaign Plan. Advance pledges by Board members present in evidence of leadership and determined support. (Note: This step has already been taken, of course. Thirteen Board members pledged $1,620 over the 18-month period, july, 1970, through December, 1971.)

Step Two

To be taken by: Campaign Chairman and NAIRO staff
To be completed by: July 18, 1970

Issue Campaign Bulletin No. 1, announcing the Campaign and the results of initial advance pledges by Board members. (Note: This step, also, has been carried out.)

Step Three

To be taken by: NAIRO President, with assistance of staff
To be completed by: August 7, 1970

Letters to Board members not present at Chicago meeting, asking them for advance pledges in support of Campaign. Immediate response requested, so that results can be announced in Campaign Bulletin No. 2.

Step Four

To be taken by: Campaign Chairman and NAIRO Regional Chairmen
To be completed by: August 12, 1970

Detailed Campaign Plan sent by Campaign Chairman to Regional Chairmen. Regional Chairmen should have read plan carefully by the above date and should have called Campaign Chairman, collect (Ed Stanfield -- 512/477-5974 or 512/454-8996), to accept responsibility and discuss any questions.

Step Five

To be taken by: Campaign Chairman and NAIRO staff
To be completed by: August 21, 1970

Issue Campaign Bulletin No. 2, announcing results to date on request for advance pledges from Board members and request for cooperation of Regional Chairmen.

Step Six

To be taken by: NAIRO staff and Regional Chairmen
To be completed by: August 26, 1970

Two (2) sets of 3x5 index cards sent by NAIRO staff to each Regional Chairman, giving name and address of every person in his region who is on NAIRO mailing list. By the above date Regional Chairman should have sorted cards by chapters or, where no chapter exists, by area and should have had duplicate sets of prospect lists for each chapter (or area) typed alphabetically on forms provided.

Step Seven

To be taken by: Regional Chairmen, with Chapter Chairman or Local Campaign Chairman
To be completed by: September 2, 1970

Regional Chairman should have contacted each Chapter Chairman (or an interested individual in areas where there is no active chapter) to explain Campaign and ask him to serve as Local Campaign Chairman. Regional Chairman should have sent list of the names and addresses of Chapter Chairmen or other persons who will serve as Local Campaign Chairmen to NAIRO office. Regional Chairman should have sent to each Local Campaign Chairman one copy of his prospect list and one set of the 3x5 index cards from which the list was compiled.

(Note: Regional Chairman should see to it that every prospect sent to him from NAIRO office is either assigned to a Local Campaign Chairman or that some other provision is made to solicit the prospect's pledge. If at all possible, arrangement should be made for a personal solicitation. Only in the case of a prospect who is so isolated as to make campaign organization quite impractical should an exception be made to this rule -- and then the Regional Chairman or Local Campaign Chairman to whom that prospect is assigned should invest in a long-distance telephone call to reach the prospect at the appropriate time. Charge NAIRO for the call, if you need to. But if there are as many as 5 or 6 prospects in a city or area which has no chapter, it is worthwhile to find a local cahirman and ask him to conduct the campaign. You might form a new NAIRO chapter in the process!)

Step Eight

To be taken by: NAIRO staff, with (national) Campaign Chairman
To be completed by: September 9, 1970

NAIRO staff should have mailed to each Local Campaign Chairman an ample supply of campaign brochures, pledge cards, solicitors' instruction sheets and prospect-list forms, and report forms.

Step Nine

To be taken by: Local Campaign Chairmen
To be completed by: September 14, 1970

Local Campaign Chairman should have enlisted campaign workers (solicitors). It is important that he enlist one worker for each eight (8) prospects on his list, so that no worker will have to call on more than seven prospects. He should take into account geographic distribution of prospects and workers. He should ask all workers to attend a meeting for briefing and assignment of individuals to contact. This meeting should be scheduled for a date not later than September 25, 1970. (The sooner the better.) Workers could be asked, at the time they are enlisted, to think of three or four acquaintances who are not NAIRO members and might be added to the prospect list.

(Note: In the case of some large chapters it may be desirable for the Local Campaign Chairman to secure the aid of others to enlist the necessary number of workers. He might break his chapter's area into sections and ask someone to enlist the required number of workers for each section. If this is to be done, it is an extra step and should be taken as far in advance of the completion date for Step Nine as possible.)

Step Ten

To be taken by: Local Campaign Chairman and Campaign Workers (Solicitors)
To be completed by: September 25, 1970 (sooner, if possible)

Briefing meeting for Campaign workers. Ample time should be allowed for this meeting -- at least two hours of working time. The following things must be done at this meeting:

(1) Briefing and explanation of procedures by Local Campaign Chairman. (A supply of instruction sheets for workers will be provided.)
(2) Potential NAIRO members added to the prospect list as suggested by Campaign workers. A 3x5 card should be made for each new prospect.
(3) Prospects assigned to workers -- preferrably no more than seven to each worker -- by giving 3x5 prospect card to a worker.
(4) Workers make their own pledges and turn them in to Local Campaign Chairman.
(5) Date of final report meeting set.

Immediately after this meeting the Local Campaign Chairman should send to the NAIRO office, via air mail, a report of the total number of workers' pledges received and the total amount pledged for the 15-month period. This is in order that good progress may be reported in Campaign Bulletin No. 3 (Step Eleven).

Step Eleven

To be taken by: NAIRO staff, with Campaign Chairman
To be completed by: September 29, 1970

Issue Campaign Bulletin No. 3, announcing total of pledges to date. Bulletin will be mailed to everyone on NAIRO mailing list, so that (hopefully) good results to date will encourage favorable response to solicitations.

Step Twelve

To be taken by: Campaign Workers
To be completed by: October 16, 1970

SOLICITATION OF PLEDGE FROM EVERY PROSPECT -- BY PERSONAL INTERVIEW.

Step Thirteen

To be taken by: Campaign Workers, Local Campaign Chairman
To be completed by: October 16, 1970 (no later, please)

Final report meeting of workers. Each worker to turn in his report form and pledges obtained. Immediately after this meeting, Local Campaign Chairman compiles chapter (or area) report and air mails it to NAIRO office with all workers' reports and all pledges.

Step Fourteen

To be taken by: NAIRO staff
To be completed by: October 23, 1970

Prepare Campaign Bulletin No. 4, for release at beginning of Annual Conference (October 26, 1970), announcing results of Campaign to date.

Final Note

Some regions and/or chapters may wish to advance the schedule in order to set a good example for the rest of us! Steps Nine, Ten, Twelve, and Thirteen could well be completed early. Those who wish to work faster, after receiving the necessary supplies called for in Step Eight, should do so -- by all means. Early reporting of results will help the Campaign to gather momentum.

Week of March 24, 1969

Buddy System

SHULTZ COMMENDS BUSINESS ALLIANCE FOR HIRING AND TRAINING THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED

WASHINGTON -- Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz has commended the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) for its efforts in hiring and training the hard-core disadvantaged.

"Your success to date deserves the thanks of the Government and the American people," he said. "Your contributions have been impressive."

The goal of the Alliance is to hire and have in training 100,000 of the Nation's most seriously disadvantaged -- the hard-core unemployed -- by June of this year.

The NAB, under the Job Opportunitiesin the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, has hired 145,900 men and women with the most difficult employment problems in 50 American cities and 87,850 of these new workers are still on the job.

Shultz reported that 75 more cities will be added to the JOBS effort, bringing the total to 125. "We will vastly expand our capabilities for serving the severely disadvantaged," Shultz said.

In conjunction with the addition of the 75 cities, the Department of Labor will soon announce a new round of JOBS training contracts to improve services to those most in need of employment assistance.

(MORE)

"The Alliance, in partnership with the Federal Government," Shultz stated, "is playing a strategic part in hiring and training people who were without hope, jobless people without skills, penniless people who could not buy enough clothing, enough food, enough of anything."

Shultz pointed out that "these activities represent a great investment in the future of this Nation."

He said that the average person placed in a productive job will:

-- contribute $10,000 a year to the gross national product.

-- pay about $241 in income taxes in the first year of work.

-- increase purchasing power for goods and services by $3,400.

Shultz said that the recent reorganization of the Labor Department's Manpower Administration will allow the Government to work more efficiently with the JOBS effort in serving the disadvantaged.

He said he looks forward to working with American businessmen "to increase efforts to insure that every citizen has an opportunity to live and work with dignity and economic security."

# # #

Buddy System

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION 4-10-1969

Drive to Place Hard Core Jobless Here Is '$100 Million Task'

By ALEX COFFIN

The National Alliance of Businessmen's Atlanta job drive is a $100 million program, Al Bows, NAB's Metropolitan chairman, told the Butler Street YMCA's Hungry Club Forum Wednesday.

Al Bows

Bows said the drive to employ 3,600 of the hard-core jobless and 2,500 unemployed youths will save $40 million in welfare payments and pump another $60 million new money into the economy.

Businessmen will have to come up with one new job for every person now working in the metropolitan area, Bows said.

He said that the Atlanta Jaycees have agreed to try to expand the program into 200 smaller businesses this year.

Bows said he is highly encouraged about the program—mainly because of the response so far from the firms involved last year.

He said interested persons should ask the various Economic Opportunity Atlanta neighborhood centers or the Georgia Employment Service to connect them with the jobs being promised by local businesses.

New elements of the program this year, Bows said, will be added emphasis on employing women and hopefully greater cooperation by labor unions. Better transportation and more day-care centers are problems confronting the program, he said.

He called on his audience to encourage the hard-core unemployed to try once more—because of changing attitudes by Atlanta businessmen—and not be discouraged if everything's not perfect. "Believe it or not, businessmen are human and therefore make mistakes," he said.

The former Atlanta Chamber of Commerce president said he thinks local businessmen are eliminating the prejudices and misunderstandings that have existed in the past and which have thwarted Negroes' efforts for employment and advancement.

WALL STREET JOURNAL MAY 23 1969

Minority-Group Store Workers Set Union; AFL-CIO Dissidents to Align With Reuther

By JAMES P. GANNON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — A new, national "catch-all" union, aligned with Walter Reuther's Alliance for Labor Action, will be formed this weekend.

The new union, comprised of segments of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union that have broken away from their AFL-CIO parent body, will take shape at a weekend conference in Suffolk, Va. Planners of the organization claim it will be the first major union with a membership predominantly of minority groups; a black man is expected to be named to its top office.

Tentative plans for the union, to be called the National Council of Wholesale, Retail, Office and Processing Workers of America, were disclosed by sources in the former District 65 segment of the AFL-CIO Retail-Wholesale Union. The New York-based District 65, with about 30,000 members, will be the nucleus of the union, which, organizers claim, will have an initial membership of about 45,000 members.

Some 15 other locals that have broken away from the AFL-CIO Retail-Wholesale union also will be charter members of the National Council. They include locals from Suffolk; Newport News, Va.; Charleston, S.C.; Charlotte, N.C.; Detroit; Memphis; Newark, N.J.; Jersey City; Los Angeles; Tallahassee and Jacksonville, Fla., and other cities. District 65 is heavily Negro and Puerto Rican. The locals have predominantly black membership.

The new union will receive money and organizing manpower from Mr. Reuther's United Auto Workers and the Teamsters Union, which joined in forming the Alliance for Labor Action, a rival to the AFL-CIO. The alliance plans to hold its first national conference in Washington next Monday and Tuesday.

The new union won't be formally affiliated with the ALA, at least at first, but will be closely allied to the UAW-Teamster partnership. District 65 already has received $120,000 from the UAW to expand organizing, and both the UAW and the Teamsters have pledged to make staff organizers available for the National Council's membership campaign.

The National Council will aim its organizing primarily at low-wage workers, especially Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other minority groups. Planners envision a broad jurisdiction unhampered by industry or craft lines. "We're a catch-all," said one. The new union's leaders are mapping an ambitious campaign in 50 cities, and aim at doubling their membership in a year.

Plans for the union are subject to approval of delegates from the charter locals at the weekend conference in Suffolk, but no substantial change in the tentative outline is expected. Delegates also will elect officers, with the likelihood of naming minority-group members to the highest posts. The top office, either chairman or president, is expected to go to a Negro; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, is a likely choice.

Monday, May 19, 1969 HOUSTON CHRONICLE

Buddy System For Unemployed Expands in 1969

BY JIM CURRAN
Chronicle Reporter

Harry Lentor is 30 years old, married, with four children, and he's never had a steady job in his life.

Harry has had jobs, a day's work here, a week there, odd jobs. He once took a job that might have been permanent, but walked off after two days, ashamed to tell why.

Accustomed to being paid at the end of each day, to buying food on the way home from work, he went back to day work because he feared his family couldn't survive until he drew his first paycheck after two weeks on the permanent job.

Work Habit Set

The work habits of Harry Lentor (not his real name), one of the hard-core unemployed, were set in his youth.

He isn't lazy; on the job he works as hard as any man. Ill at ease away from his usual haunts and companions, Harry sees himself as a failure. He wants to be among his own, for he's not marked among them.

There's new hope for the Harry Lentors in an effort called the Human Resources Development Institute, better known as the Buddy System.

The HRDI, a project of the Labor Dept., the AFL-CIO and the National Alliance of Businessmen, is jointly sponsored by the government and labor, $1.5 million by the Labor Dept. and $500,000 by the AFL-CIO in 1968.

Pilot Program

The funds were for the pilot program set up in 50 cities during 1968 to recruit hard-core unemployed, to train employed persons to work with the new people, encouraging them to stay on permanent jobs.

The pilot program was so successful that President Nixon ordered it expanded this year to 125 cities.

The buddy system is simple in concept, complex in operation.

Businessmen hire the hard-core unemployed. Labor recruits the buddies who train them. The buddies themselves are schooled in handling the problems of the hard-core. Their work is as much in imparting new attitudes as in teaching skills.

Advantages Taught

"The buddies keep them coming back day by day, teach them the advantages of being at a certain job, on time, of drawing regular paychecks," says Donald Bridges, HRDI staff member here.

"If it's the day-to-day money problem, the buddy might get the employer to pay the trainee part of his salary each day until the man learns how to budget on a weekly or monthly basis," Bridges explained.

"Sometimes it's transportation. The trainee can't see riding a bus an hour or so each way, paying part of his salary for that. Some of our buddies drive miles out of their way to provide transportation until the trainee's attitude changes," he said.

Buddies are volunteers and receive no extra pay. The businesses are repaid for out-of-pocket expenses. They also profit by reduced labor turnover, increased production, Bridges said.

Although Bridges works out of the AFL-CIO office here and is a former official of the Electrical Workers Union, he's quick to point out the project is not limited to union shops.

"We don't ask if the business is union or not. This isn't a union organizing effort," he said.

He admits there have been problems. One was the hiring by one plant of more men than there were buddies trained to work with the newly hired. As a result, Bridges said, 10 of the trainees quit.

Of the total of 92 hired by the five firms in 1968, he said, those 10 quit and one was fired justifiably, leaving 81 still working.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE Monday, May 19, 1969

Job Corps Returnees

Women Having Work Problems

BY SARALEE TIEDE
Chronicle Reporter

About 55 percent of local Women Job Corps returnees have jobs in uskilled areas unrelated to their Job Corps training.

Many of the others are unemployed, according to a report on the Job Corps Returnee Center at the Downtown Branch of the Young Women's Christian Assn.

59 Now Enrolled

In the first year of operation, the center has attempted to contact 250 Job Corps returnees here, said Mrs. Paul Titus, chairman of the center's advisory committee.

At present, 59 are enrolled in center activities, which include tutoring, job-finding, social and recreational activities, goodgrooming and counseling.

The girls were recruited from 190 graduates and 74 others who returned before completing the course.

The girls came from families with an average income of $67 weekly. About 50 percent of them are high school dropouts. Mrs. Titus said.

The YWCA center, financed by the Moody Foundation, Farish Foundation, and Hogg Foundation for Mental Health and private donations, was formed to pick up where the Job Corps left off, Mrs. Titus said.

"Realistically, the Job Corps cannot fill the gaps and deprivations of 17 years of poverty in one year."

Major Need Cited

The centers' staff, headed by Miss Joanne Rhone, says the girls major need is help in finding jobs. Most of the girls must contribute money to their family's support and 37 of them have children of their own, Mrs. Titus said.

The center has located jobs for five girls and placed four in training positions.

However, the main purpose of the program was not job-finding, but helping the girls meet problems which imprison them in poverty, Mrs. Titus said. The YWCA offers classes leading to an equivalency diploma and preparation for the licensed vocational nurse entrance exam, involving 40 girls.

Another 27 have participated in visits to colleges and five have already entered college as a result.

The YWCA now hopes to involve volunteers as "big sisters" to the returnees. The volunteers would help provide transportation and be a mature friend to the girl, Mrs. Titus said.

The center also needs more money to continue its work, she added.

WASHINGTON POST MAY 23 1969

100 Enrollees Join Fight to Retain Job Corps Center

By George Davis
Washington Post Staff Writer

Larry Ellis, 21, quit high school in his junior year. He was 16, and he started "running wild," he said, living at various places in the upper Cardozo area—sometimes with his father and sometimes with parents of friends.

He worked at more than a dozen jobs. None of them paid more than about $1.50 per hour.

Raymond Holloway, 18, was in a residential Job Corps center in New Jersey until it was closed in April last year. He came to Washington on his own to enroll in the Job Corps Community Center here.

Frank Lloyd, 18, dropped out of high school in the 10th grade because he said he wasn't learning anything. Three weeks ago, after one year in the Job Corps Community Center, he passed his high school equivalency exam.

The three are leaders in a fight by more than 100 enrollees to keep the center at 1402 Otis pl. nw. open despite Federal plans to close it.

"The center means a lot to us," said Ellis, "We're not going to be turned out like animals.

"When we were out there in the streets they called us crooks and hoodlums, and now that we have a chance to get an education they're talking about closing it, but we'll fight until the end. We're not going to leave."

The enrollees plan to fight on a local level an Administration decision announced last February to close 55 of the Nation's 110 Job Corps Centers by June 30.

The Washington center was scheduled to close May 30, but on Wednesday 45 corpsmen picketed the Office of Economic Opportunity's headquarters in support of center director Maurice Wells, who was inside trying to get funding for one more month.

"We hope we can pick up another sponsor in a month," Wells said yesterday.

Officials at OEO agreed to fund the project until June 30.

The Job Corps Community Center opened in September, 1967, as the only non-residential coeducational center in the Nation. Its purpose was to give high school level courses to dropouts who were members of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Of more than 200 students who have enrolled at the center, 28 have passed the high school equivalency exam. Others still enrolled say the training has taught them how to present themselves for job interviews and how to conduct themselves on the job.

Enrollees take educational courses at the center for two or three hours a day, and spend the rest of the work day in on-the-job training at various Government agencies where they earn $1.60 per hour.

The center is located at the northern edge of the 14th Street poverty area that was burned out during last year's riot.

Copied → Model Cities

Wed., May 14, 1969 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Model City Board Job Plan

A summer program for hiring 1000 youths in the St. Louis Model City neighborhood was approved last night by the Model City Agency board of directors. The program would cost $500,000.

Funds will be sought from the Federal Government in place of other programs previously submitted by the Model City Agency. The board is expected to decide later this week what other proposals will be affected.

If the program is approved, the youths, 16 to 22 years old, would work 18 hours a week in federal agencies with offices in the St. Louis area. They would be paid $1.60 an hour. Youths under 16 would be paid $1 an hour.

Goal of 15,000 Jobs

The jobs would be in addition to those being sought through the Mayor's Council on Youth Opportunity, which has set a goal of 15,000 jobs for the summer. A similar program last summer provided work for 10,200 youngsters. The program costs about $500 for each youth.

Approval of the special program means that other proposals totaling $500,000 will have to be cut from the Model City Agency's over-all request for funding. The request was submitted for the third time earlier this month. A total of $9,485,000 has been allocated for the St. Louis Model City area, but the entire amount is not expected to be appropriated.

A team of federal officials is to visit St. Louis May 26 for a final review of the agency's requests. Budget proposals and other aspects of the job program must be submitted to the Department of Housing and Urban Development at least a week before the team visits St. Louis.

Five Conditions

Members of the board, in approving the program, attached five conditions to ensure that the Model City Agency and its neighborhood corporations would retain control of all phases of the program. They disapproved of involvement of other agencies, such as the Human Development Corporation and the Missouri State Employment Service.

The conditions set out by the board were:

(1) That an agency be selected by the Federal Government and the Model City Agency to administer fiscal matters.

(2) That only youth of the Model City area be permitted to take part in the program. The youths would be selected by the neighborhood corporations.

(3) That the program would not affect the area's standing in other job programs.

(4) That the program be monitored under procedures to be established by the neighborhood corporations.

(5) That all supervisors, youth leaders, co-ordinators and clerical personnel be residents of the Model City area.

The Rev. Lucius Cervantes SJ, co-ordinator of the Mayor's Council on Youth Opportunity, had suggested that the Model City Agency undertake the program. He said it was expected that about 35 per cent of the agency's proposed programs would not be funded and urged that the summer employment program be offered as a substitute for programs deemed most likely not to gain approval.

Buddy System

Corn Products and Illinois Local Agree to Aid Hard-Core Jobless

What is believed to be the biggest program in the nation to put the hard-core unemployed to work has been placed in operation by Corn Products Co. in conjunction with the federal government.

Nearly 60 men already are enrolled in the program at the Argo, Ill., plant. Plans are to train and employ a total of 200 during the next two years.

An agreement between Corn Products and Argo, Ill., Local 7-507 was ratified by the local membership Nov. 20, after a recommendation by the local bargaining committee. It spells out the purpose of the program and how it will be put into effect.

The agreement points out that both the company and the union recognize their responsibilities to help those who are unable to find a job. The program to train those "hard-core" unemployed is part of the national plan sponsored by the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) with the support of the U.S. government.

The objective is to develop them into productive members of Corn Products' work force and of the community. The union, by accepting the agreement, endorsed the program and pledged to help make it successful.

Participants in the program will be designated "special status employes" until they qualify as permanent employes. They will be on probation for 20 weeks before entering the normal 60-day probationary period. However, if required, the two probationary periods can be extended to one year.

They will receive both classroom instruction and on-the-job training.

The special status employes will not have seniority until they are placed on permanent status, at which time their seniority will be adjusted to the date of their original hire.

They will be subject to layoff before any permanent employe, will not work overtime, and will not displace any permanent employe. They will, however, be represented by the union in matters concerning wages, hours, and other working conditions. The company will have the right to determine transfers, layoffs and discharges of the employes, but in all other respects the terms of the labor agreement will apply.

A special steward assigned by the union will handle grievances of the special status employes.

•

The basic education course will teach the employe oral reading and mathematics, and he will study the 5,750 most commonly used words in the English language.

A program called personal human development also will be offered, which is aimed at the changing of attitudes and behavior and understanding personal problems. Some of the areas to be covered are: How to get and keep a job, safety, roles of management and union, how to use a checking and savings account, insurances and health education.

Supervisors in the plant will be offered a 39-hour training program so they can understand the hardships facing the hard-core unemployed. In addition, minority persons recruited or already employed by the company will be selected for training for management positions.

Sec.-Treas. R. C. Reinke of Argo Local 7-507 in commenting on the program, describes it this way: "To our knowledge, this is the largest hard-core unemployment program being operated in conjunction with the federal government, so we expect a lot of people will be watching what we do with it. Personally, I believe it to be the best thought-out program of this nature I have seen."

CASE PROBLEMS FOR BUDDIES

THE SITUATION:

1. Walter, the worker you are assigned to help, is 22 years old and has never held a job for more than a few months. He was out of work for two months before getting this job. He's friendly and appreciative of your efforts to be his buddy on the job. Around closing time on the first day he tells you that he's flat broke. He asks you for a $5.00 loan until pay day.

THE QUESTION:

How would you handle it?

THE SITUATION:

2. You are Juan's "buddy". When he's at work he does fine but out of his first 20 days on the job he has failed to show up or call in on three different days. The company hits him with a three-day disciplinary lay-off. You wonder if he'll bother to come back.

THE QUESTION:

What would you do?

THE SITUATION:

3. The foreman calls you in and tells you that he's thinking of hiring a man who has come off the street and applied for a job. The foreman says, "I'll take a chance and hire him if you say so."

THE QUESTION:

Is it your function as a buddy to approve or disapprove of new hires?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE SITUATION:

4. You've been asked to serve as Roger's buddy. He is 50 years old and has a large family. He's very willing and a hard worker but you find out that he does some things wrong because he can't read or write.

THE QUESTION:

Can you think of ways that you might help Roger around this handicap?

THE SITUATION:

5. This is Joe's first job. He's a 19-year old school drop-out. He's on the night shift with you. The second night he calls in and says he won't be in because his mother is sick. He doesn't call in the next night -- or the next.

THE QUESTION:

What would you do -- or have done -- at this point?

THE SITUATION:

6. Cindy is 20 years old and has a two-year old child but no husband. She reports to work the first day in an extremely short, tight mini-skirt and loaded down with junk jewelry. She is also loud in a talkative know-it-all way. You can tell the other people in the shop resent and dislike her immediately.

THE QUESTION:

How would you help her? How would you try to help her gain acceptance from the others.

THE SITUATION:

7. Because you've been selected by the company to take part in the buddy program some of your work mates seem to be jealous. Most of them limit

their comments to kidding, "We didn't know you were the foreman's pet" but one, Big Sam, who is 6'7" and weighs about 285 pounds has been muttering about how some people who think they are big shots will get "a punch inna mouth" if they don't watch out?

THE QUESTION:

How would you react to the kidding? How do you handle the situation with Big Sam?

THE SITUATION:

8. Your union steward tells you he has heard about this "Buddy Thing". He tells you that since he's the steward he ought to be doing the buddy's job instead of you.

THE QUESTION:

How would you explain the difference between your job as a buddy and his as a union steward?

THE SITUATION:

9. When you are first introduced to Larry, age 24, he gives you a mean look and tells you, "Man, I ain't got no need for no nursemaid."

THE QUESTION:

What's Larry's problem? How would you reply?

THE SITUATION:

10. Your new hard-core worker is a widow with three children. She was on relief until trained for this job. She seems anxious to please but is worried and distracted. You find out that her child is very sick. From the way it

THE SITUATION:

13. You are assigned a new worker whose problem is that he doesn't speak English very well. On the job, though, it turns out he's an extremely capable worker and fast -- so fast that the other workers are calling him a "rate-buster."

MATERIALS FOR USE IN

BUDDY TRAINING

QUESTIONNAIRE

THE BUDDY'S JOB

Which of the following things do you think you should do as a buddy?

		DO	DON'T
1.	When you get a buddy assignment you should go to the personnel office and find out something about him.	☐	☐
2.	You should explain your role as a buddy to the union steward in your department.	☐	☐
3.	You should discuss what the program is all about -- as well as your part in it -- with your foreman.	☐	☐
4.	When the new worker is brought in you should try to introduce him to all the people he will be working with.	☐	☐
5.	If the new worker has problems getting along with one or more of the people in the department you should try to find out why -- and help to smooth things over.	☐	☐
6.	In helping your new worker get familiar with his new surroundings you should take time to show him where such things as the washroom and lunch room are located.	☐	☐
7.	When he begins working you keep an eye on him so that you can help him when he needs help.	☐	☐
8.	If he is late or misses work without calling you should take him aside and talk to him about it.	☐	☐
9.	If he doesn't seem to catch on to the job and makes one mistake after another you try to figure out a way to correct the situation.	☐	☐
10.	In being a buddy you are, above all being a <u>friend</u> to the new worker.	☐	☐

SITUATIONAL RESPONSE QUESTIONS

Problems Dealing with the Buddy's Relationships with the New Employee:

1) It is 10 minutes past starting time and the new employee has not shown up for work. What do you do?

2) If you truly find the new worker's personal appearance offensive to you, what do you do?

3) You have heard that the new employee has been seeing his old friend who you suspect might entice him into not going to work. What do you do?

4) You have just learned that the new worker's wages have been garnisheed. What do you say to him?

5) The new employee has a personal hygiene problem. What do you do?

6) When you introduce yourself to the new worker he tells you in no uncertain terms that he doesn't want a buddy. What do you say and do?

Problems Dealing with the Buddy's Relationships with his Fellow Workers:

7) If your fellow workers find the new worker very attractive and give her too much attention, how do you react?

8) Your fellow workers are ignoring the new worker. They won't sit with him in the cafeteria and conversation ceases when he appears. What do you do?

9) Joe, who is quite the practical joker, has been giving the new worker false information about work rules and, thus, adds to the new worker's confusion. What do you say to this practical joker who has been a close friend of yours in the past?

10) The new employee has been out-performing the rest of the crew and this is disturbing to them. They tell you that the boss will wonder why they don't produce as much. How do you reply to them?

11) The new employee can't keep up with his work and the rest of the group feel they have carried him too long. What do you say to them?

12) Some of the fellows who are on the job are laughing at the new worker because of the way he dresses - the way his clothes fit, and his cleanliness. What do you say to them?

13) Yesterday the new worker came into work "stoned" and you and Frank, the boss, took him into the washroom and sobered him up. This morning Sam, who has worked here for years, came in just as bad and the boss gave him written notice with a one-day suspension. A group of the fellows in the department approach you and ask why this preferential treatment. How do you respond?

Problems Dealing with the Buddy's Relationship with the Supervisor:

14) Your first day back from training the supervisor tells you that although he respects your task of being a buddy, he will in no way tolerate any disruptive activity. How do you reply?

15) The supervisor comes to you and says that he doesn't think the new employee will make it, that he is not cut out for this type of work. What do you say?

16) The supervisor comes to you and says he believes in giving these new guys a break, however he is restricted by the contract and therefore anything they do will have to be without the shop steward's knowledge. What do you say?

17) The supervisor tells you he does not know what the Buddy System is all about but he is running this department and he gives all the orders to new and old employees. What do you say?

Problems Dealing with the Buddy's Relationship with the Shop Steward:

18) Your shop steward tells you that he handles all grievances and you had better not make any kind of deals without his knowledge. What do you say?

19) The shop steward tells you that it is not your job to tell the new worker about the union because you might give wrong information. What do you say?

20) Your shop steward tells you that he has told all the guys in the shop not to bother you because of your job and if you have any problems with anyone he'll "lean on them." What do you say?

CASE PROBLEMS FOR BUDDIES

THE SITUATION:	THE QUESTION:
1. Walter, the worker you are assigned to help, is 22 years old and has never held a job for more than a few months. He was out of work for two months before getting this job. He's friendly and appreciative of your efforts to be his buddy on the job. Around closing time on the first day he tells you that he's flat broke. He asks you for a $5.00 loan until pay day.	How would you handle it? _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
2. You are Juan's "buddy". When he's at work he does fine but out of his first 20 days on the job he has failed to show up or call in on three different days. The company hits him with a three-day disciplinary lay-off. You wonder if he'll bother to come back.	What would you do? _____ _____ _____ _____
3. The foreman calls you in and tells you that he's thinking of hiring a man who has come off the street and applied for a job. Just by looking you know he's real "hard-core". The foreman says, "I'll take a chance and hire him if you say so."	Is it your function as a buddy to approve or disapprove of new hires?_____ _____ _____
4. You've been asked to serve as Roger's buddy. He is 50 years old and has a large family. He's very willing and a hard worker but you find out that he does some things wrong because he can't read or write.	Can you think of ways that you might help Roger around this handicap? _____ _____ _____ _____

THE SITUATION:	THE QUESTION:
5. This is Joe's first job. He's a 19-year old school drop-out. He's on the night shift with you. The second night he calls in and says he won't be in because his mother is sick. He doesn't call in the next night -- or the next.	What would you do -- or have done -- at this point? _____ _____ _____
6. Cindy is 20 years old and has a two-year old child but no husband. She reports to work the first day in an extremely short, tight mini-skirt and loaded down with junk jewelry. She is also loud in a talkative know-it-all way. You can tell the other people in the shop resent and dislike her immediately.	What do you think Cindy's problem is? _____ _____ How would you try to help her gain acceptance from the others? _____ _____
7. Because you've been selected by the company to take part in the buddy program some of your work mates seem to be jealous. Most of them limit their comments to kidding, "We didn't know you were the foreman's pet" but one, Big Sam, who is 6'7" and weighs about 285 pounds has been muttering about how some people who think they are big shots will get "a punch inna mouth" if they don't watch out?	How would you react to the kidding? _____ _____ _____ How do you handle the situation with Big Sam? _____ _____ _____
8. Your union steward tells you he has heard about this "Buddy Thing". He tells you that since he's the steward he ought to be doing the buddy's job instead of you.	How would you explain the difference between your job as a buddy and his as a union steward? _____ _____ _____ _____

THE SITUATION:	THE QUESTION:
9. When you are first introduced to Larry, age 24, he gives you a mean look and tells you, "Man, I ain't got no need for no nursemaid."	What's Larry's problem? _____ _____ How would you reply? _____ _____
10. Your new hard-core worker is a widow with three children. She was on relief until trained for this job. She seems anxious to please but is worried and distracted. You find out that her child is very sick. From the way it sounds you think the child ought to be in the hospital.	Is this your problem as a buddy? _____ If so, can you think of ways you might help? _____ _____ _____
11. You seem to have had more success as a buddy than anyone else. The foreman keeps assigning one after another to you. You are now working with five hard-core people all at once. No-one else has more than two. The foreman calls you in and asks you to take "just one more."	Should you do it? _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
12. Charley, a 21-year old, has been hired in on the day shift and is doing fine except he can't seem to get to work on time. He's always 15 minutes to a half-hour late. You talk to him and find out that his mother is an invalid and he has to get his smaller brothers and sisters off to school before he can leave home in the morning.	Can you think of a solution to Charley's problem? _____ _____ _____ _____ _____

THE SITUATION:	THE QUESTION:
13. You are assigned a new worker whose problem is that he doesn't speak English very well. On the job, though, it turns out he's an extremely capable worker and fast -- so fast that the other workers are calling him a "rate-buster."	Who would you talk to in this case?_____ The foreman? the new worker? the other workers? What would you say?_____ _____ _____
14. One of your friends in the shop tells you that you're wasting your time trying to help "those people". You ask him what he thinks "those people" are like. He replies, " They're a bunch of dirty, lazy, shiftless bums."	What's your friend's problem?_____ _____ How would you explain your role as a buddy?_____ _____
15. Your "hard-core" worker finds out on pay-day that everyone else in the shop is making 50¢ to $1.00 more than he is. He gets up tight, saying,"I'm doing the same thing they are." He tells you they can shove "this job".	What would you say?_____ _____ _____ _____
16. When Gordon is introduced to you the first day he has a fine, thick Afro haircut -- so thick, in fact, you can't find a safety helmet to fit him.	Should you let him take his chances?_____ What would you suggest? _____ _____
17. There is no doubt in your mind that the foreman is "riding" Johnny, your new hard-core worker. He watches him constantly, waiting for Johnny to make a mistake. You can see that this is causing a lot of work to be ruined.	Who would you talk to?__ _____ How can you help the situation? _____ _____ _____

A SECOND CHANCE FOR NINETY MEN IN NORFOLK

by James W. Canan

The Reporter, July 16, 1964

First Training Program Provides Lessons of Benefit to Future Projects

Seventy-eight of the ninety unlettered, unemployed Negroes who struggled through a year's training in Norfolk, Virginia, have found steady jobs since their graduation last November. But even more important than these individual success stories was the experience gained in the first attempt to train the hard-core poor under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. It was in large measure the lessons learned in Norfolk that led Congress to amend the act for the benefit of future projects. And, yet, despite these and other accomplishments, it is by no means certain that the project can be repeated on a large scale in other communities.

The success of Norfolk lay largely in the drive of those responsible for it to remold the men in it, however great the odds. Matching that drive will be difficult, even with more help from the Federal government.

The project, designed to overcome the interrelated problems of illiteracy, unemployment, and racial discrimination, was devised by the Norfolk division of the Virginia State College, and all-Negro institution. The idea was not so much to teach skilled men new skills or to help them shift from dying trades to promising ones as to make literate craftsmen out of men whose only marketable assets were their muscles.

Manpower Training Was Not Reaching Those Who Needed it Most -- Illiterates

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz assigned top priority to the Norfolk project, as overseen from Washington by his Office of Manpower, Automation and Training (OMAT). He was disturbed because the manpower-training programs were not reaching the unemployed who needed them most, namely the nation's illiterates, among whom Southern Negroes predominated. Hence, Wirtz described the Norfolk project as "one of the most important and critical experiments going on in the United States today." He noted that Negro heads of families were unemployed in twice the numbers of their white counterparts. He blamed in part "the continuing fact of discrimination," but asserted that the Negroes' biggest drawback was their lack of training for many of the jobs otherwise available to them.

The encroachments of automation at the naval bases, shipyards, and coal piers that dominate the Norfolk area's economy illustrate Wirtz's point dramatically: they are bad news for the unskilled laborer, black and white. Four years ago, the Navy reported to the Negro college that the installation of computer controls in warehouses and of machines for loading ships' stores would soon mean laying off some three hundred Negroes. Was there anything the college could do to train Negroes to handle jobs requiring some judgment? If there was, the Navy would do everything possible to hire them.

College Plans Program for Hard-Core Unemployed

The college responded by conceiving its training project. But not until passage of the Manpower Act in 1962 was the college able to proceed on grants of $135,000 from the Labor Department for the trainees' allowances and $125,000 from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to pay administrative and teaching costs.

Most of the hundred Negro men chosen for the Norfolk courses in auto mechanics, bricklaying, electronics, sheet-metal work, and janitorial duties were of the "hard-core unemployed" (and resented being so described). Ranging in age from twenty-five to sixty and averaging four children each, they could not read well enough to pass the standard aptitude test that ordinarily determines whether a man is qualified to be trained under the Manpower Act. They had bleak histories of share-cropping or of desultory employment in what they called "pick-up work," and they all realized the futility of seeking steady work with brawn alone to offer.

Officials at the Norfolk college were convinced that it would be necessary to instruct the men in many other areas besides shop courses if they were to make their way in the modern job market. The ability to read, to write, to be fairly well spoken -- and even to listen -- seemed just as essential to success. Furthermore, the officials believed that the dignity to be gained from becoming skillful would stimulate a yearning for increased literacy, and vice versa.

Basic Education Techniques Tried Here Become Standard

Thus fifty of the trainees were given additional instruction in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and just plain communcation ("How to Talk to Your Supervisor"). The others received vocational training only. The fortunes of the two groups, along with those of another hundred men who received no training, will be compared a year following the project's completion. There is enough evidence already, however, to vindicate the concept. As a result, the "basic education" techniques tried for the first time at Norfolk have become more or less standard in manpower programs.

But it was one thing to plant the theories and quite another to nurture them. The first of many problems encountered by the college was to attract the attention of men who do not expect that anything good will come their way, and who consequently tend to be too shy or too sullen to take advantage of it when it does. The state employment office in Norfolk used its files to round up prospects for the training, and mass media publicized the project, but the response was negligible. One college official observed that the publicity produced "a very favorable atmosphere among the literate public," but not much else. Either the unemployed had no desire to learn new skills or else they had not been reached. At any rate, it was apparent that they were not likely to apply for training just because it was there; they had to be found and then convinced that it was to their advantage to sign up.

Recruiters go to Poor Neighborhoods and Churches in Search of People

Professors and undergraduates spread the word through the pastors of Negro churches, concentrating on those in poor neighborhoods and being careful to include all the "cult" congregations. They roamed the streets in teams, talking about the project to anyone who would listen, distributing simply written fact sheets in the places where the idle congregated. After a month, the employment office and the college had more than enough applicants.

Many of them, not understanding the unique purpose of the project, were puzzled as to why their comparative keenness of mind should weigh against their being chosen. In point of fact, however, several who showed acumen were selected, to give the classes the pupil leadership that the college felt would be impossible to attain with classes made up entirely of "defeated people."

Once the classes began, the instructors ran into resistance from the trainees in the basic education courses. They made it plain that they had signed up to be shown how to get big pay checks, not to pore over readers and spellers. But within a few weeks, they began to take pride in their studies and drew the envy of the others. It became a matter of course for those taking the three Rs to share what they had learned with those who were not. It was a revelation that all but a few of the trainees, in both groups, showed a deftness of hand and mind that belied their dismal backgrounds and low aptitude-test scores. Moreover, the average reading level of those in the basic education group improved markedly.

Dropouts Threaten Program Because Trainees Cannot Support Families

About a year ago, just as the project seemed to be proving itself, it was threatened with a crisis: dropouts on a scale that would have finished it then and there. Ten trainees already had departed, some because they could not resist job offers. One, for example, took a job as a front-end man in an auto-body repair shop at $90 a week, a fortune for him. Most quit or were seriously considering quitting, however, because they could not support their families on the weekly allowances they were receiving from the government.

Under the Manpower Act at the time, a trainee was forbidden to work part time, and was limited to an allowance no greater than the level of unemployment compensation of the state in which he lived. The level in Virginia was $27 a week, and most of the trainees, despite histories of irregular work, had been able to do better. With summer at hand, they longed to apply for the jobs and the big tips possibly awaiting them at Virginia Beach and other resort areas. At one point, the teachers and staff began making small out-of-pocket loans to starve off the trainees' creditors, and arranging for donations of food, clothing, and even toys.

Congress Amends MDTA to Allow More Money for Training Allowances

Confronted by this challenge to the project, which Wirtz had said "has got to work," the Labor Department approached a private foundation, which provided $29,000, enough to add $15 a week to the income of each trainee, plus $2 a week for each dependent. There were no more dropouts, and absenteeism dwindled to almost nothing. As a result, Congress amended the Manpower Act to authorize bonuses of up to $10 a week to trainees who, in the judgement of the Secretary of Labor, just can't make it on their allowances. In addition, trainees now may work as many as twenty hours a week, thus lessening any urge to forsake training when part-time work becomes available. And Congress also appropriated more money to train "functional illiterates" in the Norfolk pattern.

But money wasn't the only problem encountered in the Norfolk project. Not surprisingly, many of the trainees had personal and family problems. Halfway through the courses, the college felt compelled to borrow Mrs. Vivian Ewing, a Negro case-worker, from the Norfolk Social Service Bureau to counsel the men.

Counseling Helps Trainees and Wives Adjust Better

Mrs. Ewing went beyond counseling and referring. She organized the trainees' wives into a club; helped them to budget for low-cost, nourishing meals and to organize their households; arrange picnics; attempted to relieve the fears of some of them that their husbands might develop a yen for the co-eds at the college; and repeatedly planted the idea that they should be proud of their husbands and of themselves.

One faculty member, who praised Mrs. Ewing for her achievements, nonetheless expressed misgivings: "I wonder," he said, "how these men will react when they have to show up on the job on the dot every day and stay steady, without her to hold their hands when they have troubles." Thus far, his doubts have not been justified.

What Were Some of the Problems in Placement?

For all the spirit and confidence that had developed by graduation time ("The hall was packed and the undergraduates cheered; you'd have thought they were graduating from Harvard," said one professor), it took two months to get thirty of the trainees hired and two more to bring that number up to fifty. The Navy, which had been expected to hire nearly all of the electronics and sheet-metal workers, was stymied by a reduction in the civilian work force of the entire Defense establishment. The weather had turned cold, and so had the bricklayers' prospects.

Eight months after the end of the project, the Navy has managed to hire only one trainee. Even so, sixty-six of the ninety who earned certificates are working at their trades -- including fifteen of the sixteen bricklayers -- or at related jobs. Twelve others have found work in different fields. One of them, the sixteenth bricklayer, exemplifies an important side benefit of the training; the self-discipline that comes with having seen something through. His big handicap always had been a violent temper, which flared up a few times early in the training and rendered his future dubious. He learned to control it, and because he had, was recommended to an agency that supplies guards for stores. Not long after being hired, he broke his hand while defending a supermarket against young hoodlums who had been vandalizing it, and became something of a local hero.

Trained Men Break Through the Segregation Barrier

Especially striking was the impact of the project on segregation. One graduate became the telephone company's first Negro lineman in Norfolk at $72 a week. A previously all-white automobile assembly plant took on four trainees, two for the assembly line at $3.50 an hour and two for maintenance work at $2.52 an hour. One of the assemblers made $200, with overtime, his first week on the job.

To be sure, some members of the unusual graduating class have not been so fortunate. It is believed that one trainee was fired from a good job because he refused to change an elaborate hair style that his white co-workers found offensive. Another joined the Black Muslims upon graduation. Eight of the trainees found jobs at a plant in North Carolina, only to be laid off in short order for reasons that have not been made clear.

But on balance, the project must be reckoned a worthwhile experiment. In a recent progress report, Dr. William M. Cooper, who directed the project, wrote: "We are continuing our efforts to place and upgrade trainees. Co-operation of the employment offices has been good. The employment situation is fluid and ever-changing. Our trainees are responding to these changes to better their employment and pay ... Our hope is that this report will help in promoting the total manpower effort."

At the very least, it looks like a step in the right direction.

Atlantic Steel — [H.S. Jefferson, Reiley] Chep. Methodist

now in bargaining — Rawley (?) Mgt Ind Rels

Co. wants Union to give up something

Mathews: may be on strike

Shifting depts. during probation — (don't know what will get seniority)

also shifts in schedule

Curry: has suggested extended probation period —

Southern Cross

Brett Pendergrast

$1.70 / starting rate

have been hiring hard core

Grinnell (?) non-participant —

These Firms Offer Jobs

The Milwaukee area chapter of the National Alliance of Businessmen announced Saturday that 214 employers had pledged to hire either hard core unemployed persons or ghetto youths, or both. The list follows:

Conkley's Maintenance Corp., Abley Rents, Hunt Co., Allied Canvas Products Corp., Associated Bag Co., Boston Store, Sheraton-Schroeder hotel, Evinrude Motors Division of Outboard Marine Corp., A. O. Smith Corp., Wisconsin Telephone Co., First Wisconsin National Bank, Hoebius Printing Co.

Marine National Exchange bank, Rex Chainbelt, Manpower, J. C. Penney Co., Inland Steel Products Co., Allis-Chalmers, Wisconsin Shoe Co., Red Owl Stores, Inc., Sears, Roebuck and Co., Gimbels-Schusters, Joe Schlitz Brewing Co., Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co., Heil Co.

Wisconsin Electric Power Co., Lakeside Bridge & Steel Co., Pabst Brewing Co., General Electric, Gehl's Home Improvement Co., UOP Bostrom division, American Linen Supply Co., Herbst Shoe Manufacturing Co., Globe-Union, Moerner-Waldert Corp., Kalmbach Publishing Co., Harley-Davidson Motor Co.

Keehring Co., North Avenue Laundry & Cleaners, Northwestern National Insurance Co., North Central Airlines, Kroger Co., Cleaver-Brooks Co., Amron Corp., Weitzman Enterprises, Western Machine Co., Coca-Cola Bottling Co., Ken Cook Co., Kohl's Food Stores, Taylor Electric Co.

American Appraisal Co., Hufschmidt Engineering Co., Wisconsin Gas Co., Universal Foods Corp., Pandl's Whitefish Bay Inn, Weyenberg Shoe Manufacturing Co., AC Electronics Division of General Motors, Harnischfeger Corp., Albert Trostel & Sons Co., Dr. Robert Kubra, Precision Screw Thread Corp.

Vielle Greendale drug store, Custom Design Associates, Pressed Steel Tank Co., Humble Oil & Refining Co., Aqua-Chem, American Can Co., The Journal Company, Westinghouse Electric Supply Co., Johnson Service Co., Curtis Development & Manufacturing Co., Jack White, La Joy restaurant, Heinemann's restaurants, Geuder, Paeschke & Frey Co., Goldmann's department stores, Miller Brewing Co.

Firemen's Fund Insurance Co., Ampco Metal, Milwaukee Ins. Mintzer's Bakery, Milwaukee Athletic club, Melody Top theater, Dowling Box Co., Federal-Malleable Co., Caterpillar Tractor Co., Milprint, Time Insurance Co., Patrick Cudahy, Inc., Wahr Corp., Crucible Steel Casting division of Howmet Corp.

Milwaukee Valve Co., Utility Products Co., Bucyrus-Erie Co., Wisconsin Centrifugal, Geo. J. Meyer Manufacturing Co., W. A. Krueger Co., St. Regis Paper Co., Pfister & Vorel Tanning Co., Boy Scouts of America, Statistical Tabulating Co., Controls Company of America, Falls Cleaners & Launderers, Oilgear Co.

Kearney & Trecker Corp., Schiller Moving & Storage Co., George Frohmader, Forest Home cemetery, River Transport Co., Gaylord Container Division of Crown Zellerbach Corp., Tool Rite Manufacturing Co., American Red Cross, American Paper & Plastic Products, Sibley Gallery, Otis Elevator Co.

Adler Fun Town amusement park, Adjustment Co., Pratt Manufacturing Corp., Irving Goldman, Bestline Products, Cooper Strock & Schannell, WITI-TV, United Parcel Service, Froedtert-Mayfair, Robert W. Baird & Co., Babcock & Wilcox Co., F. W. Woolworth Co.

Tom Coward, Ace Welding & Safety Supply, Holiday Inn Central, Ely. J. Lewenstohn, Perrick Co., Milwaukee Mutual Insurance Co., Milwaukee Faucets, Milwaukee Die Casting Co., The Milwaukee Company, Erie Manufacturing Co., Employers Insurance of Wausau, Dickten & Masch Manufacturing Co.

Equitable Life Assurance Society, Eaton Yale & Towne, A. F. Gallun & Sons Corp., G-E-X, Jos. T. Ryerson & Son, Schwartzburg Chevrolet Co., Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., Continental Insurance Co., Milwaukee Plastics, Continental Can Co., W. M. Heiser Co., Great Lakes Tanning Co., Milwaukee Brush Manufacturing Co.

Zamec Metal Products Co., Automatique Milwaukee, Aug. G. Barkow Manufacturing Co., Gustave Larson, Cramer-Krasselt Co., Sealtest Foods Div. of National Dairy Products Corp., Barry Transfer & Storage Co., Pappy's restaurant and lounge, Gordon Hatch Co., Hotwig Carbon Products, Atlas Metal Parts Co., Babcock Automobile Spring Co., Badger Auto Body Co.

Badger Auto Service Co., Badger Pontiac, Inc., Badger Wholesale Florists, Barclay Foundry, Black Steer restaurant, A-C Supply Co., Acme Surgical Appliance Co., Aetna Maintenance Masters, Aldens Catalog Sales stores, Aldrich Chemical Co., Alexander's restaurant and lounge, American Fuel & Supply Co., La Bracke's supper club, Law Tanning Co.

Dodge City of Wauwatosa, Banner Builders, Laache & Joys Co., Dusty's Sukiyaki House, Buckley Cleaners & Launderers, Geo. Watts & Son, Northwestern Ford, Home bank, Elm Row Nursing home, Barber Exposition Service, Zig Sheet Metal Co.

Phil Nelson Pontiac, Tamaro Contractors, Jack Winter, Inc., Allied Construction Employers association, Milwaukee Better Laundry association, Lakeside Manufacturing Co., Mount Sinai hospital, A—Better Decorators, John Oster Mfg. Co.

Lakeview restaurant and bar, Trophy Athletic Supply, Wisconsin exposition center, M. D. Phar-

Coins Cleared From Rails of Kennedy Train

Washington Post News Service

Washington, D. C. — As the train bearing the casket of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy neared Washington, police in Prince George's county, Maryland, cleared the tracks of coins placed there by spectators who wanted them crushed as souvenirs.

Police said the coins — pennies and some Kennedy half dollars — might have put the train in danger of derailment.

MAB

Ohio Chamber 50 Rx chem salt 35

Inland steel prod. Wis Elevator Panels

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New York Times 6/16/68

JOBLESS TRAINING BEGINS WITH ABC'S

Chrysler Chief Says Task Is Harder Than He'd Thought

By JERRY M. FLINT
Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, June 15—Training the hard-core unemployed—even for factory work—is more difficult than imagined and there are no "overnight solutions," an automobile company president warns.

It can involve teaching a man how to catch the correct bus, or how to get up in the morning, or getting him glasses so he may learn enough reading for simple jobs, Virgil E. Boyd, the president of Chrysler Corporation, said.

Nevertheless, the problems have not discouraged Chrysler's efforts. The automobile maker signed two Government contracts this week for $5.9-million to train 2,000 hard core unemployed for factory work and 1,000 for work as auto mechanics.

After the Detroit riot last July automobile companies began recruiting Negroes from Detroit's inner city.

"But there were some who simply couldn't be put to work," Mr. Boyd said in a talk to newspaper advertising men. "I to take 750 of the hard-core meant, until we became involved in this area. I was wrong. Hard core refers not to those without steady jobs, but to those who are not equipped for any job. Not the unemployed, but the unemployable—those who are unable to fill out even a simple job application."

He said Chrysler and the Federal Government recently started a two-year experiment here to take 750 of the hard core unemployed and give them whatever training was required to make them able to work. This did not mean instructions on using machinery.

"These people," he said, "can't read simple words such as 'in' and 'out' signs on a door."

They have to be taught the letters that spell common colors," he said, "so they can read the instruction card that tells them to put a blue or green steering wheel on a car as it comes down the assembly line."

And, he said, they must learn simple addition "so that they can count boxes of parts they take off a supplier's truck."

Some sign an "X" for their names, some fail to show up, and many come late.

Many officials at Chrysler are "more than ever convinced that all the people who aren't working just don't want to work," the executive said.

"These people," he said, "were not only offered jobs, but the offers were made right on their own blocks or at the favorite corner for standing on, or in the church basement or the poolroom. So if they didn't show up, they didn't really want to work."

Confusion Over Buses

But checking showed the answer "in many cases was childishly simple," he said. "If you can't read, how do you know what it says on the destination signs of the many buses that go by on a given busy street. And a grown man isn't going to get on—and be sent off—the wrong bus very many times before he stops getting on buses any more. So we showed those people, one by one, how to recognize the right bus to take, and in some cases how and when to transfer to another necessary route."

When Chrysler checked on why many were regularly late, he said, the company discovered that "only one in five owned an alarm clock. Why? Because they'd never had to be any particular place at any particular time before."

He said the trainees were taken into plants and shown men "just like themselves who owned cars and clothes and houses and owned them because these men lived within the rules of an industrial society and showed up for work, on time, every day."

Once the hard-core people "knew how and why to come to work, their attendance and tardiness record was 500 per cent better than the average of all our employes," Mr. Boyd said.

He said examinations showed that 40 per cent of those rejected for physical reasons were turned down for poor vision. "And after these rejects were sent to the proper agencies, were tested and fitted for glasses," he said, "our people found that many of them could very quickly pick up the elementary reading skilsl required for simple jobs."

After sufficient motivation and direction the trainees "performed at the average level within a relatively few weeks," he said.

Under the Government contract, Chrysler has 23 weeks to train them for useful work.

"It hasn't been an easy job," Mr. Boyd said. "In addition to bus routes and alarm clocks, we have had to overcome fear and resentment, hostility and a history of failure."

But the first group was ready after eight weeks of training, and of 44 put on the job only one quit, he said, "and that beats our walk-in employment record by a wide margin."

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Mr. Emory Via:

For your information regarding Buddy Training Program.

Jules Pagano

7/1/68

Buddy Training

Building work-group support
for the newly recruited disadvantaged
worker in the JOBS program.
The RADET Corporation

In brief, the Contractor will develop, implement, and evaluate a program for training buddies to support and assist disadvantaged persons hired under the JOBS program. This program is to be carried out in five cities, determined by the Manpower Administrator, U.S. Department of Labor, or his designee. The dates will be chosen from among those made available by the Contractor. In general, the training dates will consist of two or three day periods after July 15. Whether two days or three, each training program will require eighteen hours.

Statement of work to be done

The training program development includes "Design" and "orientation." The Design of the program implies setting objectives for the training, choosing methods for doing the training, and finding Trainers to carry out the program. Orientation implies participating in the one-half day Orientation programs being organized by Greenleigh Associates. There are five such programs. They will be held in the five cities designated by the

Department of Labor, on dates agreed upon by Greenleigh and the Contractor.

Implementation implies that the Contractor will select the Trainers, orient them, and conduct the 18 hour Workshops in the five cities selected; and that he will arrange a brief "follow-up" or refresher session within a few days after each such Workshop.

Evaluation includes the collection of field data to measure the impact of the training, and the evaluation of impact; it also includes the preparation of a final report. The final report will contain five copies of a "prototype" training program. The prototype program is a set of instructions for a Trainer, with copies of the materials actually used in the training. The Trainer's instructions will be sufficient to allow a professional trainer (whose qualifications will be indicated in the Evaluation part of the final report) to put on the program.

Phases of Work

The work is divided into the following phases:

1. Design (estimated completion date: July 15)
2. Orientation (estimated completion date of last orientation depends on Greenleigh)
3. Implementation (estimated completion date: two weeks after completion of last Orientation)

4. Follow-up (est. compl. date: two weeks after completion of last Workshop)

5. Evaluation (est. date of rough Report, October 15; of final report, November 30, 1968).

Overall purposes and objectives

Groups of Buddies (9-21 is the size of each of the five Workshops) will be trained to anticipate and deal with the various critical on the job problems faced by newly recruited disadvantaged workers. The overall purpose of the Buddy system is to make it more likely that the JOBS program will be effective. Thus, the Buddy training is a "sub-system" of the Buddy system, which is in turn designed to make the JOBS program meet its economic and social aims.

There are three objectives in the Buddy training program:

1. Obtain acceptance of the Buddy role, and develop at least an elementary skill in carrying out that role, in handling the various problem situations likely to arise in the Buddy's relationships with the newly hired person;

2. Develop skill in dealing with the Buddy's co-workers when such problem situations involve this "peer group;"

3. Develop skill in dealing with the Buddy's supervisor and shop steward when the problem

situations involve them.

Each of these Objectives in turn implies Sub-objectives, as shown below:

1. Obtain acceptance of the Buddy Role...

1.1 To explain the role of Buddy

1.2 To help him see his personal stake in the Role

1.3 To arouse his willingness to take the risks involved in this role

1.4 To develop an understanding of the situation confronting workers new on a job

1.5 To develop an understanding of the situation confronting disadvantaged workers

1.6 To help the trainee see various ways in which each problem situation can be constructively handled.

2. To develop skill in working with the Buddy's "peer group"...

2.1 To develop an understanding of the way "informal workgroups" use their power

2.2 To help the trainee see various ways in which he can deal with "peer power"

3. To develop skill in working with the supervisor and the shop steward..

3.1 To develop an understanding of the way foremen and stewards react to new workers and disadvantaged workers

3.2 To help the trainee see various ways in which a Buddy can deal with the Foreman and the shop Steward.

Note: in non-unionized companies and other circumstances, substitute the appropriate terms for "Foreman" and Shop Steward.

Design of the Program

The Program Design essentially consists of developing the role playing and other exercises and training materials which will be used during the 18 hours, to achieve the above mentioned objectives. The Design also requires a rapid build up of information about the kinds of persons who are likely to be recruited for the Buddy role and training. For example, will the Buddy be drawn from that part of our society--- the "blue collar', lower-income white groups who are most threatened by minority group demonstrations, housing drives, and educational demands? A training program effective with such Buddies would be quite different in content than one directed toward Buddies who were selected because of their high seniority and lack of antipathy toward minority groups.

? so what's the answer -
how about Negro buddies -

Philosophy of training. Our methods of training seek specific changes in human behavior, but we try to avoid the mechanical assumptions implicit in programed instruction and similar training procedures. We stress the relationship between Trainer and Trainee -- as opposed to "getting through the agenda."

This means that we will try to define the sub-objectives listed earlier (page 4) in terms of specific behavior, so that we can determine whether the training has been effective. But we will emphasize the necessity for the Buddy to make his own decision about his commitment to the role.

The methods of training will draw from techniques familiar in adult education and industrial training: those, such as role playing, which involve the participant in relevant activity, rather than in purely passive listening; and those techniques which place the trainee in situations similar to those which he is likely to encounter on the job.

Problem situations. Role playing and other training exercises will be built around such problem situations as those listed on the following page. Our research to date has led us to expect that these kinds of problems will frequently arise in the Buddy system. The question for each problem situation is, "What can the Buddy do to help?" In some of them, the answer may

well be, "Nothing." In others, he may be able to take a very active role. In most cases, the training can help the trainee see that there are several possible ways of reacting constructively to a given situation. The training can also help him see which ways of reacting are destructive .

Tentatively, the problem situations involved in the Training Program will include:

1. The New Worker fails to show up for work.
2. The Worker shows up with a hangover and wants to take a drink on the job.
3. The Worker wants to borrow money from other workers.
4. The Worker does an outstanding job but the Foreman fails to notice it.
5. Lunchtime comes, and none of the other workers sits down for a sandwich with the New Worker.
6. The Worker doesn't want to follow the safety rules.
7. The Worker does very poorly on the job.
8. The Buddy takes the New Worker to the coffee counter and finds that his co-workers avoid both of them.
9. The Worker shows up in shabby clothes and one of the co-workers ridicules him.
10. The Worker wears a funny-looking haircut and the Foreman tells him to change it.
11. The Worker's ghetto buddies show up and hang around the place of work, every day around quitting time.
12. A Foreman puts pressure on the Buddy to do something which he thinks will make the Worker fail.
13. The company gives the New Worker a hard assignment or promotion for which he is not ready, with the obvious intention of making him fail.
14. The Quality Control inspector starts rejecting the work of the New Worker, by applying tighter standards than he uses with other people.
15. The Personnel Department tells a New Worker he will have to take a test, but the Buddy knows the Worker is afraid the others will find out he can't read.

In each such Problem Situation, a short description of the roles involved is part of the Trainer's instruction Manual. In these roles (when they are considered together),

the situation is described in much greater detail than above.

Arrangements for training. The training schedule will be worked out with the Greenleigh Associates, as will the choice of a training site. The site must be such as to permit the kind of training and the methods described above.

Orientation

The orientation sessions will be scheduled in coordination with Greenleigh Associates. The Contractor's part of each of the half day orientations will be the description and explanation of the Buddy training program.

Implementation

Following each Orientation workshop, after Greenleigh Associates notify us that the Buddies have been recruited and are available for training on a specific date, the Contractor will schedule a Workshop. The Contractor will select the training site.

It is understood that this will be done only after Greenleigh Associates can give assurance that the Buddies (9-21 for each Workshop) have been given "released time" by their companies, and that the Buddies have agreed to appear for the training.

Who negotiates released time

We will then schedule one of our Trainers, provide the materials, and conduct the training. At that time, we will collect certain data to be used later in

evaluating the effectiveness of the training.

We, The Contractor, are in complete charge of the training. In our philosophy of training, the trainees must feel completely free to participate. Any authority to visit or observe must be obtained from the Trainer. Participation of observers will be regulated by the Trainer.

The program will require about 18 hours in a block of time. This means that the trainees must not intermittently return to the job. The program may be given in two or in three days. It may be scheduled during the working week , on the weekend, or with the combination of the two.

Follow-up

The Trainer will return to each city within three weeks for a brief "refresher" meeting with the trainees. This follow-up meeting does not require released time unless some of the trainees are working on the evening shift. When the Buddies are originally invited through Greenleigh Associates to participate in the three day Workshop, the Follow-up date should also be scheduled at that time. This date must be acceptable to the Trainer.

The value of the Follow-up meeting is greatest for those Buddies who have been assigned a Disadvantaged Worker since the completion of the Workshop. It is

possible in some cities that Greenleigh Associates will conclude that such a Workshop Follow-up will not be useful, but it will be the Trainer's option as to whether to conduct it.

Evaluation

A Field investigator from the Contractor will visit each city within four to five weeks following the Workshop for individual interviews with each trainee, his Supervisor, the disadvantaged worker assigned to the Buddy trainee, and possibly other peers of the worker. The Field investigator will talk to the Shop Steward if it is feasible.

In this interview, the Contractor will collect the data necessary to determine the impact of training, the degree to which the trainee has carried out the Buddy role, and the effects on the newly hired disadvantaged worker. The interview will be of the open-ended type in the main.

The findings of the interview will be held completely confidential. They will be encoded to determine which of the sub-objectives of training (see page 4) have been best achieved, and under what circumstances the training program appears to have obtained its best results. With the aid of this analysis, the less productive units of the training will be removed, and an imporved design produced.

In addition to the Field interview, certain impressions are collected during the training from the Trainer, Trainees, and any observers who may be present. These

impressions should be collected in such a way as to answer the following questions about whether an effective climate for learning has been established in the particular Workshop:

--does each trainee feel free to participate to the fullest extent practical?

--does each trainee "identify" himself with the trainer as a human being?

--has the trainee group formed a sense of unity (or "we-feeling")?

--do the trainees feel <u>involved</u> in the training?

--do they consider that they are learning something which affects their vital interests?

A third type of question involved in the Evaluation is the cost-effectiveness of the training. It is true that a program under development cannot meet the same cost standards other programs do. However, we can state that the standard costs we visualize for the program whose prototype we are going to produce, as the end-result of the evaluation, will lie somewhere between University undergraduate instruction costs and management training costs.

Cost standards set without any reference to effectiveness are, however, dangerous. In our final report, we will relate the cost estimates of the

Prototype program to the evidence of Effectiveness.

The Evaluation-- especially the Field Investigators' reports-- will produce evidence of the operation of the Buddy System itself. We will incorporate this evidence in our Final Report.

Finally, in the Evaluation report, we will include the training program as re-designed in the light of the Evaluation. This new training program will be in the form of an instructor's manual, ready for use.

greenleigh associates, inc.
NEW YORK
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SAN FRANCISCO
WASHINGTON
1735 DE SALES ST. N.W. · WASHINGTON D.C. 20036 · (202) 737-4804

July 11, 1968

Buddy Project Informational Memorandum No. 1

From Jules Pagano, Project Director

The Buddy System is designed to assist new ("hard core") employees in adjusting themselves to their work environment through the counseling and guidance of co-workers on a person - to - person basis.

Five cities have been selected, based on the number of unionized plants employing the hard-core unemployed, cooperative management, effective union leadership, qualified full-time AFL-CIO community services representatives, and interested social agencies. Each program in these five cities will select and train 20 to 25 special union counselors or "Buddies", who will assist the hard-core employee in:

a) adjusting to plant routine and job requirements;

b) obtaining aid and assistance as needed from community health, welfare, recreational, educational facilities and resources;

c) establishing good working relationships and coping with problems which might arise;

d) encouraging participation and involvement in union activity to insure his acceptance of his role as a union member.

In order to implement the contract that calls for the establishment, coordination, and evaluation of a Buddy System under the National Alliance of Businessmen's Jobs Program in five cities, Greenleigh Associates has:

a) recruited and staffed coordinators and senior consultants for this project, and

b) conducted a two-day orientation and planning session for Greenleigh staff and representatives of the Community Services Division of the AFL-CIO, the National Alliance of Businessmen, the Department of Labor, and RADET. The conference included orientation and definition of the mission of the Buddy Project and a general review of factors necessary for successful coordination and liaison with all involved in the project.

The five selected cities were: Newark, New Jersey, Portland, Oregon, Houston, Texas, Cleveland, Ohio, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Plans were made at the June 24-25 conference for a briefing session to be held in Washington, D. C. July 1 and 2 which would include all those who would play positive roles in the Buddy Project - Department of Labor, National Alliance of Businessmen, AFL-CIO, RADET, and Greenleigh staff assigned to the project.

The July 1 and 2 agenda followed the pattern below:

July 1

10:00 - 10:30 - Welcome and Introduction - Leo Perlis - AFL-CIO

10:30 - 11:15 - Background of National Alliance of Businessmen - John W. Livingston

11:15 - 11:45 - Pledges and Contracts - Tom Royals, Deputy Assistant Manpower Administrator - Department of Labor

12:00 - 2:00 - Luncheon

2:00 - 4:00 - Role of Greenleigh Associates - Jules Pagano, Vice President
Mrs. Martha Reynolds - Labor Coordinator
Jack Williams - Labor Coordinator

July 2

10:00 - 11:00 - Buddy Training - RADET Corporation - Dr. Charles Dailey, President

11:00 - 12:00 - Role of Community Services Representatives - William A. Davies, CSA Training Director

Role of Labor Liaisons to National Alliance of Businessmen and Central Body Officers - Leo Perlis, John W. Livingston

12:00 - 2:00 - Lunch

2:00 - 3:00 - Questions and Summary - Leo Perlis

Some of the highlights of the July 1 and 2 conference:

1) Comments by Leo Perlis, Department of Community Services, AFL-CIO, Tom Royals, Deputy Assistant Manpower Administrator, Department of Labor, Charles Dailey, President, RADET, William Davies, AFL-CIO Community Services Activity Training Director, concerning what should be expected of their respective offices.

2) Jules Pagano commented on the responsibilities of Greenleigh staff and introduced two labor coordinators - Mrs. Martha Reynolds and Mr. Jack Williams who would be staff coordinators for Greenleigh with major responsibility in the field.

3) It was decided, after a thorough review of the program in Newark, New Jersey by the Labor representatives there, that because of that community's labor movement situations and current developments it should be omitted as a pilot city.

4) Tentative schedules were established for the four other cities and work schedules outlined for Greenleigh staff.

5) A sub-committee was established to determine a fifth city since Newark was deleted. (Atlanta, Georgia appears to be the city. The field visit is July 11 and 12)

The Procedure and Schedule is Listed Below:

During the two orientation and planning sessions mentioned here, key representatives from all five participating organizations discussed the most effective ways of insuring coordination and cooperation. Out of the discussions came an understanding for staffing the project in each pilot city (see attached list of representatives). The local AFL-CIO Community Services representative will serve as administrator for the city project; the labor liaison representatives as policy advisors in contact with the labor movement and consultants in the organization of the program; the senior consultant as expeditor, consultant and assistant to the administrator; the coordinator as direct liaison with the national project, organizations, and experiences of other pilot cities; and the Metro Director as liaison and assistant in contact with cooperating employers.

The AFL-CIO, its national community services department, the Greenleigh staff and consultants, the National Alliance of Businessmen, the Central Labor Bodies, and the local community services representatives will work towards insuring acceptance of the Buddy System by the labor movement, assisting in the community orientation program, and providing guidance in the selection and training of the Buddies.

In four of the five pilot cities, (Milwaukee, Houston, Portland, and Atlanta), the field team will begin functioning during the week of July 8.

A guide for possible procedure and schedule discussed during the above mentioned orientation conferences and in a subsequent meeting of organization follows:

(1) 1. July 8 - 15 - Contact leadership group necessary to select companies and unions to be involved in the project.

2. July 15 - 22 - Hold "Backgrounder" Session to acquaint all labor management and community leadership who must understand the proposed Buddy System. Begin recruitment of Buddies.

The Greenleigh staff will arrange the recruitment of the Buddies through the Central Labor Council representatives and the Community Services staff representatives. During these recruiting exercises the staff will also work very closely with the responsible management, government, and other related labor representatives.

3. July 22 29 - Complete recruitment of Buddies. Hold their orientation sessions. Possibly hold the two-day training session.

The training for the Buddies will be provided by RADET, however, Greenleigh will be responsible to coordinate and monitor the various inputs into the training program.

4. July 29 -August 5 - Two-day training program completed and the Buddy System begins.

5. August 5 - September 9 - Assist Buddies in their functions.

6. September 9 - September 23 - Evaluation.

The other pilot cities will experience a later start. Cleveland was not represented at the AFL-CIO orientation meeting on July 1 and 2. A group from the national offices of the cooperating agencies will hold an orientation and planning session with the Cleveland local team on July 17 and 18.

Attached is a list of key representatives related to the Buddy System Project.

UNION BUDDY SYSTEM PROJECT FUNDED BY THE LABOR DEPARTMENT IN 5 PILOT CITIES

Project Director: Jules Pagano, Vice President
Greenleigh Associates, Inc.
Research and Management Consultants
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The following representatives may be contacted on matters pertaining to the JOBS program of N.A.B.

in ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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Senior Consultant: (temporary)
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School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
608; 262-2111 or 233-6922

Metro Director:

National Alliance of Businessmen Contact:
Mr. A.H. Sterne
President
Trust Company of Georgia
36 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone: 404; 588-7123

Labor Liaison Representative to N.A.B:

Bob Butler –

Brad Carry (NAB)

CSA Representative:

Jack Gay

[Bob Butler AFL-CIO]

Contact

Get Presentation
Albert Pick Hotel

The following representatives may be contacted on matters pertaining to the JOBS program of N.A.B.

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New Senior Consultant:

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Labor Liaison Representative to N.A.B:

Louis Ibien
Administrative Assistant to Cleveland Federation
Mangor Hotel
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Cleveland, Ohio 44114
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C.S.A. Representative:

Mel Witt, UAW #1005
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CSA Representative:
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The following representatives may be contacted on matters pertaining to the JOBS program of N.A.B.

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CANCELLED

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Oregon AFL-CIO-CSA
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Phone: 503; 228-9131

Mr. Jack Livingston's Report

JUL 19 1969

THE BUDDY SYSTEM

One of the most difficult periods for a new employee is his or her first days at work. Fitting into the company routine, finding the way around the plant or office, timing the coffee and lunch breaks, discovering the best bus route or fitting into a carpool and, above all, learning the new job, are critical issues in job adjustment. This is the make-or-break time, and even for people with extensive work experience it is a trying time. How much more difficult this period is for a person with little or no work experience and especially a disadvantaged hard-core worker.

In order to assist the new employees in this job adjustment, the NAB, AFL-CIO Community Services Dept. and the Department of Labor are developing a program for older rank-and-file workers to be Buddies to the newly hired disadvantaged.

The Buddy system is one facet of the total JOBS program designed to train and provide steady employment for the country's hard-core unemployed. In support of that broad objective, the Buddy system was conceived in order to assist recruits in acclimating themselves to their new work environment through the counseling and

guidance of co-workers or peers. In the past, Buddy programs have been found successful in similar applications and it is expected that assigning a man, experienced in shop routines and workday problems, to assist each hard-core recruit should contribute significantly to keeping the disadvantaged permanently employed.

Two consulting firms have been contracted by the Department of Labor to implement a pilot Buddy system in five selected cities. Greenleigh and Associates with the aid of the AFL-CIO Community Services Department and in conjunction with each city's central body and the NAB Metro officials are to organize and coordinate the project. The RADET Corporation will design and conduct workshops for training Buddies in their role as advisors. Both consultants will work together closely to implement the overall system and to evaluate the effectiveness of the pilot project.

The five test cities selected are: Atlanta, Georgia - Cleveland, Ohio - Milwaukee, Wisconsin - Houston, Texas - and Portland, Oregon.

Meetings of local labor and management leaders are now taking place in these cities for the purpose of gaining program acceptance and support. Selection of Buddy trainees, establishment of training schedules.

The broad objectives of the training program are:

a. Obtain acceptance of the Buddy role, and develop at least an elementary skill in carrying out that role in handling the various problem situations likely to arise in the Buddy's relationships with the newly hired person;

b. Develop skill in dealing with the Buddy's co-workers when such problem situtations involve this "peer group"; and

c. Develop skill in dealing with the Buddy's problems that may require the services of Community Social Agencies.

Each workshop will prepare from 9 to 21 trainees over a period of 16 hours (one and a half days.) The methods of training will draw from techniques familiar in adult education and industrial training: those, such a role playing, which involves the participant in relevant activity rather than in purely passive listening; and those techniques which place the trainee in situations similar to those which he is likely to encounter on the job. In most cases, the training can help the trainee see that there are several possible ways of reacting constructively to a given situation likely to arise within the shop. The training can also help him see which ways of reacting are destructive.

The trainer will return to each city within three weeks for a brief refresher meeting with the trainees. The value of this follow-up meeting is greatest for those Buddies who have been assigned a disadvantaged worker since the completing of the workshop.

The RADET Corporation will attempt to assess the success of the training program by a visit to each city within a short period following the workshop for individual interviews with each trainee, his supervisor, and the disadvantaged worker assigned to the Buddy training. During these interviews, the investigator will collect the data necessary to determine the impact of training, the degree to which the trainee has carried out the Buddy role, and the effects on the newly hired disadvantaged worker.

The final evaluation and report of each consultant will recommend measures which can be invoked to increase the overall effectiveness of the system and to streamline its implementation in additional cities.

1. The training outline should be finished this week - July 15-20.

2. We expect training sessions to begin the last week of this month (July) or the first week in August. Training sessions should be completed by September 10.

3. We are hopeful that a well rounded Buddy training program - in the most simplified form possible - can be developed to be used in other cities.

4. We are hopeful of using the revised HDI film in our Buddy Training Program.

###

GUIDELINES FOR SELECTING "BUDDIES"

Prepared for Buddy Orientation Meeting
Wednesday, August 7, 1968
Milwaukee-Waukesha-Ozaukee Chapter American Red Cross

The Buddy System of the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee is an experiment, and as such, will need to develop guidelines for future, similar programs.

All of us involved including the union and the company, will need to cooperate and coordinate our efforts on behalf of the hard-core employee to assure success of the project.

We need to recognize from the beginning that the buddy selected will need special characteristics to gain acceptance and stature in the program. As we have not had an opportunity to draw from other experiences and evaluate those experiences we suggest for your consideration, the following guidelines for selection of buddies.

As this is a union program, it is obvious that the buddy must be a union member and should have some work experience in the department chosen for the experiment.

Remember, these are guidelines and that each person selected as a buddy may vary in personality, but in our opinion the buddy needs special ability to make the hard-core employee's work experience meaningful for him and produce a fruitful employee and citizen at the conclusion of the program.

1. A buddy should be able to establish rapport with people in the department. (steward, foremen, union officers, fellow workers.)

2. He must have knowledge of company rules and labor agreement - including safety rules.

3. In order to help the trainee in adapting to the working group, the buddy must have knowledge of accepted practices in the department (plant collections, birthday observances, clubs, coffee pools, etc.)

4. It is not expected that a selected buddy will be familiar with all community resources, but he must indicate a willingness to learn about and use such agencies to meet problems encountered in assisting the trainee.

5. Many of the hard-core unemployed have basic problems of health, behavior, alcoholism, or poor work habits. The buddy, therefore, must be someone who can be a stable influence to assist in overcoming these problems.

6. Though it is understood that the buddies must at times seek special information and help in solving a trainee's problem, the assurance of confidentiality is a basic need. No trainee should ever be made to feel that his personal problems are being discussed within the department or plant.

Other factors such as race, sex, residence and age must be given careful consideration even though they are not absolute criteria. Each of these must be discussed in determining the compatability of the buddy and the trainee. The buddy must be a basically warm human being with a knowledge of, and compassion for, the disadvantaged person with whom he will be working.

CONFIDENTIAL

Corrected copy

greenleigh associates, inc.

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9 August, 1968

Buddy Project Informational Memorandum No. 2

From Jules Pagano, Project Director

The ~~four-~~week period since the date of the last inter-personnel memorandum has witnessed considerable progress in formulating and implementing plans for the Buddy System Project.

The earlier part of the month was spent in each city contacting NAB industries and counterpart trade union local officers, and orienting the communities to this project. Numerous meetings were held in each city briefing the companies and unions as well as community service agencies concerning the project. The agendas varied from exploration for cooperation to detailed establishment and commitments for Buddies in given plants. On the average, twenty (20) industries were contacted in each city and a like number of local unions. Attached is a detailed list of companies and unions in each of the cities which, as of 8 August, have agreed to participate in the Buddy System. Also attached is a list of contacts and representatives in Atlanta, Georgia for your information. Following are city logs and schedules for the Buddy System Programs in each city.

A number of conferences were held in Washington, D.C. with Tom Royals and his staff of the Manpower Administration Division of the Department of Labor, to report progress and to implement coordination between NAB, AFL-CIO's Community Service staff, RADET, and Greenleigh Associates. The meetings have allowed Greenleigh to coordinate and implement unity and continuity with the training corporation - RADET - as well as making possible the full support of the AFL-CIO in implementing this program at all NAB levels, national and urban.

Herewith quoted in its entirety is a letter circulated to all Metro Directors (in each of the five pilot cities) by Mr. Leo Beebe, Executive Vice Chairman of NAB.

> "One of the most difficult periods for a new employee is his or her first days at work. Fitting into the company routine, finding his way around the plant or office, timing the coffee and lunch breaks, discovering the best bus route or fitting into a carpool and, above all, learning the new job, are critical issues in job adjustment. In order to assist the new employees in this job adjustment, the NAB, the AFL-CIO Community Services Department, and the Department of Labor are developing a program for older rank-and-file workers to be 'Buddies' to the newly-hired disadvantaged.
>
> "The pilot 'Buddy' training program will be implemented in five test cities during August and September, 1968 by Greenleigh Associates and RADET Corporation in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Community Services Department. _____ is one of the cities selected. Success in the pilot training program will definitely be an asset to the NAB goals. Representatives of these organizations have, or will soon be, in contact with your office for advice and assistance. A word of encouragement from you to the companies being asked to participate in the 'Buddy' program will do much to achieve our objectives.
>
> "If you have any questions, feel free to call our Union Relations Director, John Livingston (202 - 395-4602)."

LOGS AND SCHEDULES

City	Community Orientation	Buddy Training
Atlanta	21 August	26-27 August
Cleveland	25 August	29-30 August
Houston	26 July	15-16 August
Milwaukee	7 August	21-22 August
Portland	6 August	8-9 August

The patterns of Buddy Orientation vary from city to city. However, in all situations will take place prior to training. In some situations, orientation will be on a plant-by-plant basis, in others, combinations of Buddies from various plants, and in still others, on the basis of individual briefings.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

While there are many local problems that need solutions based on local traditions, relationships, and labor relations agreements, real progress is being made in establishing a Buddy System in each of the five pilot cities. Each city is at a different stage of development. The reality of the situation in all cities is requiring a great deal of local definition both as to the role of the Buddies as well as the procedure in developing the support necessary for them to function effectively during this experimental period. The following specific difficulties encountered and/or observations are a compilation of reports from each of the five cities - they should prove valuable to each of you.

1. It was discovered that some hand-out material would be useful during information meetings.
2. It was discovered that in order to avoid confusion, the team needs more information concerning other training and employment programs being conducted in industry.
3. It is felt that in each community there be no publicity (at least until the training is completed), to avoid the focus of attention and pressure on the new employee or buddy.
4. The following comments were observed regarding the success of the Program vis a vis inter-relationships between labor, management and the hard-core employee:
    a. The NAB Metro Director and his staff must accept the Buddy System Program and provide cooperation, information and/or support when requested.
    b. The local labor movement's leadership must not only accept but also give leadership to the program.
    c. The local union leaders in the collective bargaining unit must accept and support the Buddy System Project.
    d. The international staff representative service in the local union must at least permit the program to proceed.

e. The company must be a NAB participant in the recruitment of hard-core employees for regular employment.

f. The hard-core employee must be employeed in the collective bargaining unit.

g. The position to which a hard-core employee will be assigned must be predictable (i.e.: the department, the job and its specific location must be known).

h. The local union leadership must be able to recruit potentially satisfactory buddies.

i. The company must accept the union's role in implementing the Buddy System.

j. The company must adopt or permit necessary procedures to make it possible for the buddy to function.

5. Should the Buddy System Project prove unsuccessful in any of the five pilot cities, the effort involved would not have been in vain. In some cases, the contacts (indeed, rapport) which have been established between union leaders and management, and their awakening to the reality of the crucial issue involved certainly would have been well worth our involvement.

6. In most cases, there has heretofore been no systematic program of recruitment, training and placement of the hard-core unemployed. Employers are often reticent when quiered regarding the issue; probing has shown that one of two situations may exist: 1) no effort has been made in the area of hard-core employment; or b) the firm operates under the delusion that subdued, unpublicized efforts should be made.

7. Some union representatives felt that the RADET training materials should deal with employee relationships, personal thoughtlessness or insecurity and union relationships rather than with the problems of production concerned with supervision as stressed in the demonstration cases now in use.

CONCLUSION

It is crucial that during this month, the general staff involved think seriously about progress and experience to date. Reports (preferably weekly or bi-weekly) should reflect not only insights and observations concerning the implementation of the Buddy System, but should in addition detail and define the rational taking place at local levels in the selection of buddies, as well as criteria developed in the process. Also to be included are observations regarding buddy, employer and union reaction to the training experience.

The essence of your reports will be made available (as will this memorandum) to concerned NAB, AFL-CIO and Department of Labor officials in Washington, D.C., and through bi-weekly memorandums to all key personnel in each of the five cities which are working with us.

ATLANTA

Firm	Union	Number of Buddies
Owins Illinois Glass Co.	Glass Blowers Union	not yet known

No further data available to date. Negotiations with companies and unions in progress.

CLEVELAND

Firm	Union	Number of Buddies
Midland Ross	UAW Local #486	not yet known
Hauserman Furniture	United Furniture Workers #550	not yet known
Kroger	Teamsters Retail Store Empl. #880	4
Sherwin Williams Paint	Oil, Chemicals, & Atomic Workers	not yet known
Cleveland Electric Ill.Co.	Oil, Chemicals, & Atomic Workers	not yet known
GM (Chevrolet Plant)	UAW Local 1005	not yet known
Ohio Bell Company	Communications Workers of America	2-3
May Company	not yet known	not yet known
East Ohio Gas Company	Building Service Employees Loc.#555	not yet known

HOUSTON

Firm	Union	Number of Buddies
Champion Paper Co.	Local 305, United Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill Workers	6
Petro-Tex Chemical Corp.	Local 4-227, OCAW	6
Shell Refinery	Local 4-367, OCAW	3
not yet known	Local 6222, Communication Workers of America	2
Cameron Iron Workers*	Local 15, IAM	3-4
Bama Foods*	Local 1163, American Bakery & Confectioners	2
National Biscuit	Local 1163, American Bakery & Confectioners	4

* Subject to confirmation.

Director Copy

MILWAUKEE

Firm	Union	Number of Buddies
Alice Chalmers	Local 248 UAW	3
A.O. Smith Co.	DALU 19806 (steelworkers)	5
Harnischsegre	USW 1114	2
Cutler Hammer	IAM 1061	2
Rex Chainbelt °	Local 1527 USW	2
Heil Co.	USW	2
Patrick Cudahy	Local 40 UPWA	3
Inland Steel *	Local 1934 Boilermakers	2
~~American Can~~	~~USW~~	~~2~~
Trostel Tannery *	Local 47 Leatherworkers	2
~~United Drop Ford~~	~~Local 407 UAW~~	~~2~~
Wisconsin Telephone	Local 5503 CWA	1-3
Weber Co.		2
Wise Packing		2
G.E.		3
Milwaukee Valve		2

° fairly certain
* definite

PORTLAND

Firm	Union	Number of Buddies
Pacific Power and Light	IBEW 125	2
Safeway Stores	Food and Drug Local 1092	2
Radio Cab Co.	Teamsters	3
American Linen Supply	Laundry Workers 107	3
Timber Structures	Millmen Local 1120	2
Fred Meyers	Retail Clerks 1257	2
Pacific Northwest Bell*	CWA	0

* indefinite

make (10) copies

ROUGH DRAFT

Buddy Training

Building work-group support
for the newly recruited disadvantaged
worker in the JOBS program.
The RADET Corporation

In brief, the Contractor will develop, implement, and evaluate a program for training buddies to support and assist disadvantaged persons hired under the JOBS program. This program is to be carried out in five cities, determined by the Manpower Administrator, U.S. Department of Labor, or his designee. The dates will be chosen from among those made available by the Contractor. In general, the training dates will consist of two or three day periods after July 15. Whether two days or three, each training program will require eighteen hours.

Statement of work to be done

The training program development includes "Design" and "orientation." The Design of the program implies setting objectives for the training, choosing methods for doing the training, and finding Trainers to carry out the program. Orientation implies participating in the one-halfday Orientation programs being organized by Greenleigh Associates. There are five such programs. They will be held in the five cities designated by the Department of Labor, on dates agreed upon by Greenleigh and the Contractor.

Implementation implies that the Contractor will select the Trainers, orient them, and conduct the 18 hour Workshops in the five cities selected; and that he will arrange a brief "follow-up" or refresher session within a few days after each such Workshop.

Evaluation includes the collection of field data to measure the impact of the training, and the evaluation of impact; it also includes the preparation of a final report. The final report will contain five copies of a "prototype" training program. The prototype program is a set of instructions for a Trainer, with copies of the

materials actually used in the training. The Trainer's instructions will be sufficient to allow a professional trainer (whose qualifications will be indicated in the Evaluation part of the final report) to put on the program.

Phases of Work

The work is divided into the following phases:

1. Design (estimated completion date: July 15)
2. Orientation (estimated completion date of last orientation depends on Greenleigh)
3. Implementation (estimated completion date: two weeks after completion of last Orientation)
4. Follow-up (est. compl. date: two weeks after completion of last Workshop)
5. Evaluation (est. date of rough Report, October 15; of final report, November 30, 1968).

Overall purposes and objectives

Groups of Buddies (9-21 is the size of each of the five Workshops) will be trained to anticipate and deal with the various critical on the job problems faced by newly recruited disadvantaged workers. The overall purpose of the training program is to make the Buddy system effective. The overall purpose of the Buddy system is to make it more likely that the JOBS program will be effective. Thus, the Buddy training is a "sub-system" of the Buddy system, which is in turn designed to make the JOBS program meet its economic and social aims.

There are three objectives in the Buddy training program:

1. Obtain acceptance of the Buddy role, and develop at least an elementary skill in carrying out that role, in handling the various problem situations likely to arise in the Buddy's relationships with the newly hired person;
2. Develop skill in dealing with the Buddy's co-workers when such problem situations involve this "peer group;"
3. Develop skill in dealing with the Buddy's supervisor and shop steward when the problem situations involve them.

Each of these Objectives in turn implies Sub-objectives, as shown below:

1. Obtain acceptance of the Buddy Role...	1.1 To explain the role of Buddy
	1.2 To help him see his personal stake in the Role
	1.3 To arouse his willingness to take the risks involved in this Role
	1.4 To develop an understanding of the situation confronting workers new on a job
	1.5 To develop an understanding of the situation confronting disadvantaged workers
	1.6 To help the trainee see various ways in which each problem situation can be constructively handled.
2. To develop skill in working with the Buddy's "peer group"....	2.1 To develop an understanding of the way "informal workgroups" use their power
	2.2 To help the trainee see various ways in which he can deal with "peer power"
3. To develop skill in working with the supervisor and the shop steward...	3.1 To develop an understanding of the way foremen and stewards react to new workers and disadvantaged workers
	3.2 To help the trainee see various ways in which a Buddy can deal with the Foremen and the Shop Steward.

Note: in non-unionized companies and other circumstances, substitute the appropriate terms for "Foreman" and "Shop Steward."

Design of the Program

The Program Design essentially consists of the role playing and other exercises and training materials which will be used during the 18 hours, to achieve the above objectives. The Design also requires a rapid build-up of information about the kinds of persons who are likely to be recruited for the Buddy role and training. For example, will the Buddy be drawn from that part of our society -- the "blue collar", lower-income white groups who are most threatened

by minority group demonstrations, housing drives, and educational demands? A training program effective with such Buddies would be quite different in content than one directed toward Buddies who were selected because of their high seniority and lack of antipathy toward minority groups.

Philosophy of training. Our methods of training seek specific changes in human behaavior, but we try to avoid the mechanical assumptions implicit in programed instruction and similar training procedures. We stress the relationship between Trainer and Trainee -- as opposed to "getting through the agenda."

This means that we will try to define the sub-objectives listed earlier (page 3) in terms of specific behavior, so that we can determine whether the training has been effective. But we will emphasize the necessity for the Buddy to make his own decision about his commitment to the role.

The methods of training will draw from techniques familiar in adult education and industrial training: those, such as role playing, which involve the participant in relevant activity, rather than in purely passive listening; and those techniques which place the trainee in situations similar to those which he is likely to encounter on the job.

Problem situations. Role playing and other training exercises will be built around such problem situations as those listed on the following page. Our research to date has led us to expect that these kinds of problems will frequently arise in the Buddy system. The question for each problem situation is, "What can the Buddy do to help?" In some of them, the answer may well be, "Nothing." In others, he may be able to take a very active role. In most cases, the training can help the trainee see that there are several possible ways of reacting constructively to a given situation. The training can also help him see which ways of reacting are destructive.

Tentatively, the problem situations involved in the Training Program will include:

1. The New Worker fails to show up for work.
2. The Worker shows up with a hangover and wants to take a drink on the job.
3. The Worker wants to borrow money from other workers.
4. The Worker does an outstanding job but the Foreman fails to notice it.
5. Lunchtime comes, and none of the other workers sits down for a sandwich with the New Worker.
6. The Worker doesn't want to follow the safety rules.
7. The Worker does very poorly on the job.
8. The Buddy takes the New Worker to the coffee counter and finds that his coworkers avoid both of them.
9. The Worker shows up in shabby clothes and one of the co-workers ridicules him.
10. The Worker wears a funny-looking haircut and the Foreman tells him to change it.
11. The Worker's ghetto buddies show up and hang around the place of work, every day around quitting time.
12. A Foreman puts pressure on the Buddy to do something which he thinks will make the Worker fail.
13. The company gives the New Worker a hard assignment or promotion for which he is not ready, with the obvious intention of making him fail.
14. The Quality Control inspector starts rejecting the work of the New Worker, by applying tighter standards than he uses with other people.
15. The Personnel Department tells a New Worker he will have to take a test, but the Buddy knows the Worker is afraid the others will find out he can't read.

In each such Problem Situation, a short description of the roles involved is part of the Trainer's instruction manual. In these roles (when they are considered together), the situation is described in much greater detail than above.

Arrangements for training. The training schedule will be worked out with the Greenleigh Asso ciates, as will the choice of a training site. The site must be such as to permit the kind of training and the methods described above.

Orientation

The orientation sessions will be scheduled in coordination with Greenleigh Associates. The Contractor's part of each of the half day orientations will be the description and explanation of the Buddy training program.

Implementation

Following each Orientation workshop, after Greenleigh Associates notify us that the Buddies have been recruited and are available for training on a specific date, the Contractor will schedule a Workshop. The Contractor will select the training site.

It is understood that this will be done only after Greenleigh Associates can give assurance that the Buddies (9-21 for each Workshop) have been given "released time" by their companies, and that the Buddies have agreed to appear for the training.

We will then schedule one of our Trainers, provide the materials, and conduct the training. At that time, we will collect certain data to be used later in evaluating the effectiveness of the training.

We, The Contractor, are in complete charge of the training. In our philosophy of training, the trainees must feel completely free to participate. Any authority to visit or observe must be obtained from the Trainer. Participation of observers will be regulated by the Trainer.

The program will require about 18 hours in a block of time. This means that the trainees must not intermittently return to the job. The program may be given in two or three days. It may be scheduled during the working week, on the weekend, or with any combination.

Follow-up

The Trainer will return to each city within three weeks for a brief "refresher" meeting with the trainees. This follow-up meeting does not require released time unless some of the trainees are working on the evening shift. When the

Buddies are originally invited through Greenleigh Associates to participate in the three day Workshop, the Follow-up date should also be scheduled at that time. This date must be acceptable to the Trainer.

The value of the Follow-up meeting is greatest for those Buddies who have been assigned a Disadvantaged Worker since the completion of theWorkshop. It is possible in some cities that Greenleigh Associates will conclude that such a Workshop Follow-up will not be useful, but it will be the Trainer's option as to whether to conduct it.

Evaluation

A Field investigator from the Contractor will visit each city within four to five weeks following the Workshop, for individual interviews with each trainee, his Supervisor, the disadvantaged worker assigned to the Buddy trainee, and possibly other peers of the worker. The Field investigator will talk to the Shop Steward if it is feasible.

In this interview, the Contractor will collect the data necessary to determine the impact of training, the degree to which the trainee has carried out the Buddy role, and the effects on the newly hired disadvantaged worker. The interview will be of the open-ended type in the main.

The findings of the interview will be held completely confidential. They will be encoded to determine which of the sub-objectives of training (see page 3) have been best achieved, and under what circumstances the training program appears to have obtained its best results. With the aid of this analysis, the less productive units of the training will be removed, and an improved design produced.

In addition to the Field interview, certain impressions are collected during the training from the Trainer, Trainees, and any observers who may be present. These impressions should

be collected in such a way as to answer the following questions about whether an effective climate for learning has been established in the particular Workshop:

-- does each trainee feel free to participate to the fullest extent practical?

-- does each trainee "identify" himself with the trainer as a human being?

-- has the trainee group formed a sense of unity (or "we-feeling")?

-- do the trainees feel <u>involved</u> in the training -- do they consider that they are learning something which affects their vital interests?

A third type of question involved in the Evaluation is the cost-effectiveness of the training. It is true that a program under development cannot meet the same cost standards other programs do. However, we can state that the standard costs we visualize for the program whose prototype we are going to produce, as the end-result of the evaluation, will lie somewhere between University undergraduate instruction costs and management training costs.

Cost standards set without any reference to effectiveness are, however, dangerous. In our final report, we will relate the cost estimates of the Prototype program to the evidence of Effectiveness.

The Evaluation -- especially the Field Investigators' reports -- will produce evidence of the operation of the Buddy System itself. We will incorporate this evidence in our Final Report.

Finally, in the Evaluation report, we will include the training program as re-designed in the light of the Evaluation. This new training program will be in the form of an instructor's manual, ready for use.

GUIDELINE TO AFL-CIO-CSA SPECIAL UNION COUNSELOR BUDDY PROGRAM

I. Initial briefing session on Buddy Program by CSA for

1. CLU presidents
2. CLU-NAB liaison
3. CSA staff

in Washington to

1. explain background of program
2. intent and extent of business commitment
3. mechanics

utilizing resources of

1. Labor Department
2. NAB
3. CSA

II. One-day orientation in community - labor, management and social agencies recruitment of union members for attendance to be done by local CSA staffers

III. Assessment and listing of plants in each community by Greenleigh Associates in cooperation with NAB of designated job slots and department locations for purposes of recruiting special union counselors as buddies.

IV. Advance determination of composition of job trainees regarding color, sex, ethnic background, residence for purposes of recruiting special union counselors by Greenleigh Associates through SES or CEP.

V. Recruitment of special union counselors according to plant and department location through local union channels, with special attention given to recruitment <u>of</u> and <u>by</u> trained union counselors to be done by Greenleigh Associates in cooperation with local CSA staffers.

VI. Training of special union counselors by RADET Inc. and local CSA staffers

A. Alternative training structures

1. Weekend training ($2\frac{1}{2}$ days) beginning Friday evening through Sunday afternoon

2. Afternoon sessions on company time

3. Evening sessions during week nights

B. General content of training program

1. explain background of program

2. intent and extent of business and labor commitment

3. mechanics and finances of program

4. philosophy of what it means to be a buddy (and socially - cautions)

5. psychology of the hard core unemployed and sociology of poverty

6. kinds of problems youth has experienced

7. this job as seen through eyes of trainee

8. how does buddy operate and what is expected of him

9. how to handle problems which arise -

examples of problems backed up by cases in other OJT programs

10. how to greet trainee; job-related information such as breaks, lunch, pay periods, credit union

11. introductions to some of the men to steward

12. union structure, union meetings

13. out-of-plant problems and resources

14. summary and quations and answers

15. challenge to commitment by CLU president

VII. Follow-up

A. Group sessions of trainees conducted by CSA and Greenleigh Associates.

B. Group sessions of special union counselors conducted by CSA staff.

REVISED

THE "BUDDY" SYSTEM

The opportunity for employment was one of the primary needs pointed out in studies of the recent civil disorders in our cities. To meet this basic need, businesses, through the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), have entered into a partnership with the U. S. Department of Labor to hire and train the hard-core unemployed for permanent meaningful jobs.

In fifty cities throughout the country where this program is meeting with initial success, employers have found that many of the new trainees have lasted on the job for only a few weeks. They are unaccustomed to reporting on time or coming to work every day, and find it difficult to accept other customs which are standard business practice. The feeling of estrangement is often intensified by the new worker's belief that there is no one within the system with whom he can talk and relate freely.

Recognizing the fact that the success of the campaign to hire the hard-core unemployed depends upon their retention, the National AFL-CIO Community Services Department has designed a new program called the "Buddy System" to assist these new employees in adjusting themselves to their work environment through the counselling and guidance of specially trained co-workers on a person-to-person basis.

In five cities pilot programs are being developed in which there are well-organized plants participating in the NAB employment program. These cities are Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Houston, Texas; Cleveland, Ohio; Portland, Oregon; and Atlanta, Georgia.

As an experimental demonstration, each city will select and train 20-25 special counselor "buddies" who will assist the hard-core employee in;

1) adjusting to plant routine and job requirements;
2) obtaining aid and assistance as needed from community health, welfare, recreational, educational facilities and resources;
3) establishing good working relationships with fellow employees, and coping with problems which might arise.

The local AFL-CIO community services representatives will serve as project administrators in each city. The central labor body, liaison representatives with NAB, will serve as policy advisors in contact with the labor movement. Consultation and coordination will be provided by National AFL-CIO representatives and educators assigned to Greenleigh Associates. Volunteer "buddies" in each of the demonstration plants will be selected and recruited by the participating local union. An 18-hour training session for the 20-25 volunteer "buddies" in the project will be conducted by RADET Corporation (Research Analysis Development Education Training).

The three-month demonstration program will be studied and evaluated by RADET and Greenleigh. If successful, it will be offered to the other fifty cities participating in the NAB program.

Franklin Bell 361-6656
140 MT Zion Rd. S.E

Scripto —
will hire ~~this~~ within a week

Owen - Ill.
One for Wed 8/27
2 ~~for~~ within a couple of week

Alterman
Paul Clifford was in meeting
there will be a follow up

S-W
Swafford on Vacation until
next week

West. Elec. indefinite - Joel follow up

Meade - Next week

Carla Cay - Order into employment service

Expenses

8/24/ —

Dinner — 2.00

8/25 Breakfast 1.30

Personnel director said in front of man (to buddy) up to you whether we hire —

Sears —

15th day back, challenged for absence —
actual fight w. old worker, usually worked with him
(kept quiet)

new worker — 19yrs old — 2 days 1968 auto
(1) also worked at plating co. (3) —
(2) ex-Lockheed — Said he did a-k. — complaint
against Lockheed for racial firing —
how find Scripto — just "saw" big plant —
seemed militant —
gave look at plating dept. —
to return mon., w. work clothes —
worked well until break, & most of the day —
(Buddy works out of adjoining dept.)
asked about C.U., & insurance

7 mos. in Training program
didn't "like" foreman —
he was 3 yrs
fired of 9 trained out of 36 trainees —

excuse for each job "quit" has been

2nd worker 2½ weeks — (Richard Kisby(?))
50 yrs. old, illiterate (Perhaps only real hard case of the 3 hired)
2nd Shift — Coleman Lynn is buddy —
hired when union people laid off, but
K does not seem to care —
light work — needs to read
Coleman Teaching enough to recognize types of materials (Containers)

3rd 53 yrs old — but always employed —
fired 10 yrs ago for drinking — knows old hands —
about 4 weeks at work —

Austin —

10 days, no problem, no tardy, no absence
worked 3 yrs at St. Regis —
said he was shipping clerk when he quit —
16 miles to work & car went to pieces —
30 yrs old — J. P. Ross

broke safety rule — thanked buddy for correction
perhaps just elementary education
gets along o.k. —
through Empl. Service, then to company, —

Charles Evans —
Some resentment as to why he was picked
to be buddy — 3 people considered —
no worker yet —
Some mix up (Martha R.) about who was
going to ~~be~~ 'lend' the worker.
but they have hired 6-7 new people who
Evans thinks might have been considered
hard core —

Pope

hired on 16th —

Came on Monday night

19 yrs old, never a regular job, hired off "the street"

no shows Tues —, Wed, Thur — Fri.

called said mother sick

No call

called phone #, evidently the wrong number given —

address didn't have apt # — Henry visited at home — in bed w. measles —

football coach at Archer sent him over —

H.S. drop out —

after visit of Buddy he did call in —

Scored on Test 35 —

~~Henry~~ Henry doesn't consider hard work —

thinks he'll make it —

Now at Sherwin-Wms

thinks 2-3 weeks will hit —

Hubbard

~~20~~ 20-22 yrs old — 2 yr old child — through empl. serv.

4 days on job —

short menu, jewelry —

buddy fast and approach —

"united" the races — all loath her

big mouth w. foot in

"sews wonderfully" — "draws beautifully" —

Buddy suggested

breaks — "they listen" — breaks are by

depts. not racial

foreladies on vacation when hired

so assignments came ~~by~~ from buddy —

low seniority meant less desirable jobs

(but these shared by buddy who is 2nd lowest

in seniority)

Introduced to some other young people in

plant —

The following representatives may be contacted on matters pertaining to the JOBS program of N.A.B.

in ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Coordinator:
Mrs. Martha Reynolds
Greenleigh Associates, Inc.
1735 De Sales Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: 202; 737-4804

Senior Consultant: (temporary)
Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
608; 262-2111 or 233-6922

Metro Director:
Mr. Bradley Curry
Senior Vice President
Trust Company of Georgia
36 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone: 404; 588-7449

Labor Liaison Representative to N.A.B:
Robert Butler
President, Atlanta AFL - CIO Council
250 10th Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Phones: 404; 876 - 3096
404; 522- 8839

CSA Representative:
Mr. Joel Gay
AFL - CIO CSC Representative
Metropolitan Atlanta Community Services
P.O. Box 1038
167 Walton Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30301
Phone: 404; 525-8549

National Alliance of Businessmen Contact:
Mr. A.H. Sterne
President
Trust Company of Georgia
36 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone: 404; 588-7123

TOLL CALLS

Name_____ Month of_____

Credit Card #_____

Date	Person Called	Phone Number	City Called	Call Originated from	Project	Charges

Emory — status as of Fri p.m.

Mr. L. B. Kennard
General Motors
1214 Rhodes Haverty Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. C. C. Martin
Ford Motor Company
340 South Central Avenue
Hapeville, Georgia 30054

Mr. J. M. Morris
Adley, Miller Motor Express Company
281 Manford Road
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

Mr. E. O. Harbor
Western Union
56 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

2? Mr. Clifford Paul — Joel is to call back on mon. for answer
Alterman Big Apple
953 Lee Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Mr. Harry McCusker
American Can Company
P. O. Box 604
Forrest Park, Georgia 30050

Mr. W. M. Banks
Apex Linen Company
460 Edglewood Avenue S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

2-4? Mr. J. H. Turner — to send letter and invitation
Atlanta Linen Service
525 Glen - Iris Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Mr. W. D. Dean
Atlanta Transit System
125 Pine Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Mr. William O. Riley we will meet at 8:00 Tuesday
Atlantic Steel
1300 Mecaslin Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

Mr. Raymond Rudolph
1 - quite sure Carla Gay Dress Company will get info for him from Quiry
150 Garnett Street, S.W. about MAS
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Gene Chandler
Foote Davies, Inc.
3101 McCall Drive
Doraville, Georgia 30040

Mr. Pierce Head
Georgia Power Company
270 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. R. D. Burgess
Kraft Food
501 DeKalb Industrial Way
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Mr. Walter Baker
The Kroger Company
1239 Oakleigh Drive, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30044

Mr. Hugh Gordon
Lockheed
South Cobb Drive
Marietta, Georgia 30060

Mr. M. A. Wade
Mead Packing Company
950 W. Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

(2) confirmed
Mr. Robb Smith
Owens Illinois Corporation
3107 Sylvan Road, S.W.
Hapeville, Georgia 30054

Mr. Richard Keller
Scripto, Inc.
(3) confirmed
P. O. Box 4847
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

Mr. Frank Moessner
Wright and Lopez
963 Edgewood Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Thomas Swassord
(4) Confirmed
Sherwin Williams Co.
6795 South Main Street
Morrow, Georgia 30260

Mr. B. I. Sprayberry
Southeastern Elevator Company
441 Memorial Drive, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

Mr. Leslie R. Nicholas
Southern Bell
805 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

meet - next thurs. P.M.

Mr. Julian Price
Southern Cross Industries
290 Hunter Street, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

9 Confirmed
6 possible

We start visits again Tuesday AM

Mr. Roy Waters
State Linen Service
1631 Willingham Drive
East Point, Georgia 30044

Mr. Duane Meyer
Walker Division of ITE
125 Bennett Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Mr. R. W. Reckhow
Western Electric Company
6701 Roswell Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30328

Mr. J. D. Duron
Simmons Company
353 Jones Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

EXPENSE REPORT

PERIOD ENDING _____ 19 ____

DAY	CITY AND STATE	LODGING	TRANSPORTATION		AUTOMOBILE EXPENSES			MEALS	LOCAL	OTHER EXPENSES		DAILY TOTAL
			AIR, RAIL ETC.	LIMOUSINE TAXI, ETC.	MILEAGE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT		TAXI & CARFARE	ITEMIZE	AMOUNT	
SUNDAY												
MONDAY												
TUESDAY												
WEDNESDAY												
THURSDAY												
FRIDAY												
SATURDAY												
	TOTALS											

EXPLANATION OF OTHER EXPENSES

☐ DEDUCT FROM MY ADVANCE

☐ MAIL CHECK TO

TOTAL EXPENSES

SIGNATURE

APPROVED BY

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OFFICE USE ONLY

Advance $_____

This Week's Expenses $_____

Balance $_____

CHECK LIST

Auditor_____

Posting Clerk_____

Cashier_____

Employees Acc't. No._____

EXPENSES NOT REIMBURSED

SUNDAY			
MONDAY			
TUESDAY			
WEDNESDAY			
THURSDAY			
FRIDAY			
SATURDAY			
	TOTAL		

DETAILED AUTOMOBILE EXPENSES

	GAS		OIL - GREASE		WASH		PARKING	
SUN								
MON								
TUES								
WED								
THUR								
FRI								
SAT								
TOTAL								

REPAIRS AND OTHER AUTOMOBILE EXPENSES

A NEW PARTNERSHIP

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INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

RESEARCH DIVISION

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN - WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

ANN ARBOR DETROIT

In Reply Please Refer to:
405 S. FOURTH ST.
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48103

June 17, 1969

Dear Mr. Vial

At Professor Chalmers' request I am sending this note along to each of you thanking you for your attendance at the Conference last Saturday and Sunday, June 14 and 15.

I have sent your expense reports on to the travel office here at the University. You may expect to receive your expense check in the amount of $ 98.10 on or about the first of July. The checks are mailed out at the end of the month.

If you do not receive your check at this time, please give me a call at 764-9477. (Collect, of course).

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Florida M. Andrews

(Mrs.) Florida M. Andrews
Project Secretary
Racial Negotiations Project

FMA

July 23, 1969

Make new file

Mr. Jerome T. Barrett
Assistant Director
National Center for Dispute Settlement
of the American Arbitration Association
1819 H Street, N. W., Suite 350
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Barrett:

Thanks for your letter directed to members of AFT Local 189. The truth is I had meant to be in touch with the Center for reasons that go well beyond my interest as an AFT member.

I would like to receive any other publications of the Center and to be added to your mailing list.

Under separate cover I am sending you a number of publications of the Southern Regional Council. Some of these will simply give you an idea of the range of our interest but other I think you will find may serve to provide rather specific background information in areas of interest to the Center.

I hope if anyone from the Washington staff is traveling through Atlanta they will take the opportunity to stop by our offices. If there is any way we can be

of assistance please call on us.

Would you be so good as to give my regards to Bill Abner whom I had hoped to see last month in Detroit at a meeting called by Bill Chalmers. Abner may recall that I was on the faculty of Roosevelt University when he was in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

NATIONAL CENTER FOR DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

of the American Arbitration Association

1819 H Street, N.W., Suite 350 • Washington, D. C. 20006 • 202—659-5650

Joint Consultation . . . Fact Finding . . . Mediation . . . Arbitration

Willoughby Abner
National Director
Vice President, AAA

Warren Taylor
Assistant Director
—Community Disputes
—Arbitration Services

Jerome T. Barrett
Assistant Director
—Public Employment Disputes
—Mediation Services

William E. Simkin
Consultant, Arbitration
and Mediation Services

Wayne L. Horvitz
Consultant on
Collective Bargaining

July 18, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

The enclosed brochures provide information about the National Center for Dispute Settlement. The Center is involved in the settlement of three types of disputes -- community, campus and public employment.

As a member of Local 189 working in a state which lacks a comprehensive public employment statute, you may be interested in the activities of the Center in public employment. If your teaching activities involves public employee unions, you should be particularly interested in the Centers availability to provide mediators, arbitrators and fact-finders to help resolve the three major dispute areas in public employment labor relations, ie., representation questions, bargaining impasses and grievance settlement.

American Arbitration Association Officers:

J. Victor Herd, Chairman • **Donald B. Straus,** President

Robert Coulson, Executive Vice President • **Gerald Aksen,** General Counsel • **Howard M. Holtzman,** Chr., Exec. Comm.

If I can provide you with any additional information about the Center, please call me.

Sincerely,

Jerome T. Barrett

Jerome T. Barrett
Assistant Director

Enclosure

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Wayne L. Horvitz
Consultant on Collective Bargaining

October 9, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

The enclosed Memorandum is being sent to you because Atlanta is one of the 15 cities being considered as a good place to have some mediation and arbitration training conducted. Because of your connections in Atlanta and your experience in education, I thought you might be able to suggest someone in your area who might be interested in this project.

If you do know of someone, please let me know.

Sincerely yours

Jerome T. Barrett

If by phone, mail:
Paul Rilling
Nat Welch
Sam Jones
Ben Mays
Policy Center - Clark

Myles S. Bowen

John Heffner
Jim Crawford
Vicious Henderson

Chaves

George Dennard King
Law Enforcement

Al Marshall
Arbitrator
Ga Tech

Paul Rilley

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—Public Employment Disputes
—Mediation Services

William E. Simkin
Consultant, Arbitration and Mediation Services

Wayne L. Horvitz
Consultant on Collective Bargaining

October 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM

To: Selected Members of the Public Employment Dispute Settlement Panel

From: Jerome T. Barrett JB

As a member of the Public Employment Dispute Settlement Panel of the National Center for Dispute Settlement, you are probably aware of the Center's interest in disputes other than those in public employment. You may have heard of the Community Dispute Settlement Panel which the Center is developing for use in the settlement of all types of community disputes including landlord-tenant, consumer-merchant, police-community, school-community and others.

In carrying out the Center's role of promoting the use of mediation and arbitration in community and other disputes, we have conducted a number of classes and seminars to train potential mediators and arbitrators. To expand the impact of this training effort, the Center is now considering the idea of conducting a conference in Washington, D. C., this winter to provide training for individuals who are interested in training mediators and arbitrators for community disputes. The conferees would be chosen from approximately 15 metropolitan areas on the basis of their interest in and ability to organize and conduct courses in their local area to train potential neutrals. We believe that the potential conferees are persons (1) who have organizational connections which will make it possible for them to sponsor training in their local community; (2) who have a genuine belief in the Center's work of promoting the use of mediation and arbitration to resolve community disputes; and (3) who would be willing to continue to work with the Center in developing

American Arbitration Association Officers:

J. Victor Herd, Chairman • **Donald B. Straus**, President

Robert Coulson, Executive Vice President • **Gerald Aksen**, General Counsel • **Howard M. Holtzman**, Chr., Exec. Comm.

neutrals and promoting the settlement of disputes through mediation and arbitration. These potential conferees are probably persons who are currently on urban university faculties in the department of urban affairs or social work, or persons affiliated with community organizations, bar associations or other civic groups.

Since your area is one of the 15 being considered, I would appreciate your suggestion as to who might be a good prospect in your community for attending such a conference. Since I realize that you are busy with many other things, I don't want you to take the time to check out the individual's interest in such a project. If you would merely give me the name and address of the individual(s), I will contact them myself.

I will very much appreciate any help that you can give me on this matter.

October 20, 1969

Mr. Jerome T. Barrett
National Center for Dispute Settlement
of the American Arbitration Association
1819 H Street, N. W., Suite 350
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Barrett:

I am writing in response to your letter of October 9 regarding persons who might cooperate in a mediation training session for Community Disputes Settlement.

For the most part the men I will suggest probably could not take the time to be the local director of such a training program but in each case I think they would be cooperative. They are:

Dr. John Griffin, Executive Director, Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress St., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30309.
Dr. Griffin is a member of the AAA Panel of Arbitrators and was formerly with the Community Relations Service.

Dr. Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia 30314.
Dr. Henderson's academic training is as a manpower economist.

Professor George Savage King, Law School, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
Professor King is also on the AAA Panel.

Mr. Al Marshall.
Mr. Marshall is recently retired from Georgia Tech, is on the AAA Panel, and possibly could have time on his hands. I do not know Mr. Marshall personally.

Dr. James Crawford, Chairman, Economics Department, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia.
Mr. Crawford's training is in the field of labor economics.

I also would be happy to cooperate in any other way that would prove useful but again I am fairly strapped for time.

I would be happy to talk with you by phone about any of these men or about ways of developing further information on them for your purposes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

COMMUNITY DISPUTE SETTLEMENT RULES

of the

NATIONAL CENTER FOR DISPUTE SETTLEMENT
AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION

as amended and in effect
September 1, 1970

NATIONAL CENTER FOR DISPUTE SETTLEMENT
1819 H. Street N.W. **Washington D. C.**

31

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Washington, D. C. 20006
(202)—659-5650

April 1, 1966

TO: Dr. Curtis C. Aller, Director
Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210

FROM: Dr. Sam F. Parigi, Project Director

SUBJECT: Progress Report No. 6, Southern Rural Training Project: National Sharecroppers Fund -- OMPER Demonstration Project No. 83-31-07 in Developing Job Training Programs among the Hard Core Unemployed and Underemployed in Southern Rural Areas.

Report for February, March, 1966

New project development and service to expedite the funding of proposals already submitted characterized SRTP's operations during the past two months. However, equally significant has been the funding of two additional EOA Title III-B projects (200 trainees total) and the approval for funding in April of a project (180 trainees) by the U. S. Office of Education. Therefore, six SRTP projects have been funded in the past four-month period and we anticipate funding of three other programs by the end of May.

Four proposals have been submitted during the report period: two to the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research (U. S. Department of Labor), one to the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (Experimental and Demonstration program), and one to the Migrant Division (Office of Economic Opportunity). In addition, SRTP has participated in program construction on two other projects that have been submitted and considerable developmental work has already taken place

on six EOA Title III-B programs and four OMPER E & D projects. It is a continuing challenge for SRTP to develop and to service through funding all projects with which we are associated.

I. EOA TITLE III-B PROGRAMS FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONAL FARM WORKERS

1. Programs Funded

MACTAD (Mobile, Alabama). Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, announced on March 30, 1966, a grant of $52,131 to the Mobile Area Committee for Training and Development, Inc. The funds will finance an educational and prevocational training program for 100 low-income, seasonally employed agricultural workers. Prevocational training follows the cluster pattern and is designed to raise the skills of the trainees who remain in agricultural work, and also to provide introductory training for occupations outside agriculture. MACTAD, Inc., has also applied for an OMPER E & D, and it is anticipated that some of the EOA III-B graduates will have their educational and skill levels raised sufficiently so that they may be eligible to participate in the MDTA project when it is funded. (See also Summary and Evaluation.)

Ferriday, Louisiana. The announcement of this program's funding was made on March 28, 1966. Basic education, prevocational training and supportive services will be offered to 100 low-income seasonally employed farm workers from Concordia Parish in the upper Louisiana Delta area. This program's approval marks the second funding of

SRTP-developed EOA III-B's for seasonal farm workers in Louisiana, the only such programs approved to date in that State. (See also Summary and Evaluation.)

2. Proposal Submitted

Fayette County, Tennessee. Fayette County is ranked the third lowest county in the United States by annual family income ($1,363), and the fourth lowest in per capita income ($470). The need for manpower development projects is obvious, and SRTP, through the sponsorship of the Fayette County Economic Development Commission (Leander J. Palmer, Director) and with the cooperation of numerous county officials, quickly developed this program which will offer basic education, prevocational training, and supportive services for a three-month period to 180 unemployed or seasonally employed persons. Among the criteria for entry into this program are: an annual family income of less than $1,000 a year and an educational level of less than sixth grade.

Prevocational training will be given in three clusters: (1) Agriculture, including instruction in small farm management, new and improved farming techniques, crop rotation, fertilizer preparation and application, machinery operation and minor repair; (2) building trades, such as carpentry, electrical work, brick masonry, and plumbing; and (3) homemaking education, with instruction on child guidance, home care of the sick, family hygiene, home management, sewing and clothing care.

This program should be especially meaningful because of the participation of volunteer professionals. As an example, Art Emory of the National Sharecroppers Fund will offer the trainees suggestions on credit unions and cooperatives. J. M. Nunnerly of the Farmers Home Administration will explain the availability of $1,000 signature loans to owners of homes and will assist persons who so desire to apply for the loans.

The development of this project is reflective of our recent SRTP efforts in the field of EOA III-B's. An area was chosen because of its low income level and lack of MDTA and OEO projects. Most persons, initially contacted, stated that the area did not have an off-farm season in the summer. Albert Newall, SRTP Tennessee Field Representative, consulted with a number of helpful persons in the State Agriculture Department, but evidence seemed to show a period too brief for a project. Further contact with local agricultural experts revealed that recent changes in the county's agricultural situation now easily allowed a three-month program in the summer (lay-by period). Local farm authorities estimated that there was now a 75 percent surplus of farm labor due to cotton acreage cuts and farm mechanization. Walton Sharp, SRTP's Louisiana Representative who developed the III-B's in that State, then was assigned to the project. He and Newall received an enthusiastic response to the prospects of a III-B program from the local CAP, farm workers, educators and various agency personnel. With the two Field Representatives operating in "high gear" and the Knoxville office giving

priority to the proposal, a program was rapidly structured. A broadly representative Advisory Committee (including one-third representation of farm workers) was selected by the local group. At an early stage in project development, the Migrant Division of OEO was notified of our activity in Fayette County and Mr. Ken Vallis of that organization responded quickly by visiting in Somerville on March 22 to discuss the project with its sponsor. On the night of March 22, two weeks after Newall's initial inquiry, the EOA III-B Advisory Committee met and, after a thorough explanation and discussion of the proposed project by Mr. Vallis, Dr. Sam F. Parigi (SRTP Director), Mr. Sharp, Mr. Newall, and Mr. Palmer, the necessary OEO forms were signed. The proposal had been developed with haste, but not waste. The sponsor helped SRTP representatives "touch base" with local workers, educators, and governmental officials and SRTP also informed related state agencies of the program (Example: State OEO, State Department of Employment Security, which normally has a representative in Somerville one day a week, and State Vocational Education). The Fayette County project bids to be the first EOA Title III-B in Tennessee.

3. Projects In Advanced State Of Development

Dorchester, South Carolina. This project is to be sponsored by the Colleton-Dorchester Counties Development Corporation, the CAP agency for Colleton and Dorchester Counties. L. S. James, SRTP's South Carolina Field Representative, and Walton Sharp are developing the program which is designed to serve 120 low-income, adult, seasonally

employed farm workers. Income statistics show that 49.6 percent of the family units in Dorchester County have annual incomes of less than $3,000. The program, as presently envisioned, will be a year-round one, with full-time education and prevocational classes during the off-farm season and education classes two nights a week during the farm season. Farm workers, educators, and representatives of related agencies have offered their cooperation and Ken Vallis of the Migrant Division met with the program's sponsor on March 17. Drafting work has begun on the proposal which will be submitted in April.

Tennessee Elk River Development Association (TERDA). On March 23, 1966, Albert Newall and Dr. Parigi of SRTP met with Mr. Cuyler Dunbar, Director of the COMET E & D; Mr. Ralph Mitchell, Executive Director, Elk River Development Association; Mr. Mark Whitaker, Director of TERDA; Mr. James Lemons, TERDA Program Analyst; Mr. Robert Marshall, COMET Elk River Director; and Mr. B. H. Cummings, a COMET OJT Supervisor, to discuss a successor program to the COMET Project which will soon terminate in the area. Various alternatives were explored in a full-day meeting and it was finally resolved that attention should focus on developing a rather distinctive EOA Title III-B for 320 "rockbottom" rural farm workers. A subsequent meeting to discuss the project has been scheduled for Knoxville in early April. TERDA is the CAP agency for a nine-county area of South-central Tennessee and will sponsor the program.

The genesis of SRTP's involvement in this project is interesting. Cuyler Dunbar had originally suggested that the Elk River group contact SRTP for assistance in project development. Thereupon, Mr. Ralph Mitchell met with Mr. Peter Pesoli, SRTP Field Coordinator, in Knoxville to discuss the Elk River's competency to sponsor and their desire for a manpower project. Subsequently a delegation from Elk River went to Washington to contact Congressmen and federal agency personnel about possible programs in their area. On this occasion, two Washington officials recommended to the Elk River delegation that they seek assistance from SRTP for their program development.

Thibodaux, Louisiana. Because of his developmental work in Louisiana, SRTP's Walton Sharp was invited to attend the quarterly Louisiana State OEO Conference in Baton Rouge. At this meeting Sharp was introduced and mention made of his development of the Reserve, Louisiana, EOA III-B. Subsequently a number of persons contacted him at the conference, including Lucien Caillouet, Director, LaFourche Parish CAP, who asked assistance in developing a III-B program. The project's development began shortly afterward, including the formation of an Advisory Committee on March 3, 1966, and a visit from Ken Vallis of the Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers Division on March 23, 1966. It is projected that the program will reach 180 low-income, undereducated farm workers.

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Thomasville, Georgia. Early SRTP explorations in Georgia revealed a need for manpower programs in the Southwestern area of that State. Alfred Morris, SRTP Field Representative, is developing this project which will have as its sponsor the Southwest Georgia Community Action Council, Inc., a CAP group representing thirteen counties. There is some question at present on the number of counties which will be served by the project, and consequently the number of trainees. Indications are that this EOA III-B will serve approximately 200 trainees, 100 in each session. To date, there are no funded EOA III-B's in Georgia.

4. Other EOA III-B Projects Being Developed

Alexandria, Louisiana. A CAP agency, which was to sponsor the project, has had some internal difficulties, so SRTP has arrested its program development until the dispute is resolved. It now appears that the different groups are reaching a compromise and perhaps a needed program can be developed soon to utilize the services of many capable volunteers who wish to help less fortunate persons in their area.

Elloree, South Carolina. Considerable "leg-work" has been done on this tentative project which will project SRTP into the self-help housing field. Complex problems concerning construction, legal titles, and work-sharing agreements will necessitate a delay in further project development until May. SRTP's staff is small and a

decision had to be made to delay this time-consuming project so that other equally desirable projects could be submitted in April and early may.

Shiloh (Tennessee). A multi-county CAP agency (with several EDA counties included) has indicated a desire to sponsor an EOA III-B for approximately 400-800 persons. Extensive contacts with farm workers, county officials, and school representatives reflect keen interest in the program, especially in view of the fact that the sponsor was becoming disappointed because of the previous rejection of several proposals which it had submitted.

Dillon, South Carolina. Initial contacts have shown widespread interest in a year-round program for this rural area of South Carolina. Many of the farm workers contacted by SRTP Field Representative L. S. James confided that they had never been to school and they cannot read nor write. Sponsor: Dillon County Community Action Council, Inc.

State Of Florida EOA III-B. Alfred Morris has acted as a consultant to the State Office of Economic Opportunity in its development of a program to serve 2,500 trainees in nine counties of Florida. The proposal should be completed by the end of March and will be submitted to Tom Karter, Chief, Migrant Division, OEO in Washington. This program again demonstrates the cooperative relationship that SRTP has developed with state agencies.

5. Previously funded Projects

Reserve, Louisiana. One hundred and twenty trainees are actively participating in this project. Of the 133 persons receiving physical examinations, tuberculine time tests showed 42 positive, and follow-up examinations revealed that a few of these required medical attention. One unanticipated problem developed when the sponsor had difficulty in obtaining bonding because the project was only scheduled for a three-month period. SRTP's Field Representative learned of the problem and was able to arrange the bonding service.

II. COOPERATIVE RESEARCH DIVISION, OFFICE OF EDUCATION, H.E.W.

Approved For Funding

Project TEST. Project TEST has been approved for funding having cleared all review barriers. As related in Progress Report No. 5, the funding of the program was progressing much more slowly than anticipated. On March 1, we learned that the program had been transferred from the Division of Adult and Vocational Research to the Division of Elementary and Secondary Research. Subsequently it appeared, because of complications created by its having been transferred to another division, that the program would not be funded in the current fiscal year. (Our experience is that programs which linger from year to year tend not to be funded.) Mr. Peter Pesoli, SRTP Field Coordinator, then made a special trip to Washington on March 10 to expedite the

program which is designed to upgrade the skills of 180 teachers in Florida who, despite having failed to achieve the minimum 500 score on the National Teachers Examination as required by Florida law, still have the potential and desire to remain in teaching. After conferences with Mr. Walter Mylecraine, Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner of Education, Dr. Lewis Bright, Associate Commissioner of Education and Director of Cooperative Research Division, and J. Ned Bryan, Officer in Charge of Curriculum Branch, in which Pesoli explained the urgency of the program and the funding technicalities which had been encountered, the SRTP Field Coordinator was told that the program was an excellent one and that it would be funded by the U. S. Office of Education. That same day the program's sponsor, the Florida State Department of Education, was notified by Mr. Mylecraine that the program had been approved. Upon the request of Dr. Joseph W. Crenshaw, Director of Instructional Services, Florida Department of Education, Pesoli went to Tallahassee, Florida, to assist in making modifications to the program schedule so that classes may begin on May 16.

Since the program's sponsor and SRTP have been informed that the project is ready for the formal signing, funding may reasonably be expected to occur in early April.

III. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT EXPERIMENTAL AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

1. Proposals Submitted In Reporting Period

Training Indigenous Persons For Sub-Professional Occupations (Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi). SRTP was requested by OMPER to contact Dr. Jane E. McAllister, Jackson State College, and assist in the development of an E & D program. Dr. Parigi met with Dr. McAllister and other interested staff members of the college on February 10. At this conference an earlier proposal draft by the college was discussed as were methods for expanding the program. After a full interchange of information and ideas, SRTP was given permission to draft a proposal for submission to OMPER. O. H. Simmons of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission was informed of the project and he, in turn, gave needed information to estimate training allowances. The proposal was quickly developed and hand-carried to Washington by the Project Director on February 24. A conference was held that day with OMPER officials: Mr. Seymour Brandwein, Director, Office of Special Manpower Programs, Mr. Charles Gilmore, Chief, Special Programs, Dr. Arenia Mallory, and Mr. Richard McAllister. At this conference tentative approval was given to the proposal and SRTP subsequently presented the final proposal to OMPER on February 24. The project will train 115 underpriviledged persons as "counseling interns" to fill the demand of governmental and private employers for social service personnel.

Since the proposal was submitted to OMPER, SRTP has discussed the proposal with State Employment Service and Vocational Education, and also Regional Employment Service and H.E.W. representatives. A target date for funding of May 1 has been set.

Mobile Area Committee For Training And Development (MACTAD, Mobile, Alabama-OMPER. Expectations for the funding of this program soared as a result of a conference at OMPER offices in Washington on February 24 between Mr. Gilmore, Dr. Mallory, Dr. Robert Gilliard (MACTAD), Father A. S. Foley (MACTAD), Mr. Jim Hendricks (MACTAD), Mr. Jim Blackburn (Employment Service), Mr. Pesoli, and Dr. Parigi. The checkered life of this project has been recited in earlier reports, but a positive turn occurred at the meeting when OMPER agreed to consider funding the entire "package" of remedial education, institutional training, and supportive services for 280 trainees. A target date for funding of May 1 was set at the conference. Because of the time that had transpired and the changed conditions, it was necessary to completely redraft the proposal. Before doing so, however, Newall and Parigi of SRTP met in Montgomery with Mr. Copeland J. Pace, Coordinator of Manpower Training, Alabama State Employment Service and Mr. C. S. Bilbro, Assistant MDTA Director, Alabama Vocational Education Department, on March 3 in order to coordinate the project revision with their agencies. On March 10 SRTP's Director met in Mobile to review the proposal revision with the

sponsor, and the new proposal was submitted to OMPER by mail on March 16. Since that time SRTP has had introductory discussions on the project with Regional ES and H.E.W. personnel.

Bureau Of Apprenticeship and Training - MACTAD E & D. To complement and expand the MACTAD-OMPER E & D, a separate BAT-MACTAD E & D has been developed and submitted by SRTP. After a series of duscussions with various agency personnel at national, regional, and state level, SRTP concluded that the OJT component could be processed more easily if it were submitted as separate, but tied to the OMPER E & D. The design of this proposal is to seek funding of 100 OJT slots by BAT, but to have the entire administrative cost of the OJT development included in the OMPER-MACTAD E & D. The funding of the BAT-MACTAD E & D is, therefore, contingent upon the funding of the OMPER contract and the two contracts are scheduled to conclude on the same date.

Comment On Project Development And Servicing. These two MACTAD E & D projects have required a significant amount of SRTP staff time, but without that involvement the proposals would not be progressing. A rough summary of SRTP-MACTAD E & D activities during the past two months will perhaps illustrate what SRTP means by the term "servicing a project." Conferences have been attended specifically to discuss MACTAD E & D projects in Washington, Atlanta, Montgomery, and Mobile. Sixteen telephone conversations were initiated by SRTP on behalf of these projects, and at least eight telephone calls were received. In addition, fourteen

letters were written to expedite the project. It is now hoped that the project is "on the way" and that correspondingly less SRTP time be required.

2. Projects In Advanced Stage Of Development.

Mississippi Forestry Project. This project marks another example of SRTP's "outreach service" to OMPER. On March 1, Mr. Gilmore of OMPER requested SRTP to undertake the development of a Mississippi E & D project which had the interest of the State Employment Service and the U. S. Forest Service. Consequently Albert Newall and Dr. Parigi met with Dr. Henry Taylor, Rural Community Development Service (U.S.D.A., Washington); Mr. C. M. Evenson, Regional Job Corps Coordinator; Mr. Dale Eaves, BES (Atlanta Region); Mr. Harvey Jackson and Mr. Fred Ungerer of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission; and Mr. Tom Forister, National Forests in Mississippi, on March 4 in Jackson, Mississippi. This meeting was an exploratory one, but in a second meeting, which was held in Jackson on March 14, a number of decisions concerning the structuring on the project were made, and agreement was reached on sending information to Knoxville so that a draft proposal could be written. Among the participants at this meeting were Mr. O. H. Simmons, Mississippi E.S.; Mr. A. P. Fatherree, Mississippi Director of Vocational Education; Mr. H. T. Huddleston, President of Summit Junior College; and Mr. Del W. Thorsen, Deputy Forest Supervisor, National Forests in Mississippi; and SRTP representatives. Upon the receipt of information from

conference participants, SRTP drafted a proposal which was mailed to the concerned agencies on March 4. The proposal will be reviewed by these agencies and then a final draft will be submitted to OMPER. This is the first time that SRTP has participated with RCDS in project development, but it appears that such an association may be mutually beneficial.

Orleans Parish Prison. Program development has continued on this project and proposal drafting has begun. Some problems are being encountered on reaching agreement as to proper structuring of the program so that it will have the needed flexibility essential for a social and training center for released prisoners. One distinctive feature of the planned program is the extensive use of highly qualified professional volunteers. Representatives of the Louisiana Employment Service and Vocational Education Department have been kept abreast of developments.

3. Proposal Previously Submitted

Ability Development For Demand (ADD), Tampa, Florida. It has been decided that the University of South Florida will act as program sponsor rather than Tampa's Office of the Mayor. Reportedly, this decision was reached at a Washington conference of March 8, 1966. OMPER did not notify SRTP of the sponsor change, and our effectiveness in servicing the project has been impaired. Nevertheless, we are continuing our efforts in the program's behalf and it is our understanding that the MT-1's will soon be completed.

4. Other New Developments

Triana (Triana, Alabama). A meeting was held at the Pulaski-Cavalry Hill Rehabilitation Center on February 10, between SRTP's Peter Pesoli and Albert Newall, Charles T. Brandon, Chairman, Pulaski-Cavalry Hill Recreation Committee, Leon Frazier, President of Technical Assistance Committee, and Clyde Foster, Mayor of Triana. The purpose of this meeting was to explore ideas for making Triana a component part of the present Pulaski-Cavalry Hill E & D, which would strengthen the program of both groups. Additional information has been gathered which will speed the proposal development and Mr. Pesoli contacted the Huntsville E.S. Office to notify them of the contemplated activity.

Training School For Boys (Milledgeville, Georgia). The proposed sponsor for the project has had to decline further active participation because of recent changes at the institution. However, the contact person has agreed to cooperate if another sponsor wishes to conduct the program and it appears that a Georgia university will seek the project. If so, the program to provide training for child care workers will be altered to reflect the ideas of the new sponsor.

Test II Project (State of Florida). SRTP has delayed development of TEST II because of the frustrating problems of implementing TEST I. TEST II, which seeks to upgrade the skills of displaced teachers in related but non-academic fields, is designed as a companion proposal to TEST I and program development will now be renewed.

5. Previously Funded Projects

Austin Peay State College Project (COMET). COMET continues to function in a highly creditable manner, and good communications exist between Mr. Cuyler Dunbar, COMET Director, and the SRTP staff. Upon the request of Mr. Dunbar, Newall and Morris of the SRTP staff undertook OJT development for COMET on three days during the bitter cold wave of early February. Mr. Dunbar has also introduced SRTP staff to persons in the Elk River and Beech River areas of Tennessee who are seeking manpower programs to continue the work begun by COMET.

Loyola University Project (SEESAW), New Orleans, Louisiana. Active recruiting of trainees for the secretarial phase of the project to be held in Reserve, Louisiana, commenced in the latter part of February and the formal training began on March 21. Some difficulties are being encountered in finding adequate training facilities in Slidell, but the sponsor is optimistic that the program will start there, as planned, on May 1.

St. Mary's Dominican College Project (New Orleans, Louisiana). Classes for secretarial training and dialectic speech remediation began in early January. Mrs. Geoffray, Project Director, has related that trainees were keeping pace with the course outline, and that the majority, through individual efforts outside class, were ahead of schedule. The presence of counselors at the training site is credited with diminishing trainee problems. SRTP's Field Representative spoke to several trainees who were grateful for the opportunity of getting the training and enthusiastic concerning the program.

IV. ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT (Other than Title III-B)

1. Section 206 and Section 207

National Sharecroppers Fund Proposal. SRTP's parent has originated the idea of a project which would not only provide technical assistance in project development, but also train rural persons to: (1) acquire sufficient technical knowledge to assess their community and individual needs, (2) develop programs (under EOA, Vocational Education Act of 1963, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Manpower Development and Training Act, etc.) to meet those needs, and (3) carry out such programs successfully. SRTP assisted in drafting the proposal which was submitted to OEO in March. NSF has arranged a meeting with Sargent Shriver on April 6 to discuss the proposal and rural conditions. Several key board members of NSF, Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of NSF, Pesoli and Parigi are scheduled to attend the meeting.

2. Title II-B

Holly Hill, South Carolina. Our last Progress Report showed 375 trainees receiving adult education training, but the program has now expanded to 500 enrolees. State officials have told our South Carolina Representative that the program is especially successful because of the active support of local organizations.

V. OJT DEVELOPMENT

SRTP's OJT work has primarily occurred in Georgia, South Carolina, and recently in Tennessee. Our system of referring signed OJT-1's from area redevelopment areas to local BAT representatives met with varied results. In some instances the employer has been quickly contacted and the application processed. In other instances, several months have elapsed and BAT representatives have not established contact with OJT-1 signers. As a result of BAT-SRTP combined efforts, training slots have been approved for 62 persons under OJT provisions. SRTP's next Progress Report will contain a more comprehensive treatment of OJT activity.

See also BAT-MACTAD E & D under Section III.

VI. OTHER ACTIVITIES

1. Florida Migrant Center

Mr. Julian Morse, Coordinator of Migrant Education, Florida State Department of Education, invited SRTP's Field Coordinator to a meeting attended by a number of persons working with migrants on February 17 in Florida in order to discuss the possibility of establishing a center to train sub-professionals (and some professionals) working with migrants. As a consequence of this meeting, and subsequent discussions, it was decided to change the proposal site of this training from Florida Atlantic University to the University of South Florida.

SRTP has been asked by Mr. Morse to assist in the development of this program and a tentative meeting date has been set with officials of the University of South Florida. Some work has already been done by SRTP on a component of this program with Mrs. Minnie Fields of the Florida Migrant Education Office.

2. An article by the Project Director entitled, "The Tennessee Pilot Farm Management Projects" was published in the January, 1966, issue of the Employment Service Review.

3. Walton Sharp was instrumental in bringing together 20-40 students of the Louisiana State University Catholic Center with Mr. John Goodman, Director of the Medicare Alert Program. The students were thus able to render help where it was needed and, at the same time, became introduced to "Poverty Programs" in which they have an interest.

VII. SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

SRTP is extending itself to develop projects in all corners of the Southeast. During this reporting period projects have been funded in Louisiana and Alabama. One proposal has been approved for funding in Florida and additional workers were placed on OJT's in Georgia. One proposal has been submitted from Mississippi and another from that State is being reviewed by cooperating agencies before formal submission. In Tennessee, one project was submitted and projects in South Carolina and Georgia are in advanced stages of preparation.

The acceptance of our project by agency personnel seems to improve each month, and oftentimes SRTP has been asked or is recommended to participate in development of new programs. "Success breeds success" is an old adage, and with each additional funding, new requests are being made to SRTP by local sponsors for assistance in project development. Unfortunately our small staff of six is limited in the number of projects it can handle at one time. It is the staff's feeling that this healthy response to SRTP's activities is reflective of the need to more directly carry manpower projects to rural areas and to provide the "total service-package" indicated in this report.

The sponsors, SRTP (and marginal farm workers) were gratified by the funding of the two EOA III-B projects. However, the projects were funded later than expected which has resulted in considerable pressure being placed on the sponsor by applicants and potential staff interested in participating. The funding delays have also created problems of recruitment since few instructors can long afford unemployment and some trainees, who are temporarily employed during a short farm season, will miss the program which they heartily sought during the off-farm season. These funding delays were not encountered on the previously funded Reserve III-B which was submitted to the Migrant Division on December 3, 1965, and approved by OEO on January 24, 1966. Apparently a joint announcement is now needed from both OEO and the U. S. Department of Labor, and the ramifications of that joint announcement appear to have delayed the fundings of these latter projects.

SRTP's contract is due to expire on July 9. Given the fast pace of present project development, the new opportunities opening to us, and our desire to provide the maximum service possible, we are faced with the problem of maintaining the momentum of the Project, while at the same time providing for an orderly termination of our operation. The problem is compounded by the fact that SRTP does not wish to leave a number of potential sponsors dangling with half-completed developmental work.

NOTE: SRTP was given permission by Mr. Charles Gilmore to submit this report late because of the priority of project development in which it was engaged during the usual time allocated for drafting the Progress Report.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

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ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

May 13, 1966

EV

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I have talked with Dr. Ray Marshall today concerning our need for professional staff to continue our Southern Rural Training Project in the event our Labor Department's contract will be renewed and also to direct an OEO project in the South which may develop before long. Dr. Marshall said that he believed your work with SRC might be terminating and that you might be interested in working with one of these projects.

Enclosed is a folder describing the SRTP as well as its last Progress Report. I am sure you will find the report most exciting as it mentions a wide variety of training programs which have been developed recently for the rural poor in a number of Southern states. If our contract will be renewed, we will probably retain the present field staff, but we will be seeking a new project director and a new field coordinator since the present ones are committed to return to their colleges at the expiration of our present contract.

Our proposed OEO program would be of a somewhat similar nature and would involve working with rural community action groups and helping them to develop proposals under all available legislation.

If you are interested in either of these programs, I should appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible and hope that you will send me a resume.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Director

FB/vmg

Encls.

FRANK P. GRAHAM
chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
vice-chairman
ELIOT D. PRATT
secretary-treasurer

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FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

May 26, 1966

To: Mr. Emory Via

From: Fay Bennett

I hope you will review before the White House Conference the enclosed memo on Policy and Program to End Poverty in Rural America as well as our enclosed Board report on "The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers in 1965."

They point to the deepening crisis in rural America and suggest massive programs to prevent social breakdown in rural areas and the compounding of present intolerable conditions in urban ghettos.

May 27, 1966

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Director
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Miss Bennett:

I appreciate your asking me about my possible interest in the two staff openings which the Sharecroppers Fund now has. However, my work here at the Council will be continuing for another year. I wish you all good luck in finding good personnel for these jobs.

I have received the two reports which you hoped I would read before the White House Conference, and have read them with interest.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

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•

FAY BENNETT
executive secretary

JAC WASSERMAN
field director
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

December 16, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

It now appears that the Office of Economic Opportunity may approve and fund a project under our direction to work intensively in Alabama and Georgia with the rural poor. If this happens, we will be looking for the best qualified people we can find to direct this project.

Enclosed is a summary of the project, as well as job descriptions for the two top positions. If you are interested in either of these positions, I would appreciate hearing from you at the earliest possible moment. If you are not interested or available, I would appreciate any suggestions you can make of good people who might be interested and qualified to direct this important project. It may be that it might begin operations early in the new year.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB/vmg

Encls.

P.S. Enclosed is a reprint from the Employment Service Review showing that training programs and the coordinated assistance of all relevant federal agencies can make it possible for marginal farmers to increase their incomes greatly, and make a go of a small farming operation. Also enclosed is an article which appeared in the New York Times recently, quoting figures put together by the National Sharecroppers Fund on the exodus of poor Negro and white farmers from the South. My final enclosure is the first issue of Rural Advance which I am sure will interest you.

SUMMARY

Proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc. to the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity for "Training and Technical Assistance in Diversified Program Development for the Rural Areas of Alabama and Georgia":

The demonstration project is designed to bring to the impoverished areas of Alabama and Georgia a wide range of anti-poverty programs, with particular emphasis on but not limited to, those job-training and educational programs and services potentially available under non-OEO legislation. The project will provide necessary professional and sub-professional assistance to rural poor to enable them to initiate, organize, design, acquire funding for, and implement government programs that presently are not available to the poorest rural citizens of Alabama and Georgia. The project will also assist in improving the existing services of local and other public agencies.

In addition to diversified program development, the project will provide "on-the-job" training in community organization and in program development to a minimum of 40 indigenous field interns. This training will be accomplished through the employment (via stipends) of local rural residents who will each be assigned to work with a Field Representative for a three-month period, assisting the Field Representative in his work and thereby learning the techniques of that work.

The project's proposed effective and extensive use of funds from governmental sources other than OEO is an attempt to "pump prime;" in other words, to employ a minimum amount of the severely restricted money allocated to the Office of Economic Opportunity in order to help release potential anti-poverty funds from other sources and from other federal and private agencies.

A major benefit of the project should be the fund of empirical information gained in the year's operation: "model programs" and guidelines for crop diversification, low-cost housing, job-training for low-income rural people, multi-service community action and community service, all of which prove to be effective in ameliorating the conditions of poverty in rural communities.

There will be a Southern-based policy advisory board to the project, which will meet regularly to offer suggestions for the program development activities of the project staff. This board will include not only members of the distinguished national board of NSF but also a representation of community-interested poor persons in the rural South. As the project sponsor, the National Sharecroppers Fund will have overall supervision of the project.

There will be intensive training sessions and institutes for both the project staff and the indigenous field trainees which will begin with two full weeks and will be supplemented by periodic weekend and one-day in-service training sessions, using consultants from the NSF board, from other program development projects, and from government agencies.

The Project has a budget of $230,000 for one year; and will employ the following staff: 1 Project Director, 1 Field Coordinator, 1 Resource Director, 6 Field Representatives (specialists in community organization and program development), and necessary secretarial and clerical staff. The project's main office will be in Atlanta, Georgia.

JOB DESCRIPTIONS

Project Director. (Salary Range: $12,000 to 14,000)

Under the supervision of the National Sharecroppers Fund's Executive Secretary, the Project Director will be responsible for the overall organization, scope, pace, and functioning of the project, and will provide overall supervision to the field staff. He will be responsible for the actual execution of the program in the field. He will be based in Atlanta.

Field Coordinator. (Salary Range: $9,000 to 11,000)

Under the direction of the Project Director, the Field Coordinator will assist the Field Representatives in planning and carrying forward the field program, including negotiations with state and local officials, with local CAP groups, and with other community organizations; he will also aid the Project Director in such other ways as are deemed desirable to ensure constant supervision of the field staff.

The New York Times.

NOVEMBER 27, 1966.

NEGROES LEAVING FARMS IN SOUTH

Their Rate Is Twice That of Whites Who Leave

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Nov. 26—Farming is gradually becoming an all-white occupation in the South.

Only 142,506 Negroes were among the 718,900 farmers left in eight Southern states at the end of 1964.

The number of farmers of both races is shrinking, but the shrinkage among Negroes is more than twice as great.

These facts are contained in figures gleaned by the Atlanta office of the National Sharecroppers Fund. The fund extracted the figures from a five-year agricultural census completed recently by the Federal Census Bureau. The figures show the number of farmers, white and nonwhite, in the eight states in 1959 and in 1964.

The states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and South Carolina.

The census showed that the total number of farmers in these states declined from 890,283 in 1959 to 718,900 in 1964.

Whites Decline 15 Per Cent

The eight states had 679,692 white farmers in 1959 and 576,394 in 1964. This was a drop of 103,298, or 15 per cent, in the ensuing five years.

Negroes on the farm declined from 210,591 to 142,506, or 32.4 per cent, during the same period.

Most of those who left the farm were tenants—either sharecroppers, who share the harvest with the owner, or those who pay cash rent.

Forty-two per cent of all Negro tenants in the eight states left the farms during the five years. The number dropped fro 119,620 to 69,426.

White tenants abandoned the land almost as readily. The number dropped from 118,468 to 79,119, a decrease of 33 per cent.

Of those remaining on the farm in 1964, a total of 570,315 owned their own land, in full or in part. And of these, 497,275 were white. Thus, 86 per cent of the whites still on the farm own their own land, fully or in part, and only 14 per cent were renters.

Negro Renters

By contrast, almost half of the Negroes remaining were renters — the group with the least hold on the land and the greatest willingness to leave it.

Of the Negroes remaining, 69,426 were tenants, 50,085 were full owners and 22,955 were part owners.

Only four of the eight states still had comparatively large numbers of Negro farmers by 1964. Alabama had 20,941, down from 29,234 in 1959. Mississippi had 37,701, down from 55,369. North Carolina had 29,909, down from 43,973. South Carolina had 19,602, down from 30,977.

Arkansas still had 71,003 white farmers, down from 79,000, but only 8,589 Negroes, down from 14,657. Negro tenant farmers in Arkansas declined 53.5 per cent, from 8,100 to 3,766.

Mississippi had the largest number of Negro tenant farmers in 1959—32,854. It lost 43.4 per cent of them, down to 18,580, but still had more than any other state covered by the census.

The Tennessee Pilot Farm Management Projects

SAM F. PARIGI

What appropriate skill training programs can be developed for unskilled, undereducated, low-income farmers living in economically declining rural areas? This problem for developers of manpower programs is compounded by the outmigration of younger, more skilled persons from such rural areas, and the difficulty of placing older, farm-oriented trainees in urban jobs. Tennessee's pilot farm management program is giving evidence of being a successful answer to this training challenge.

The MDTA farm management pilot program was developed through the cooperation of the Tennessee Vocational Education Division, the Tennessee Employment Service, and agencies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Although the program is still considered in the pilot stage, seven projects have been completed and four are in progress.

The Training Program

In conjunction with the county school boards which act as sponsors for these programs, the Tennessee Division of Vocational Education has developed a program designed to raise the income of trainees by 20 to 40 percent in the first year and 60 percent over a 3-year period. Prime attention is directed to four topics: Soils, crop production, livestock production, and farm plans. Other subjects receiving considerable attention are income taxes, electricity, farm organizations, and farm legislation. In each case, the trainee is shown how the topics in the training program apply to his own farming operations. This is the key to the high interest and success of trainees in the pilot projects.

A typical program would begin in July with the farm management instructor visiting the farm of each trainee to assess its potential and to discuss with the trainee what definite projects are to be undertaken on the farm as part of the training program. An overall farm plan is then developed for each trainee. The soil on each farm is "typed" early in the program by the Soil Conservation Service and the trainee is shown how to utilize the new information in his planting and fertilizing practices. Use is also made of "averaging" sheets, by which the farmer can compare his net income against what a similar farm would produce with fairly good management practices. Since trainees rarely net as much income as the farm sheets project, this income disparity provides incentive to learn and to exercise proper farm management practices.

Small farmers normally have inadequate records, so each trainee is taught to keep a record book of his farming operations. Bookkeeping is introduced early in the program, and the farm management instructor continues to check the farming records once a month.

Because most trainees know little of the range of agricultural services available to them from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, provision is made for representatives to explain their functions. In addition, the State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) has made extra funds available to the trainees to carry out the soil conservation measures determined upon in their individual overall farm plans—

Dr. Sam F. Parigi is Director of the Southern Rural Training Project while on leave from Lamar State College.

For this farmer, the training resulted in better sanitation and good pastures for his livestock.

The trainees were shown how to reclaim their rain washed land so it could become productive.

liming, seeding, erosion control, and woodland improvement. Since funds from the ASCS must be matched by the farmer from his own resources, the trainee is urged to utilize at least part of his training allowances for this purpose. Field trips to experimental farms and plots of successful farmers are also taken to demonstrate proper farming techniques.

Vastly different educational levels are found among the trainees, although the program originally sought to require achievement equivalent to that of a high school sophomore for participation. In the first pilot program, provision was not made for specific classes in basic education, but 100 hours of communications instruction are now provided.

An interesting facet of the program is the integration of farm training and mathematical education. For example, the techniques of measuring land are first treated in the classroom, and instruction is given at that time on the multiplication and division needed to complete the task. Then the class goes into the field to apply the principles learned.

Throughout the program, classroom principles are directly applied to each farm. The instructor makes periodic visits to each trainee's farm and remains available to help the trainee if any difficult farming problems arise.

For trainees with marginal farms, the program may provide information on supplementary income opportunities. In one instance, the instructor suggested that the trainee might build a slaughterhouse to augment the farm income. The trainee bought a secondhand walk-in cooler and constructed the slaughterhouse with the aid of a $2,500 loan from the Farmers Home Administration. It is expected that the combined income from the farm and slaughterhouse operations will lift this trainee from the poverty classification.

Evaluation

The pilot farm management programs have shown outstanding success in raising the income of marginal farmers. A good example is the Yorkville Farm Management class,

the first of the pilot programs, which began on July 15, 1963. Income tax returns indicated average net farm income of $343 for 1962, but $1,285 in 1964. Nineteen men completed the course. One man sold his farm but the other 18 increased their income—14 by over 100 percent! It is expected that the income of the trainees will continue to increase as they complete the various stages of their overall farm plans.

Good Attendance

Attendance averaged 97.4 percent and five men did not miss a class during the entire year. An esprit de corps developed among the trainees, and the community leaders voiced their approval of the program. The success of the program may also be judged by individual conferences held with trainees by representatives of the Employment Service. When asked if they would now take a job in town, each program graduate answered, "No."

Several conclusions may be drawn from the experience of this pilot program:

1. MDTA training can substantially increase the marginal farmer's income, which is especially meaningful when viewed in the context of the limited economic alternatives for unskilled older farmers. Furthermore, the rapid increase in income may also serve to revitalize the economic condition of destitute rural areas.

2. Marginal farmers seldom have utilized the vast range of governmental aids for agriculture. MDTA programs can help remedy this situation by assisting the small farmer to obtain the agricultural services to which he is entitled. Moreover, the concentration of trainees makes it easier for the agricultural agencies to provide services. Rather than duplicating farm agency services, the MDTA program supports them.

3. MDTA courses should also be promoted for marginal small business owners who lack managerial "know how." There is an extremely high rate of small retail business mortality which could be lessened through training related to finances, marketing, recordkeeping, and inventory.

Sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund and financed by a Department of Labor contract (as an Experimental and Demonstration Project under MDTA), the Southern Rural Training Project has stimulated the development of 28 training and basic education programs for more than six thousand unemployed and underemployed persons in seven Southern states. A number of these programs have already been funded and are in operation.

The purpose of the Southern Rural Training Project, directed by Dr. Sam F. Parigi, was to demonstrate that local leadership in poor rural areas, in cooperation with local institutions and organizations, could develop training programs to up-grade the skills and economic status of low-income, poorly educated rural persons.

Because of the expressed great need for such training programs and the relative unavailability of government services in rural communities, the Southern Rural Training Project has acted as a bridge between federal programs and the people who need them.

For further information contact:

National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003

or

Regional Office
National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Reprinted from *Employment Service Review*, January, 1966

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FOR
FARM
WORKERS

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund

CO-OP BILL TOPS PENDING LEGISLATION

Congressional activity in programs affecting rural poor is inspiring some cautious optimism that long-overdue legislation – ranging from co-op funding to child labor laws – may finally go on the books.

Among the most promising Washington developments is the new Title VII in the omnibus OEO bill being worked over by a joint House-Senate committee as RURAL ADVANCE went to press. Title VII will establish a Community Economic Development division specifically designed to help co-ops get started and stay alive.

This has been a major NSF legislative goal. Executive Director Jim Pierce and Washington legislative liason John Wilson testified in support of the unprecedented CED which could revive moribund federal efforts to encourage the cooperative movement. Presently, OEO assistance to co-ops like the Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia (SAAV) has been limited to certain initial administrative costs.

Broad Aid Offered

The pending bill would provide all or part of program costs to establish and operate a farmers co-op, and to develop processing, purchasing and marketing programs. The precise mix of loans and grants has not been spelled out, but provisions are included for individual aid to poor farmers trying to survive on the land. These loans, limited to $3,500, could be used for farm improvements, seed, equipment, and to assist farmers' participation in co-ops. Non-agricultural enterprises to supplement small farm incomes also would be eligible for federal support.

The pressing need for immediate federal action was spelled out by Jim Pierce in Senate testimony. *The New York Times* quoted his warning that displacement of small tobacco farmers by machines is about to duplicate the devastating effect of cotton mechani-

(Continued on page 4)

rural advance

published by RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND of the NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND — *VOL. V NO. 2 WINTER 1971*

CANE WORKERS GET HEALTH CLINIC

A prescription of hope is being offered to the poor and sick of Louisiana's sugar cane country by the Southern Mutual Help Association (SMHA).

SMHA has opened a family health center in Franklin, St. Mary's Parish, where the average income of migrants and other farm workers is $2,600 a year and illness habitually goes untreated.

The center is an HEW-funded pilot project, the first of its kind in the state. Staffed by a full-time doctor and nurses, it will provide outpatient treatment along with outreach teams penetrating plantations where unnumbered sick are languishing. Rural people too proud to accept free treatment and too poor to pay standard $5 doctor's fees will be charged from 50¢ to $1.50 a visit. Cases requiring hospitalization will be referred to facilities in New Orleans.

Survey Preceded Grant

The HEW allocated $200,000 for the first year of a five-year program with additional funding on a year-to-year, apply-and-hope basis. Clinic approval followed an intensive medical survey of the area organized by Sister Anne Catherine, SMHA executive director and an RAF/NSF field representative. Among the findings was endemic malnutrition and worm infestation of children reaching an incredible 90 percent level during "barefoot" weather.

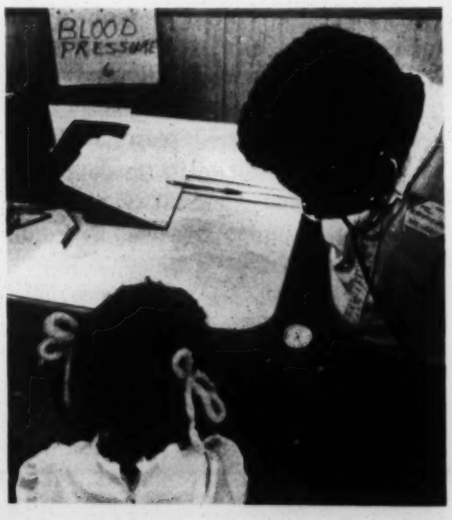
"We've rented a building once used by dentists but long abandoned," Sister Anne says. "So there were some minimal plumbing facilities and the like. However, we had to renovate extensively, set up a lab, and examining rooms. That left no money for needed X-ray equipment and other medical aids. We provide free drugs so funds have to be used sparingly to last out the year.

"Finding a doctor has been difficult, but we think we have one now. There is a nurse already on duty with special pediatric training enabling her to provide some services normally limited to a doctor. We want to set up health education and nutrition courses, to treat health problems in the broadest sense–housing, environment, food.

The Louisiana Climate

"Hopefully, we can get people to organize around health needs and go on to make other decisions about their life situations. Some plantations are quite the same as in slavery times and families live in utter isolation under

(Continued on page 4)



Ev-p.3 SW: do you see this?

NEW BEGINNINGS IN LOUISIANA

A new spirit is stirring in the sugarcane country of southern Louisiana. In a land where for generations change has seemed impossible, people are beginning to find self-esteem and hope.

Cane still dominates the countryside – its economy, politics, education, its human and inhuman relationships, even the quality of its justice. Cane still keeps the rich rich, and the poor frightened, divided, debt-ridden, and chained to the land in a condition little removed from slavery. Yet today things are not quite the same.

The driving force for change is a coalition of blacks and whites called the Southern Mutual Help Association. The word "mutual" is deeply felt; it is meant to take in a whole society of poor. Founded three years ago by a small group including a civil rights lawyer, a priest, a nun, the organizer of a poor people's credit union, and some venerable trade unionists, SMHA is the only private organization in the southern half of Louisiana with a biracial board of directors.

With moral and financial support from the Rural Advancement Fund, the Normandie Foundation, and the Alliance for Labor Action, SMHA has attracted large numbers of dedicated students from nearby and faraway universities who have come there to help and to learn.

Victory in Rabbit Hill

Little by little, people who have never had anything are learning that they can do something for themselves. For instance, there is Rabbit Hill, a ramshackle black satellite of Abbeville. Its 200 families (median income $1,800) are enjoying the flush of the first victory over authority they have ever experienced. For years, they had been resigned to their decaying houses and muddy streets. Then, spurred on by SMHA, they formed a Rabbit Hill

(continued on page 2)

rural advance

published by RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND of the NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND — VOL. V — NO. 1 — SUMMER 1971

FARM CO-OPS BREAKING NEW GROUND

The rich red-brown soil has been turned, the seeds are planted, and the air is filled with an excitement felt by everyone connected with the farmers' cooperatives in Halifax County, Virginia, and Burke County, Georgia. New ingredients are large new tractors, irrigation equipment, land in cultivation that has lain fallow for years, organic fertilizer. And there are demonstration plots where all kinds of experimentation is going on.

Vegetables, produced in huge quantities, are replacing the dwindling cotton and tobacco crops. Straightneck squash, bell peppers, cucumbers, beans, carrots, celery, tomatoes—to name a few. And markets? Prospective buyers are coming around from as far away as New York, Detroit, and even California. Some come from canneries and freezing plants; others seek sources of good fresh produce.

The combination office-warehouse-meeting rooms of the co-ops buzz with activity. Farmers coming to pick up supplies. Wives and young people dropping by to discuss arrangements for the hundreds of additional harvesters who will be needed at picking time. Experts from neighboring land grant colleges to test soil and make recommendations. All this activity is the culmination of months of careful planning by the co-op members.

Concentrated Effort

Substantial interest-free loans from the Rural Advancement Fund's special reserves set aside for this purpose have made possible this massive concentrated effort to build a vigorous, economically sound community to replace the dying one-crop system. RAF staff members, led by executive director James M. Pierce, have been on hand constantly to bring guidance and technical assistance.

In Burke County, largest and poorest county in Georgia, the Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative has fixed contracts with pickling, canning, and freezing plants. More than 2,000 acres of vegetables have been planted, and early crops were ready for harvesting by late May.

In Halifax County, the Southern Agricultural Association of Virginia (SAAV) is concentrating on vegetables for the fresh market. Close to 1,000 acres have been planted. Delayed by wet weather, the farmers got back on schedule by working nights under floodlights attached to their tractors.

Careful cost records are being kept, and an experimental farm will test a variety of vegetables and organic methods.

Nat'l Share Cropper

FARM LABOR NEWS

THE FLORIDA CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURAL LABOR met March 27 in Belle Glade with a representative group of 150 present, including many migrants. James Pierce spoke on the need for farm workers to organize to achieve the dignity and wages to which they are entitled. The meeting also dealt with housing, sanitation, job security, food needs, and health. It was organized with help from Stanley Hamilton, NSF's special representative for farm labor in Florida.

A PILOT MIGRANT PROJECT, aided by an RAF loan, is developing a cooperative association of farm workers in the East Coast migrant stream, in an attempt to establish wage standards and improved conditions. William H. Johnson, NSF Board member and director of the Community Action Migrant Program, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, is working closely with the program.

SENATOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON, III, new chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, has been urged by an NSF delegation to hold field hearings on the East Coast to deal with the migrant stream in that area.

THE UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE has announced that its dispute with the Teamsters has been resolved, with UFWOC granted jurisdiction over the field workers. Accordingly, UFWOC has discontinued the boycott of Teamsters union lettuce. The boycott of nonunion lettuce continues, and consumers are asked to buy only lettuce in boxes bearing the Aztec Eagle union label. UFWOC also urges avoidance of strawberries in unmarked boxes, to protect the rights of workers at Naturite. This company, long in dispute with the union, now ships in boxes without a grower's name.

BOOK SPECIALS

(Books reviewed in this issue may be purchased from RAF at special discount prices listed. Send order with check to Rural Advancement Fund, 112 East 19th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.)

BORN TO REBEL.

An Autobiography.
By Benjamin E. Mays
Illustrated. 380 pp.
Charles Scribner's Sons. $10
(RAF Price $6.50)
Reviewed by Fay Bennett.

The life of Benjamin E. Mays is one of unswerving dedication to breaking down the barriers that keep people from understanding each other and from realizing their fullest potential. It is a continuous encounter with people and institutions in the search to open doors, to develop dialogues, to challenge people to strive for the highest goals.

Born near Greenwood, South Carolina, son of a poor cotton farmer, Mays credits his mother with having early inculcated in him a feeling of self-worth, so that he grew up believing he was "somebody" despite the riding of the Klan, the lynchings, the brutality and humiliation which constantly hung over black people.

Though his father wanted him to stay at home to help with the farming, young Mays was determined to get an education. With interruptions for work to earn tuition and living expenses, he studied at State College in South Carolina, Virginia Union, Bates, and the University of Chicago where he earned his doctorate in theology.

Although he played an important role in ecumenical and interracial religious movements, it was as an educator, and more particularly as president of Morehouse College, that Dr. Mays made his greatest impact. With the skill, determination, and perseverance which he brought to everything he did, he changed Morehouse in his 27 years there from a poor, insignificant college to a first-rate institution whose graduates include scholars and leaders known throughout the land. He strove for excellence himself and encouraged it in his students and faculty.

Here is the story of a wise and good man, a persistent and persuasive man, a man of deep faith. The National Sharecroppers Fund is fortunate indeed to have such a man at its helm in the critical years ahead.

(More reviews on pages 2 and 4)

NEW NSF OFFICERS CHOSEN

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays of Atlanta, distinguished scholar, educator, and champion of human rights, has been elected chairman of the National Sharecroppers Fund, it has been announced by Dr. Shirley E. Greene, executive committee chairman. Dr. Mays had previously served as secretary-treasurer.

For 27 years president of Morehouse College and currently president of Atlanta's Board of Education, Dr. Mays has carried on a lifelong battle for justice and equality. His recently published autobiography, "Born to Rebel", is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

Long associated with movements to help the rural poor, he was co-chairman of the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition and was a member of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor.

Dr. Mays succeeds former NSF chairman Frank McCallister, whose untimely death on October 21, 1970, cut short an active career of service in the cause of world peace and the rights of the oppressed. Associated with NSF since its inception, Mr. McCallister at the time of his death was director of Roosevelt University's Labor Education Division.

Vera Rony, coordinator of the Equal Opportunity Program at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, has been chosen to succeed Dr. Mays as secretary-treasurer, and Rev. A. J. McKnight of Lafayette, La., director of the Southern Cooperative Development Fund, has been named a vice-chairman. A. Philip Randolph, president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the AFL-CIO executive council, continues as a vice-chairman.

LOUISIANA CLINIC IS CROWDED

FRANKLIN, La. – Business is good – almost too good – at the family health clinic here.

Since it was opened a few months ago by the Southern Mutual Help Association (SMHA), the rural poor of St. Mary's Parish have crowded the waiting room seeking long-overdue medical and dental attention. The reaction is a measure of the need in southeastern Louisiana where the average farm worker's income is $2,600 and decent health care is a luxury few can afford.

"We have too many patients and not enough staff," says Sister Anne Catherine, SMHA executive director and RAF field representative. "On one recent day, 90 persons came to the clinic. Our dentist says that 99 percent of them had never been to a dentist before and their troubles were far advanced. Most people our doctor sees have ailments that have worsened over many, many years when no one cared."

Clinic administrator Rose Mae Broussard says that both doctor and dentist find rampant malnutrition in most patients. Children are automatically treated for parasites, since worm infestation is endemic to shack living on sugarcane plantations. Yet the Department of Agriculture last year denied a pay raise to plantation workers earning $1.50 an hour at the same time that hundreds of thousands of dollars in price-support subsidies were being paid to owners.

Money the Key

The Rural Advancement Fund has been assisting SMHA to attack generations of neglect that has undermined black lives physically, educationally, and vocationally. The members of SMHA, both black and white, are struggling against enormous odds to make state and federal agencies responsive to local need.

(continued on page 4)

rural advance

published by RURAL ADVANCEMENT FUND of the NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND VOL. VI NO. 1 SUMMER 1972

EASTERN GEORGIA CO-OP REPORTS PROGRESS

WAYNESBORO, Ga. – The first organic crop in Burke County history is on its way to market, and the outlook for profit is so good that six or eight members of the Eastern Georgia Farmers Cooperative may begin to plant organic crops later this year instead of waiting until 1973.

The experiment in organic farming began this spring on 30 acres of EGFC leased land. Early in June, three truckloads of vegetables were shipped to market. The shipment included 94 bushels of tomatoes, 50 to 60 pounds per bushel, grown on 1.3 acres of land. The price paid for the tomatoes was $8.70 for 30 pounds.

The co-op is also growing cabbage, carrots, spinach, and other vegetables, both for sale on the organic market and to demonstrate new techniques to the 215 co-op members. Don Blood, RAF field coordinator who works closely with the local farmers, had studied the results of organic production last year at the RAF-assisted co-op in Halifax County, Virginia, in preparation for the Georgia experiment. EGFC is using organic seaweed-based fertilizer which not only fertilizes but functions as a powerful nontoxic insect deterrent.

"Everybody here is real enthusiastic about the new possibilities in organic production," Blood reports. "At the same time, the co-op is going ahead with its normal production of peas, squash, and cucumber for the canneries. Farmers have contracted to plant about 2,300 acres, and some of them are tripling last year's output. The co-op has demonstrated that it can make a real difference to struggling farmers."

Production and Income Up

Increased production by co-op members has meant more jobs, especially for young people, in the county.

Working with the Burke County farmers this year is a new RAF field representative, Ed Frey, a former VISTA volunteer. He came to a co-op that three years ago was little more than a hope among farmers trapped in the poverty cycle of cotton and debt. Now, farm incomes are rising. With RAF assistance, the co-op has purchased tractors, harvesters, and irrigation equipment. It has constructed a metal warehouse at its headquarters outside Waynesboro which is the beginning of a much needed processing plant. It will cost $110,000 to complete the plant where both organic and regular crops can be frozen and packaged. This will eliminate middleman expenses and reduce the risks inherent in fresh vegetable production.

Tenants Outlook

Anthony Henry, *Director*
G. Ike Okoh, *Editor*

NATIONWIDE TENANTS RIGHTS PROGRAM

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE 711-14th Street, N.W., Suite 711, Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 347-3358

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 4 AUGUST 1969

Who Says Things Are Changing In Detroit?

"I don't," says Ron Scott.

The former Detroit Chapter Defense Minister of the Panthers, Ron Scott, is leading some 2,000 families in a successful rent strike which has resulted in $100,000 back rent being withheld in escrow. Scott is the Chairman of the Jeffries Action Committee and a leader of the citywide rent strikers.

The Citywide rent strike in Detroit is being carried on in seven of eight Public Housing Projects there. According to Ron Scott who is also a member of the Board of Tenants Affairs, the barracks style Public Housing in Detroit is miserable and quickly becoming delapidated. "We had to go on strike in February this year because of the increase in rent of about an average of $10 a month in the Jeffries Public Housing Project," stated Ron Scott.

* * * *

The striking tenants also claim that the Housing Authority delayed the implementation of a new State law which provided for the setting up of "Tenants Affairs Board." The Tenants Affairs Board which is composed of 16 tenants, has 8 members appointed by the Mayor and 8 elected by the tenants. Ron Scott told NTRP Director, Tony Henry, during his visit to Detroit on June 27th, that the Housing Authority delayed the setting up of the Tenants Board in order to effect rent increase before setting up the board. The board, however, has veto over decisions by the Public Housing Authority.

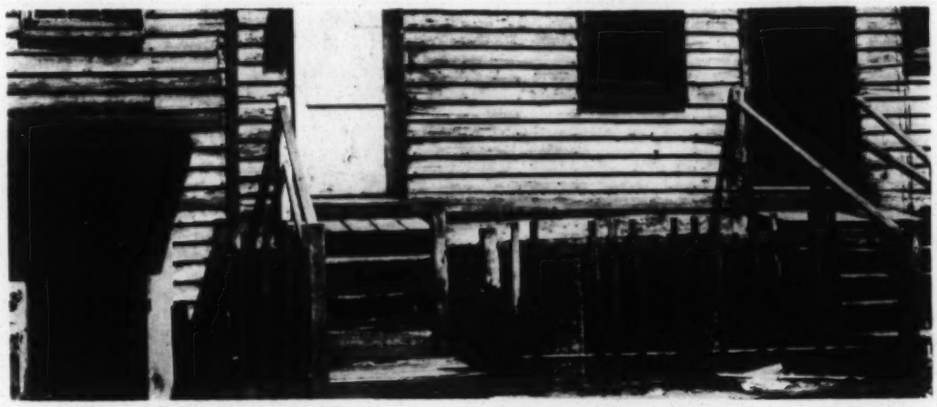
* * * *

Another game in the rent increase involved the Detroit Welfare Department. The Welfare Department had claimed that they had no money to increase general welfare payments, but immediately increased welfare payments to the amount of the increase in rent, which goes directly to the Public Housing Authority.

Scott also said that Senior Citizens

(Continued on page 2)

BEAUTIFUL AMERICA?



A Battle At New Orleans

The New Orleans 8,000 members strong tenants union and the Welfare recipients there will be holding a mass demonstration at Louisiana's capital of Baton Rouge on August 5th, 1969.

The union's president, Shirley Lampton, who will be leading the demonstration said that at least 1,000 tenants, most of whom are welfare recipients, have had their welfare payments reduced for the month of July by 42 percent.

* * *

Mrs. Lampton added that the Department of Welfare in Baton Rouge has announced that welfare payments will be reduced in August by 52.8 percent.

The maximum welfare payment in Louisiana, it should be pointed out, is $163 per month.

Lampton stated that the demonstration is planned to draw the attention of the authorities concerned to the poor condition the welfare recipients are in.

Meanwhile the New Orleans Housing Authority has allowed those welfare recipients whose payments have been cut to not pay rents until the differences in the payments have been reconciled.

* * *

The struggle going on in New Orleans might not get the press coverage that Andy Jackson's and Jean Lafeet's little shenanigans with the Red Coats got, but which has more significance to organized tenants.

The battle lines in this struggle are clearly drawn. The Lousiana Welfare Commission has made an aggressive act upon its welfare recipients. Its declaration to reduce their welfare payments poses a serious threat to their livelihood. The New Orleans Housing Authority was an equal partner with the welfare commission in this struggle against the New Orleans Tenant Union and the New Orleans Welfare Rights Organization, until its offices were invaded by fifty determined demonstrators of the 8,000 members of the tenant union, in April this year.

* * *

Mr. J. Gilbert Schieb, the director of the local housing authority, had previously refused to talk with any member of the tenant union or the welfare rights organization.

He had refused to listen to their demands that if welfare payments were reduced by 27 percent, as the Welfare Commission was asking for, then rents should be reduced by the same proportion. Yet during the confrontation in his offices, he revealed that the Housing Authority was willing to consider rent reduction within their regular schedule, but said that minimum rent payments could not be reduced because there was no provision for that in their contract with HUD.

NOW IT'S "RENT STRIKES"

It used to be that if a tenant failed to pay his rent, the landlord had him evicted.

Now, in city after city, a new pattern is emerging. Tenants protesting deteriorating services and rising rents are banding together, holding back all or part of their rents and taking the landlord to court.

Poor blacks are involved—and middle-income whites.

The problem-ridden housing industry, beset by inflation and the squeeze on money, now is facing another threat from apartment dwellers—rent strikes.

As the housing shortage worsens, tenants in many cities are banding together to demand better living conditions and fight rent increases. To enforce these demands, they often refuse to pay rent.

When landlords try to evict the protesting tenants or force them to pay, the tenants have been winning a surprising number of cases.

Sometimes, State and local agencies support the tenants. Laws are being rewritten to give legal sanction to rent strikes under certain conditions, usually when there are housing-code violations. About 15 States have laws providing for a form of rent withholding or rent strikes.

Tenant unions are being organized to run the strikes and to bargain with the landlords. A National Tenants Organization has been formed. It claims 85 member groups in 38 cities, and more ready to join. A majority of the groups involve low-income tenants, but a growing number include middle-income organizations.

A recent survey showed that, so far this year, tenant unions have acted on 67 occasions in 29 cities. Nearly 1 in 4 of these actions was taken by middle-income groups.

A voice in management. Some organizations are demanding tenant participation in management—in private and public housing. They seek control over such things as maintenance, operating rules and selection of new tenants. One result is that a number of landlords are said to be moving out of inner-city operations.

Typical of the middle-income groups organized in disputes over rents is the Tiber Island-Carrollsburg Square Tenant Council, Inc., formed this year in Washington, D. C., after a rent increase.

Its members are occupants of new apartments—mostly less than 4 years old—in the Southwest section of the city, an area being advertised as a showcase for urban renewal in the nation's capital. A majority of the tenants are college graduates. Many help to run federal social-welfare programs.

The rent strike developed with the tenants withholding and placing in an escrow account the amount of the increase they were challenging. Several lawsuits followed, mainly around the issue of whether the landlord—Frederick W. Berens Sales, Inc.—had obtained necessary Federal Housing Administration approval for the increases and whether the increases exceeded the limits set for profits on properties with FHA-guaranteed mortgages. This still is in dispute.

Fighting inflation. Charles W. Sherren, vice president in charge of property management for Berens, one of the major management firms in Washington, says:

"I think housing is where the average person comes face to face with inflation in its most striking form—with a rent increase. Organizing this way is the easiest way for them to fight inflation."

—USN&WR Photo

Anthony R. Henry, of National Tenants Organization, says subsidies for private housing are necessary. Organization claims 85 member groups in 38 cities.

Frequently, however, the issue boils down to one question. The landlord, in either private or public housing, says he can't make necessary repairs without increasing rents. The tenant says he can barely afford present rates. In many cases, officials say, both are correct.

In St. Louis, for example, 1,000 families have withheld rents since February and brought the public-housing authority to the verge of bankruptcy. The strike was triggered by a rent hike, but tenants also are protesting broken windows, dirt, bad wiring, rats—generally unfit living conditions.

Even with the $400,000 the strikers have put into an escrow fund, officials say they couldn't make repairs. To do so, they contend, they must raise rents. Strikers say they can't pay higher rents. In most St. Louis public housing, 50 per cent or more of the tenants are on welfare. One outgrowth of the rent strike in St. Louis has been the ouster of the top public-housing official.

Range of complaints. A rent strike in Muskegon Heights, Mich., last year resulted in tenants' getting some voice in the selection of a majority of the public-housing authority. The city of 25,000 has a 52 per cent black population. East Park Manor is a 200-unit public-housing project.

In 1967, the tenants conducted a seven-month rent strike over a variety of complaints about living conditions and operating rules. It was settled with an agreement recognizing the East Park Manor Tenants' Organization, providing a new rent scale, grievance procedures and an agreement on repairs.

A year later, another strike began. Tenants complained that only a few repairs had been made. The housing authority threatened to put 89 families in jail.

At the last minute, the mayor reached an agreement with the strikers calling for the ouster of three of the five public-housing commissioners. The tenant group then was given authority to help select new commissioners.

In Philadelphia, the housing authority recently signed a formal agreement with tenant groups representing two large projects. This gives the tenants a major role in managing the projects, including selection of the employes, setting rent schedules and planning improvements.

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NOW IT'S "RENT STRIKES" BY APARTMENT DWELLERS

Middle-income tenants of these modern apartments in Washington, D. C., called protest strike after rents were raised. Such strikes are spreading around country.

The official policy of the Department of Housing and Urban Development is to give public-housing tenants a larger role in management.

"A tenant council can be a big help to a landlord, either public or private, if he learns to get along with it," says Richard Van Dusen, Under Secretary of HUD. "There is a crying need for competent management of multifamily housing, and the tenants can help provide it."

One who disagrees with Mr. Van Dusen is Albert Chaiken, former owner of the Trenton Park apartments in Washington's Southeast section. As a result of his dealings with a tenant union and a rent strike, he is disposing of all his holdings in the District of Columbia.

"The tenants came up with the demand that they have a say in the selection of maintenance men, janitors and the like, and help decide who can live there," says Mr. Chaiken. "In any business I ever heard of, the man who takes the risks decides how it is to be run. I'm not going to bargain with anyone about that. The District is in a revolution, and I can't fight a revolution."

Trenton Park is a complex of 160 apartment units, completed in 1962. With a swimming pool, playground and other facilities, it was occupied originally by middle-income whites.

In 1964, the District Government enacted an open-housing ordinance. At that time, the Southeast area was rapidly becoming predominantly Negro. Within less than 18 months, Trenton Park became almost entirely black.

Al Gross, 30, a college graduate, was one of the blacks who moved into Trenton Park with his wife and one child in 1965. He is president of the Trenton Park Tenants Council and is employed in the personnel-training department of United Air Lines. He pays $139 a month, plus utility charges, for a two-bedroom apartment.

Eroded standards. "In the beginning, the landlord was very selective about whom he let in," says Mr. Gross. "You had to put up a $100 deposit. They checked credit references, size of the family and so forth. But as the whites moved out, rents were increased for the blacks who replaced them. In some cases, very large families moved in."

Mr. Chaiken says:

"We reached the point where we couldn't get enough people to meet the criteria we had set. The landlord has to meet his mortgage payments. He can't sit around and wait for the right kind of people to show up.

"So, rather than stay vacant, we had to lower our criteria."

The rent increases were necessary, says Mr. Chaiken, because of increasing taxes and other expenses.

"For two or three years we had these higher rents, with 99 per cent occupancy," says Mr. Gross. "It was overcrowded. There were too many children. The landlord wasn't keeping the place up. It was slipping into a slum."

Says Mr. Chaiken:

"There was very much vandalism. The problem here was a lack of regard for property on the part of certain tenants which created a situation where we couldn't keep up the maintenance on a normal operating basis."

When Mr. Chaiken asked for help in the maintenance, the tenant council was formed in the spring of 1968. Within months, a rent strike began. By autumn, Mr. Chaiken had turned the property over to the FHA, as court proceedings dragged on.

"At first, we weren't really asking very much," says Mr. Gross. "We wanted light fixtures replaced, the grass cut, janitorial services, the playground kept up, broken windows fixed, plumbing repairs—that sort of thing."

Now, even with the federal agency beginning to make repairs, the tenants are not willing to settle for that. Says Mr. Gross:

"We are going to have an agreement that gives us some say in running the apartments. We want to be involved in who comes in. We don't want to let in just anybody and let it become rundown again."

Forced abandonment? Mr. Chaiken says he is typical of many landlords who either are moving out of rental operations in inner cities or plan to get out when they can.

This is a major criticism of the rent strikes—that by demanding costly repairs they sometimes force the owner to abandon his property. This usually results in less available housing and makes the housing shortage worse.

"There is a good deal of money to be made in slum housing," says Anthony R. Henry, executive director of the National Tenants Organization, "but not if you keep the property up. The money can be made without raising rents if you let the maintenance go. If anyone complained in the past, they were evicted. Now, it doesn't always work out that way.

"I don't believe you can profitably operate low-income housing, keep it in proper condition and charge reasonable rents without some sort of subsidy. For this reason, we are not encouraging tenant unions to take over housing. They don't have the money to make major repairs any more than the former landlord did. The economics don't change."

A long-range goal of NTO, says Mr. Henry, "is to force the federal, State or local government to take over housing for low and middle-income families where the landlords have failed to operate it properly, or subsidize someone who will operate it properly."

Occupants of Trenton Park apartments in Washington are demanding a voice in management. Former owner Albert Chaiken, below, says the "man who takes the risk" should make decisions. He has turned units back to FHA.

—USN&WR Photos

Al Gross, of Trenton Park Tenants Council, says rents went up when blacks replaced whites, repairs were ignored and the project "was slipping into a slum."

Although tenant unions began mainly in the East and Midwest, chiefly in New York and Chicago, Mr. Henry says they now are springing up all across the country. The membership is primarily Negro, but there are a good many white members—both poor and middle income.

Why is all this happening now?

"It didn't come about before because most people didn't have access to lawyers," says Mr. Van Dusen of HUD. "Now, the poor have access to first-class legal talent, and there is a new look being taken at the landlord-tenant relationship in courts all across the country."

The lawyers, mostly, are provided by the Neighborhood Legal Services, sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Some come from legal-aid activities of local bar associations.

Even when the laws do not specifically authorize rent strikes, they can be made to work.

There is no such law in Washington, D. C. However, a series of favorable court decisions have, in effect, legalized the practice and ruled out retaliatory evictions. Similar decisions are being handed down in other areas.

Playing for time. Even when the courts are not sympathetic, a rent strike can be effective, simply by making use of the delays built into court processes.

"What happens is that the tenants make the law work for them instead of against them," says Mr. Henry.

"The landlord used to say, 'If you don't like it, take it to court,' and most people would find it too costly. Now, tenant groups are dragging the court action out and making it too slow and costly for the landlord, who isn't collecting any rents while the court action goes on."

Rent withholding and rent strikes are not the same thing.

Rent withholding is done by Government agencies. For example, city officials declare a welfare recipient's housing unfit. Welfare officials then withhold his shelter allowance until the building is brought up to standard. Meanwhile, the tenant may not be evicted.

In a rent strike, tenants simply withhold the rent. Usually, it is held in some kind of escrow fund. This fund may be controlled by the tenants, by the courts or by some other agency. If the tenant union is energetic and well organized, little is lost. If the fund is loosely run, the rents may disappear.

Several States, including New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan and Connecticut, have laws which permit the courts to place a building in control of a receiver—a city agency, nonprofit group, tenant council or some other party. The receiver then has first claim on all rents until repairs are made.

Bargaining pressure. But, increasingly, the demands of tenants are going beyond merely a decent place to live. They want to bargain about rents, help make decisions on management of properties and even have a check-off system for tenant-union dues as a part of rent payments.

With inflation continuing and housing shortages worsening, many landlords and Government officials agree with Mr. Henry that tenant unions are bound to increase in the years ahead. More and more, landlords will be obliged to bargain with tenants over rents and living conditions just as other businessmen bargain with workers over wages and working conditions.

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U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

THE COMPLETE NEWS MAGAZINE

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Tenants Outlook

Anthony Henry
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NATIONAL TENANTS ORGANIZATION

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VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1 JANUARY 1970

CONGRESS LIMITS P.H. RENTS TO 25%

The National Tenants Organization applauds the inclusion of the hard fought "Brooke amendment" into the 1969 housing act. We are happy to see the bill pass with the following provisions aimed at helping poor tenants.

The Conference Report No. 91-740 Summarizes the Bill as follows:

The Senate bill contained a provision not in the House amendment adding a new section 24 to the U.S. Housing Act of 1937 authorizing up to $75 million per year in contracts for annual rental assistance payments to public housing agencies to cover the amount by which rental charges allocated to a unit exceed 25 percent of the tenant's income and to provide improved operating and maintenance services.

Both the Senate (sec. 206(a)) and House (sec. 210(a)) bills also contained a provision making it clear that the Secretary of HUD has authority to fix the amount of annual contributions in excess of debt service requirements of the project so long as the fixed contribution does not exceed the statutory annual maximum.

The Conference substitute retains the basic concept of section 211 of the Senate bill by generally limiting rents that may be charged public housing tenants to no more than 25 percent of their income. It provides Federal funds to cover the amount by which the appropriate rental charges exceed 25 percent of the income of the tenant and to cover the cost of adequate operating and maintenance services.

The conferees were concerned, however, that in a number of jurisdictions the benefits of limiting the rent which may be charged a tenant of public housing would not insure to those tenants receiving public welfare assistance, but be captured by the public agencies administering the programs of assistance to these families.

The conferees realize the impracticality of attempting to provide through additional public housing subsidies the funding needed to make adequate the welfare payments provided by the various States. The conferees, therefore, have made clear that the requirement that the rents fixed by public housing agencies may not exceed one-fourth of a tenant's income shall not apply in any case in which the Secretary of HUD determines that limiting the rent of any tenant, or class of tenants, will result in a reduction in the amount of welfare assistance which would otherwise be provided to such tenant, or class of tenants, by the public agency.

The conferees are disturbed by the growing practice of stretching an inadequate welfare budget by placing in public housing increasing numbers of families who cannot pay even the operating costs of the unit they occupy. The conferees are hopeful that within the context of the welfare program, some means can be found to provide as much support for a welfare family in public housing as would be provided for that family in private housing. Accordingly, the Secretaries

(continued on page two)

Winston-Salem — The Southern Movement

By Ed Darden

"I call on you all to come with me and stand by me, and we will call the terribliest rent strike this city has ever known, we'll call it all over North Carolina if necessary."

These are the words of Mr. Charles Smith one of the four representatives from the National Tenants Organization Southern Region. Charles "Smitty" Smith is a Martin Luther King kind of Southerner. He came to the N.T.O. convention table banging and preaching and left as an elected representative and more dedicated to the struggle for tenants rights.

As a part of Winston-Salem, N.C.'s preparation for Housing Action Day (H.A.D.) Mr. Smith called a city-wide rally to both dramatize the problem of the poor and to set the stage for the beginning of a city-wide organization. This new group would be made up of poor people and aided by those from white and black people who feel the need of the Poor and have resources to contribute. In response to a request from Mr. Smith for a National representative, Ed Darden, N.T.O. Program Direcotr was sent to address the meeting.

Early Monday evening, December 8, 1969, some one hundred and twenty (120) persons crowded the basement of St. James A.M.E. Church. The array of folks who came out to talk about housing ranged to include agency workers and directors, several area ministers, local businessmen, the Black Panthers, lawyers, and social workers . . . However, over half of the total crowd were poor tenants, both Black and White, from public and private housing who came seeking relief from their exploitation.

(continued on page three)

TENANTS BACK PANTHER RIGHTS

Lake Meadows Residents' Council, Chicago, Illinois plans to join with other Chicago Organizations to voice disapproval of what appears to be the murder or assassination of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton. Council Chairman, Bill Boone says, "This is not to say that we believe in the political philosophy of Fred Hampton or the Black Panthers. This is to say that Fred Hampton — like Dr. Martin Luther King — like any other Black man or woman — has the right **and the obligation** to speak out and defend themselves, as well as to espouse their philosophy or beliefs."

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The National Tenants Organization officially came into being at its first national convention in October of 1969, in St. Louis, Missouri. The N.T.O. is national in scope, being made up of local tenants groups from across the country. The local affiliates of N.T.O. contain a cross section of American tenants, in public and private housing, from low, to moderate and middle income.

The National Tenants Organization is a democratically governed body, Policy decisions are made by its Executive Board, which is composed of national and regional officers elected at its National Convention. In order to qualify for affiliation with N.T.O., a local tenants group must be democratically governed, composed of tenants, engaged in the organizing of tenants to improve housing and have at least ten (10) active members.

The National Tenants Organization serves as a direct communication link between local tenants groups across the nation. Thus it contributes to an atmosphere where tenants, through communications with their counterparts in other areas, are encouraged in their efforts and benefit from the experiences and resources of their fellow tenants.

In addition, the N.T.O. has been able to provide tenants direct access to the top policy makers of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This link automatically places tenants in a position to affect the decisions that affect their lives. The underlying goal and motivation force behind the N.T.O. is the promotion and furtherance of the social, political, and economic rights of all poor and exploited tenants in the United States and her possessions.

The National Tenants Organization serves as a resource center for information, technical assistance, and tenant activities coordination by handling questions, inquires, and problems related to housing and tenants rights. Basic to this role is the Tenants Outlook, the official publication of the N.T.O. The Tenants Outlook gives both detailed analysis of the tenant-housing situation as well as full coverage of activities on the local level across the country.

The National Tenants Organization hopes to train and place tenant organizers in their home communities. It also seeks to develop models for organization and strategies for action by local tenant groups, not only for the immediate future, but for years to come. Although a new type of organization; the activities of the National Tenants Organization are having and will continue to have a tremendous affect on the future of housing and tenants in the United States.

JSH/2/70

Tenants Outlook

Anthony Henry
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Edward Darden
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VOLUME 2, NUMBER 2 FEBRUARY 1970

ANOTHER CRISIS IN ST. LOUIS

10,000 Without Heat, Water, Gas

About two hundred years ago or slightly more an elderly printer, who wrote for Poor Richard's Almanac, Ben Franklin wrote, "for want of a nail the shoe was lost, for want of a shoe the horse was lost," and so forth until a great battle was lost because somebody neglected something as minor as a nail.

In St. Louis, a great city on the Mississippi River, the folks either haven't gotten around to reading Poor Richard or didn't understand what he was talking about. In St. Louis a situation reached crisis state when something as minor as a few repairs were neglected.

During the recent cold spell that sent temperatures below zero in some parts of the country, the ten thousand tenants of the Pruitt-Igoe public housing development in St. Louis were without heat, water and electricity.

The cause of the utilities breakdown has been traced to the near-zero temperature that the city was experiencing.

William H. Schawacker, the director of housing for the St. Louis Housing Authority, is reported to have said that the problem began when water pipes that were frozen during the near zero temperature began to thaw. The pipes burst and the water flooded the apartments halls and stairwells. The water then seeped into electrical transformers, shorting systems and leaving the residents without power for light or heat.

Mr. Schawacker understandably called the situation "a real emergency" and added that "we're never had anything to this extent before." Another housing official is reported to have termed the situation "a real madhouse", as ten thousand men, women and children found their homes; halls and stairwells covered with layers of ice that were several inches thick and their windows and air vents clothed in sheets of frozen water.

An underlying reason for the utilities failure is the condition of the 33 buildings that make up the complex. They were long in need of repairs. Thousands of broken windows in the buildings were not fixed, therefore the cold was allowed to get into the apartments utility-rooms where the damage began. Another significent reason is the poor construction of the apartment complex itself.

Clarence Swarm, tenant chairman of the Authority's board of commissioners, while supervising the emergency repairs to the buildings' utilities, said to the press, "We are seeing the results of poor workmanship in the initial construction."

Arthur J. Kennedy, the local Model Cities director, has blamed the federal government for "creating this mess and then walking away from it." He explained by saying that: "They haven't provided the money we need to make these places livable." "They crowd thousands into a small area and leave it".

The federal government did respond to the crisis as did local groups that contributed blankets, candles and other articles necessary for the emergency survival of the ten thousand people

(continued on page three)

Harlem, Florida Tenants Fight For Tenant Control

By JOHN HAMPTON

The Harlem Tenants' Association, Harlem, Florida has won the first round in its' fight for tenant controlled Housing. As a result of a two month old rent strike against the Clewiston Authority, the Harlem Tenants' Association has been offered the entire Harlem Housing complex of 200 shacks.

Having its roots in the inhuman living conditions Harlem, Fla. Tenants were forced to endure, for example, no indoor plumbing, no hot water, uninsulated tin roofs and exposed electrical wiring. The HTA rent strike was sparked by a November 1st rent increase of $1.75.

The offer by the Clewiston Housing Authority to deed the entire Harlem Housing complex over to the Harlem Tenants' Association took place on December 31, 1969.

The Harlem housing complex, formerly owned by the U. S. Sugar Co., was given to the City of Clewiston in November, 1968.

In keeping with the wishes of U. S. Sugar, the Harlem Housing complex is to be used for low-cost rental hous-

(continued on page three)

SQUAT IN ! ! SQUAT IN ! ! SQUAT IN ! !

Ted Parrish was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced for his activities during a Squat-in in Boston, Mass. When first arrested he faced a possible 2 year period in jail. But, because of the tremendous support he received from the people of his community actively working for his freedom, Ted Parrish has been released and continues his work fighting the oppressors of poor and exploited peoples.

During the short period he did spend in the Charles Street Jail he wrote two letters. The first—**The Housing Crisis and Squat-Ins** will appear in a 3 part series. The second—**Community Response to Oppression** will also oppear. The first of these installments begins on the back page of this issue.

File

National Tenants Organization, Inc.

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March 17, 1970

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Resource and Development
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

This is a letter of introduction to the National Tenants Organization. The NTO is a new organization; founded at its first convention in October of 1969. Enclosed, you will find a variety of material telling of the NTO's activities, policy-making structures and constituency. Hopefully, this material will give you a clear indication of the kind of things the NTO is attempting to do in the area of tenant organizing and tenant rights.

For purposes of the NTO's internal structure, we have divided the country into four regions: Eastern, Midwestern, Western and Southern. In each of these regions, the NTO tailors its programs and activities to meet the needs created by varying tenant and housing problems. Presently, we are in the process of organizing the first NTO Southern Regional Conference to be held May 15th - 17th, 1970, in Nashville, Tennessee. We hope to bring together a representative cross-section of Southern tenants or organizations, tenant and community organizers and persons generally interested in housing and tenant problems.

To date, the National Tenants Organization has operated on a small one year grant of $50,00 from the American Friends Service Committee. While the A.F.S.C. grant has been most helpful, it has not provided enough funds for activities beyond the normal operation of our headquarters office in Washington.

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It is estimated that a successful Southern Regional Conference will cost close to $2,000. Mr. John Lewis suggested that we contact you in the hope that the Southern Regional Council might be able to provide half of this sum. Any assistance you can provide will be greatly appreciated. Don't hesitate to contact me if you need further or more detailed information.

Yours in the struggle,

John S. Hampton

John S. Hampton
Associate for Local Affairs

cc: Mr. John Lewis, Director
The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
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encls.

Tenants Outlook

Anthony Henry
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VOLUME 2, NUMBER 3 — MARCH 1970

HUD PROPOSES DRASTIC CHANGES IN P.H.

A draft being circulated by HUD for the 1970 Housing Act proposes drastic changes in the low rent public housing program. If adopted as law, the proposal would raise public housing rents, making them too high for many tenants to pay and would gradually turn public housing over to private groups.

A copy of the draft that the National Tenants Organization obtained through privileged sources proposes the elimination of the present subsidy of up to $120 per apartment per year for the handicapped, the elderly, very large families and families of very low income. It proposes using the "Brooke Amendment" subsidies to take care of those problems, but HUD has refused to use the money provided by the Brooke Amendment to provide full subsidies for this and next year.

Subsections 9(b) and (c) of the draft legislation require that rents be fixed on a uniform national basis in the low income housing program. "A basic rental charge would be established for each dwelling unit in an amount equal to the operating expenses (excluding debt service charge) attributable to the dwelling unit."

Rents would be either the operating expenses for the apartment or between 20 and 25% of income, *whichever is higher!* The proposed legislation states: "The monthly rental charged the tenant would be *the greater of**: (1) the basic rental charge or; (2) the amount determined by adding 20 percent of that portion of the tenant's income which is less than 40 per cent of the poverty income level for the area, as determined by the Secretary, and 25 per cent of that portion of the tenant's income which exceeds that level. The monthly rental charged the tenant could not, however, exceed a fair market rental based on the actual cost of providing the dwelling unit including the debt service charge attributable to the unit."

The legislation would not provide for the many exemptions, in determining income for rent purposes, that most local housing authorities now allow. "Subsection 9(d) would provide that in determining income for purposes of eligibility and determining the 'tenant's income contribution' under this section and the 'homeowner's income contribution' under the new section 10 homeownership program, income from

(Continued on Page Three)

HOMEBUILDERS TAKE STAND TO SUPPORT N.T.O.

By Hulen Hill, Houston, Texas

The National Homebuilders Association met in Houston, in January, at their convention. They had a workshop on Low Income Housing.

Members of the local tenant association contacted Marcy Hubbard of San Antonio and Jesse Gray, chairman of the National Tenants Organization, with the idea of getting some of the tenant organization representatives into the workshop to express the views of the National Tenants Organization, since these are the people the plans and priorities will affect. Marcy Hubbard came to Houston immediately and plans were set into motion for getting support from other groups and organizations of the local Black and Brown Communities.

The organizers found that there was

(Continued on Page Three)

STUDENT CONFERENCE ISSUE: A BROAD BASED HOUSING STRUGGLE

"The objective of the present system is to polarize Black against white, so that it will be so much easier for Agnew to walk down the middle." "The Nixon administration has decided that the poor are no special class in the country. The government at this stage is saying to them 'we don't give a damn about you.'"

These quotes from Jesse Gray, N.T.O. chairman at the first national "Conference on Students and the Tenants Rights Movement" brought enthusiastic applause. The conference drew over 200 students from about 35 cities, coast to coast, to the campus of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. A delegation from Canada broadened the meeting to an international scope.

The conference was chaired by Peter Denton, student and organizer of the Ann Arbor Tenants Union, (the Ann Arbor Tenants last year held a $150,000 escrow account for the 2,000 people in the union on rent strike.) Workshops filled the Friday and Saturday sessions. Workshop leaders N.T.O. Board member Ed Roy Harris of St. Louis; Dick Soble, a leading lawyer and Leon Triplet from Detroit's United Tenants for Collective Action stimulated discussion and held the students complete attention even though frequent room shifts were made to accommodate the continually increasing number of participants.

The main point brought out in the workshops and the general session was the absolute necessity for the broadest community base possible to build the strength of the struggle for the difficult tasks ahead. Into this framework the students placed themselves and decided that students should not be

(Continued on Page Four)

Negro Americans

A Gallery of Their Accomplishments

from the pages of the January 3, 1964 issue of

TIME,

The Weekly Newsmagazine

Another Teaching Aid from the TIME Education Program, the Classroom Service of TIME, The Weekly Newsmagazine

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

A List of Significant Books
As Compiled by
The New York Public Library
1965

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"Every Negro Who Discharges His Duty Faithfully Is Making a Real Contribution"

JIMMY BROWN

LENA HORNE

MILES DAVIS

RAFER JOHNSON

AS 19,300,000 U.S. Negroes seek equal employment rights, they are often met by an endlessly infuriating question: Are they really equal to whites in their abilities, or are they disqualified by some anthropological defect? The simplest, most frequent reply is to cite Negroes who have become famous. No one can argue about the extraordinary physical feats of baseball's Willie Mays, pro football's Jimmy Brown, Decathlon Champion Rafer Johnson and many other athletes. Similarly, the Negro has long held his share of the spotlight in the performing arts, as witness the success of such as Jazzman Miles Davis, Singers Lena Horne, Harry Belafonte and Leontyne Price.

But such an answer is too narrow. These celebrities work before audiences, which ask only to be entertained—and which are too often unwilling to accept the Negro as an equal beyond recognition of physical or artistic talent.

A better answer to the crucial question lies in the seldom publicized accomplishments of Negroes in more private vocations. Here the barriers are tougher, and the Negro is less apt to be prepared, since to him many such fields have long seemed closed. Yet in science and education, the professions and in business, the armed forces and Government, even in elective politics, individual Negroes have broken the barriers, earned positions of respect and trust, and become part of the U.S. leadership community (*see following pages*).

To be sure, about 60% of nonwhite families in the U.S. still earn less than $4,000 a year, against only 26% of white families. Negroes still comprise but 3% of the nation's 180,000 college teachers, 2% of its 230,000 physicians, 1% each of its 215,000 lawyers, 2,560,000 salaried managers, 130,000 editors and reporters. But there are now some 35 Negro millionaires in the U.S. The percentage of Negro families earning $10,000 a year or more has gone from one-half of 1% a decade ago to 5% (the percentage of white families in that category has increased from 5% to 19%). More than 16% of nonwhites hold white-collar jobs, against less than 12% a decade ago.

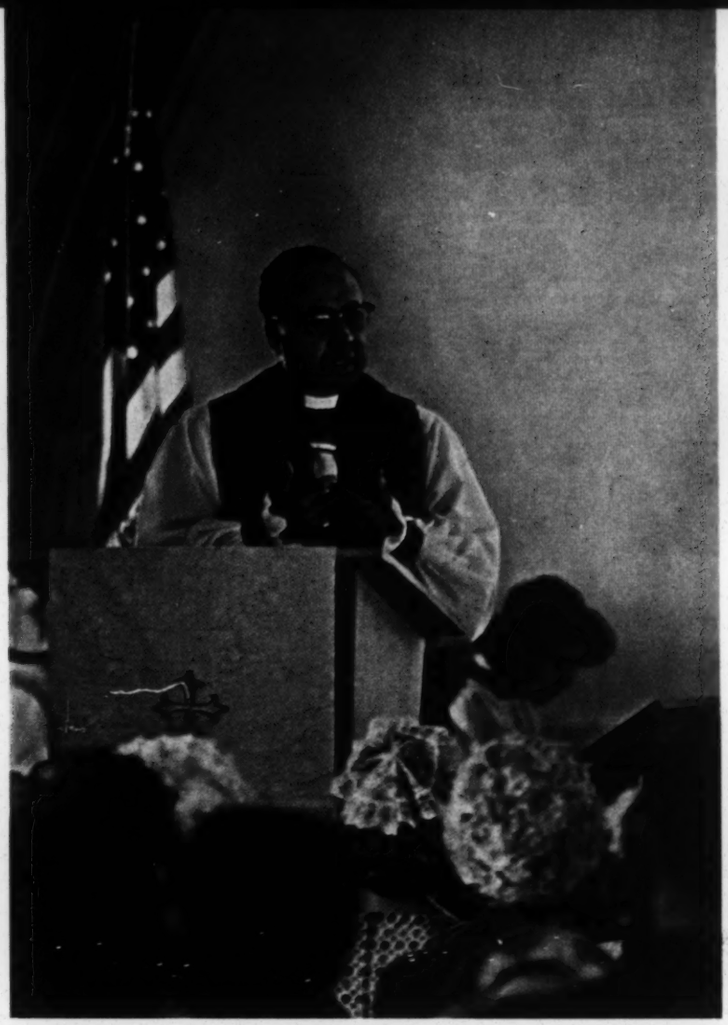
It is by the quality of their individual achievements and the example they set for others that successful Negroes contribute most. They effectively puncture those fallacious notions that the Negro somehow has not got what it takes "to make it." In fact, the successful Negro more often than not must have more of what it takes than the white who achieves an equal degree of success. Air Force Major General Benjamin O. Davis Jr. spent most of his four years at West Point as the only Negro there, often felt that he was spoken to only when someone was barking a command. Chicago Dermatologist Theodore Lawless fought off subtle rebuffs while an instructor at Northwestern University. When his hand was to be photographed giving an injection to demonstrate a new technique, he was asked to wear a surgical glove so his dark hand would not be seen. "I said, 'Hell no,' " he recalls, "and I never did."

Most of those Negroes who have achieved success feel that they are as much a part of the Negro protest movement as those who lie-in, sit-in and pray-in. "I feel I can serve best by doing a reasonable job here," says Negro Space Engineer Spencer Robinson. "My presence, I believe, has paved the way for others of my race." Carl T. Rowan, one of three Negro U.S. ambassadors, sees a broader implication in the success of individual Negroes. "Every Negro American in a position of responsibility who discharges his duty faithfully and well, whose conduct is laudable, is making a real contribution to the struggle by bringing along a segment of the white population," he says. "However, he is also obliged to speak out where speaking is called for."

HARRY BELAFONTE

WILLIE MAYS

LEONTYNE PRICE

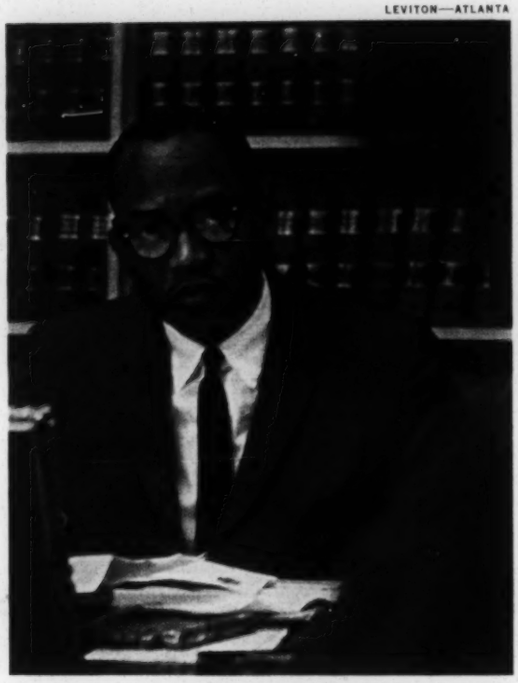


IVAN MASSAR—BLACK STAR

BISHOP

Son of a dining-car waiter, Episcopalian John M. Burgess, 54, has served for the past year as Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts.

LEVITON—ATLANTA



STATE SENATOR

Leroy R. Johnson, 35, defeated white Democrats in primary, became Georgia's first Negro state legislator since Reconstruction.

SURGEON

Grandson of a slave, Dr. Middleton H. Lambright Jr., 55, is the president-elect of the Cleveland Academy of Medicine.

ARTHUR SIEGEL

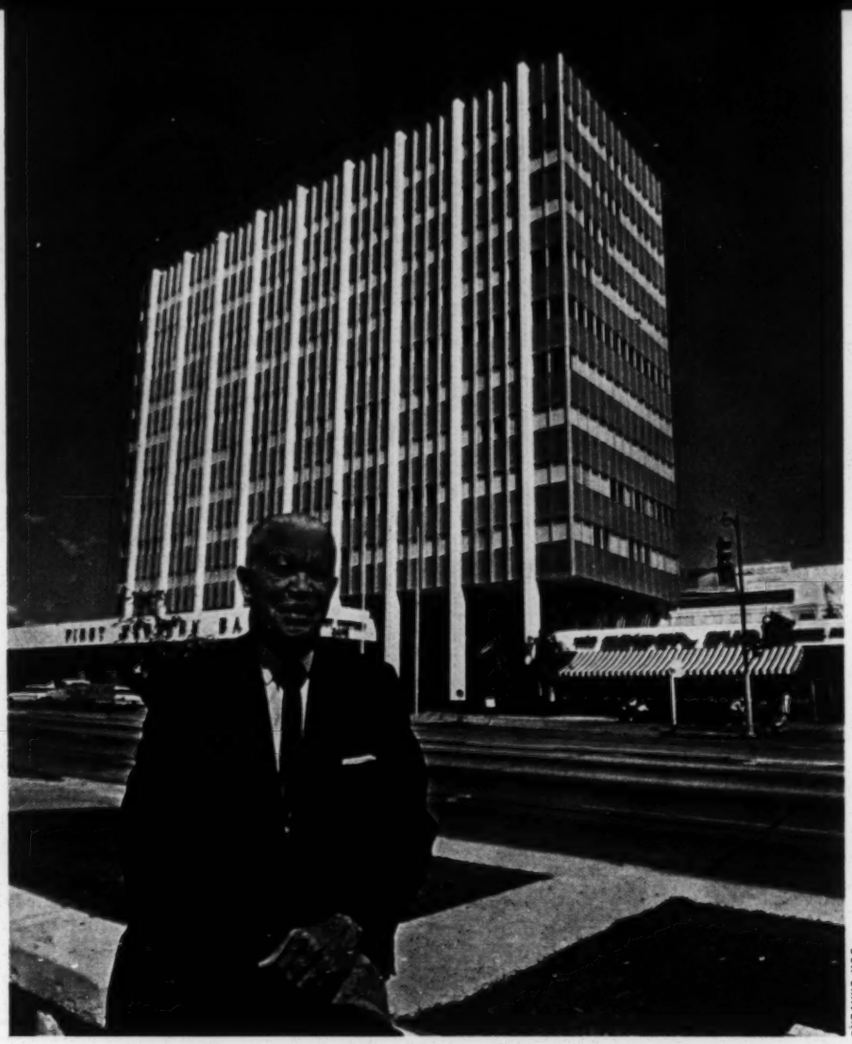
DIPLOMAT

A former Minneapolis newspaper reporter, Carl T. Rowan, 38, now U.S.'s youngest ambassador, greets Finland's President Kekkonen.

IVAN MASSAR—BLACK STAR

STATE OFFICIAL

Edward W. Brooke, 44, attorney general of Massachusetts, is highest elected Negro state officer in U.S.

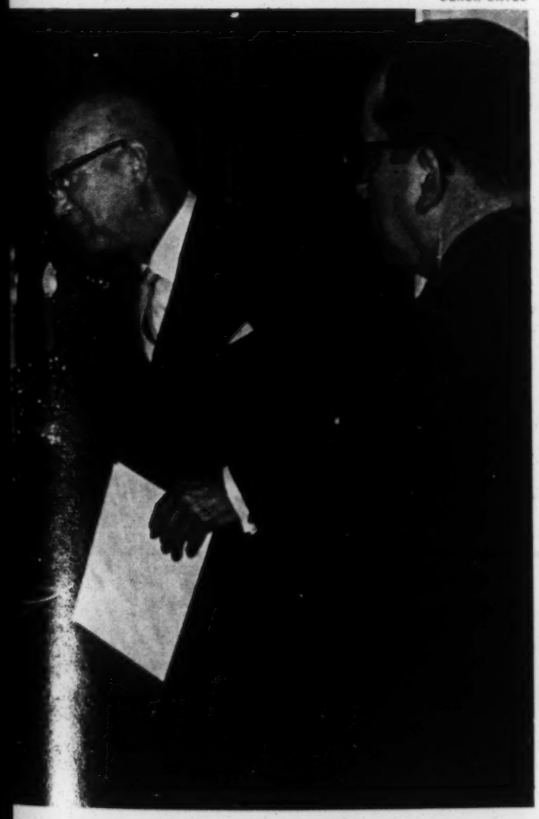


DON CRAVENS

ARCHITECT

Orphaned at three, Paul Revere Williams worked his way through the University of Southern California, at 69 has won honors for his hotels and houses.

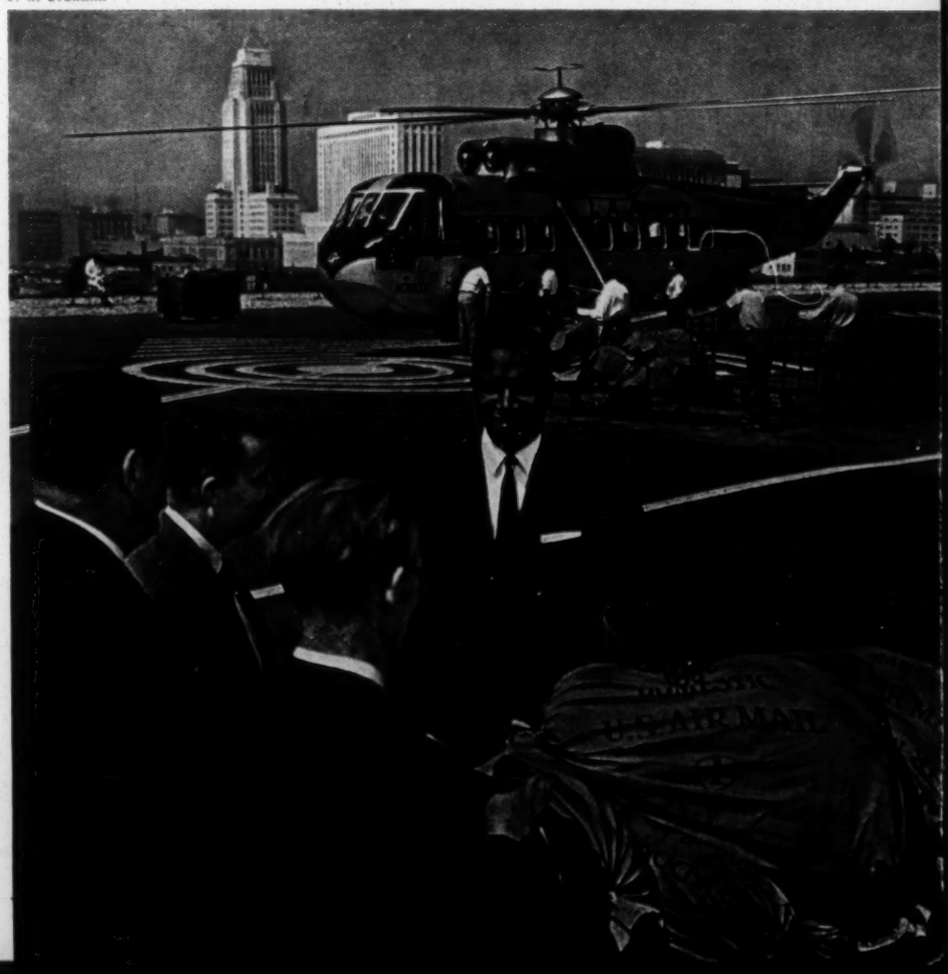
DEREK BAYES

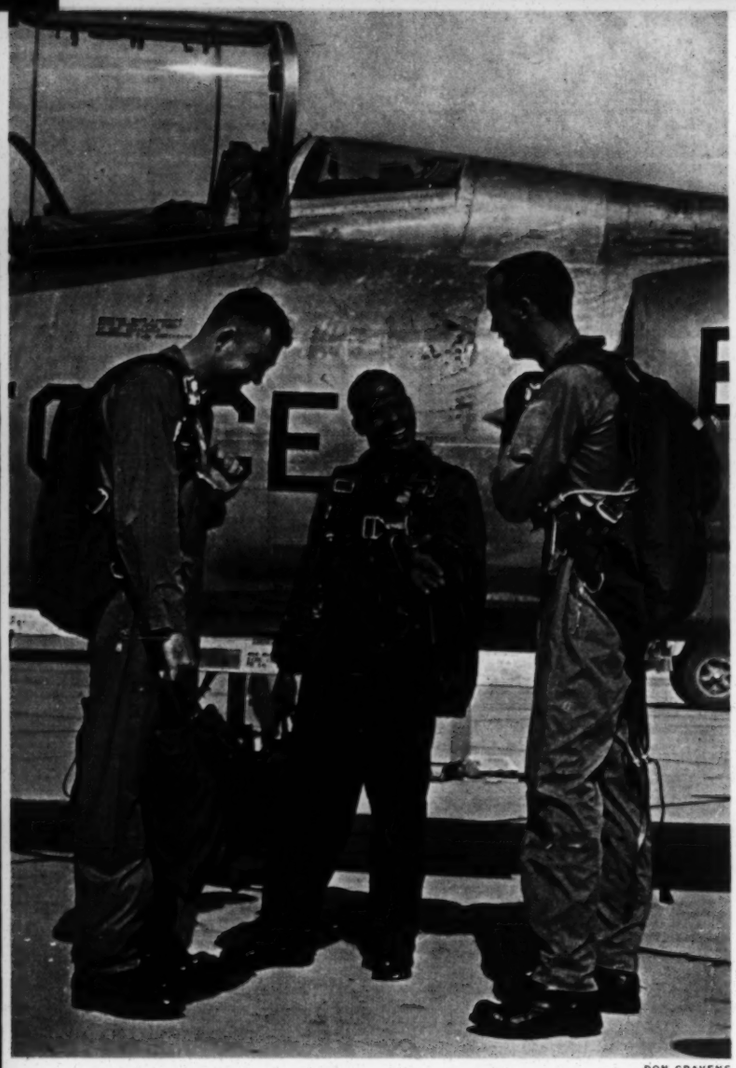


POSTMASTER

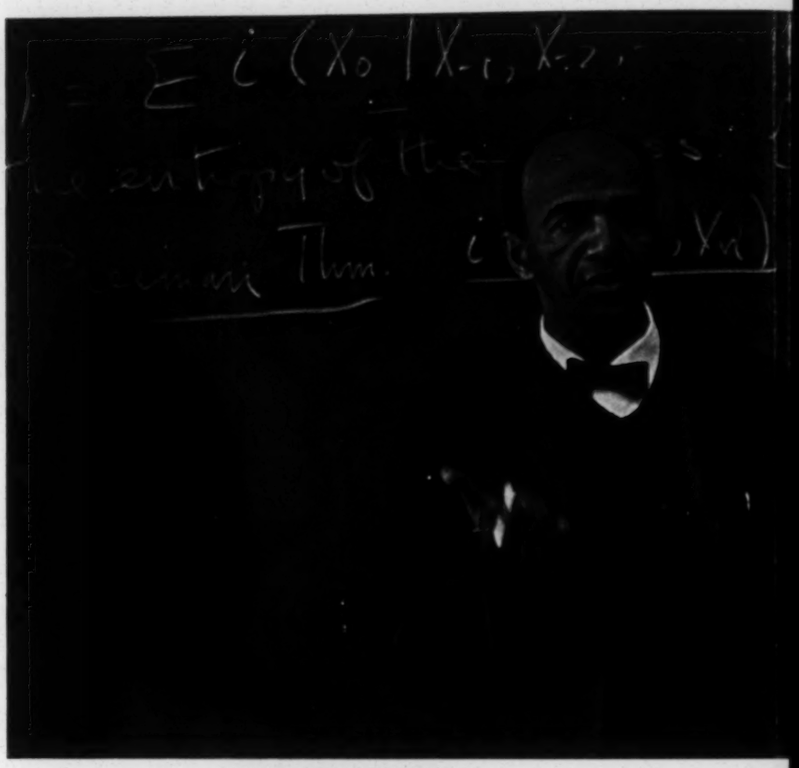
Leslie N. Shaw, 41, a savings and loan executive, was nominated in 1963 to serve as first Negro postmaster of Los Angeles.

J. R. EYERMAN





DON CRAVENS



MATHEMATICIAN
David Blackwell, 44, professor of statistics at University of California, is authority on probability theory.

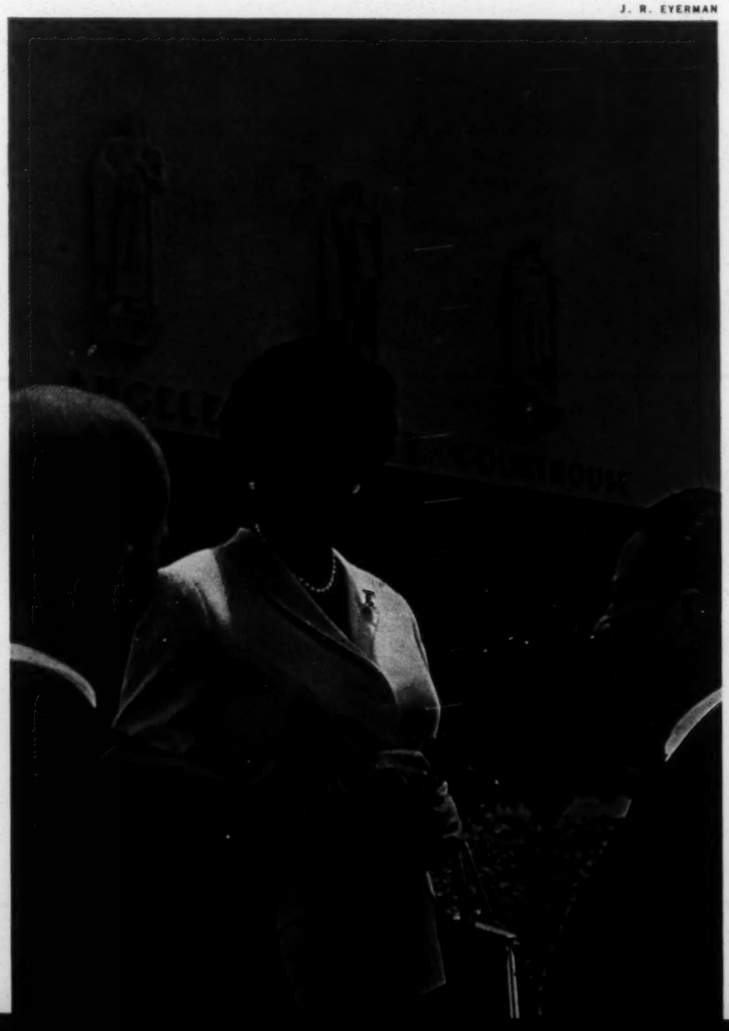
ASTRONAUT CANDIDATE
Air Force Captain Edward J. Dwight Jr., 30 (*center*), is star athlete with honors degree in engineering.

MUNICIPAL JUDGE
Vaino Hassan Spencer, 43, Los Angeles, California's first Negro woman jurist, found antifeminine prejudices stronger than racial.

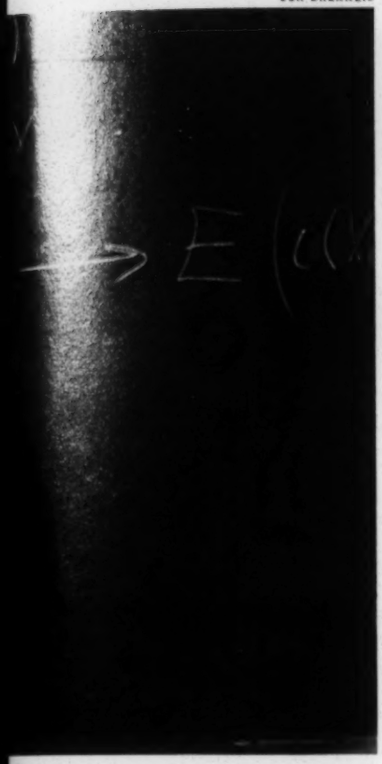
ARTHUR SIEGEL

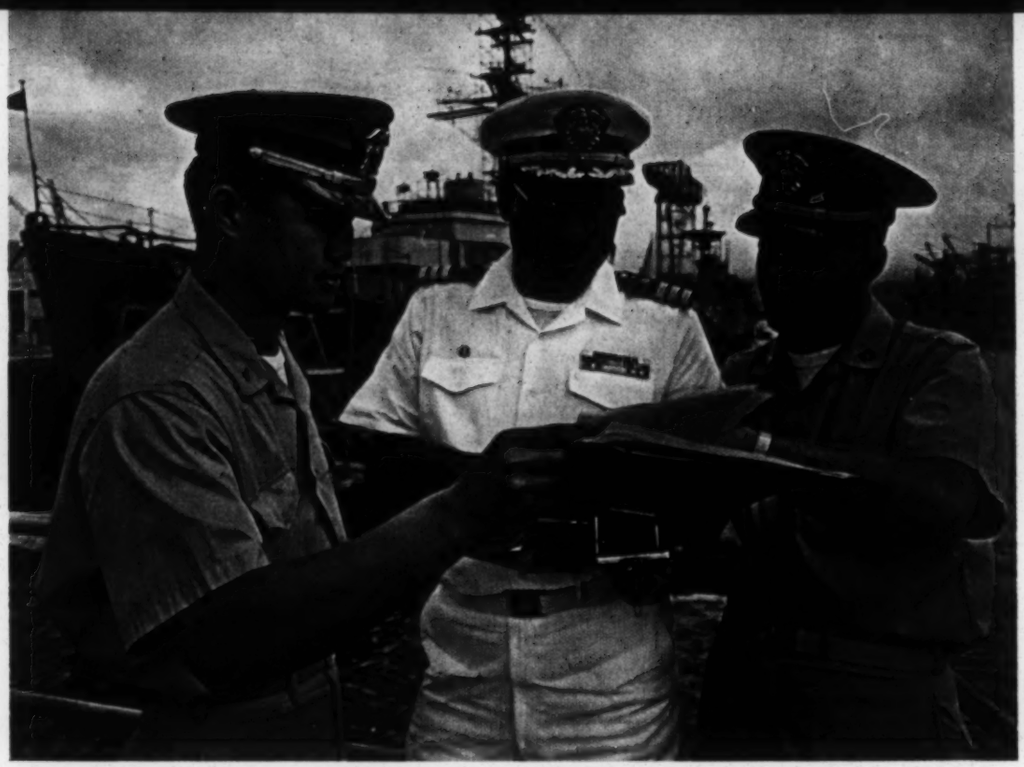
DERMATOLOGIST
Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, 71, studied at Vienna, Paris and Freiburg, is outstanding in his field, has Chicago private practice that is 80% white.

J. R. EYERMAN



JON BRENNEIS



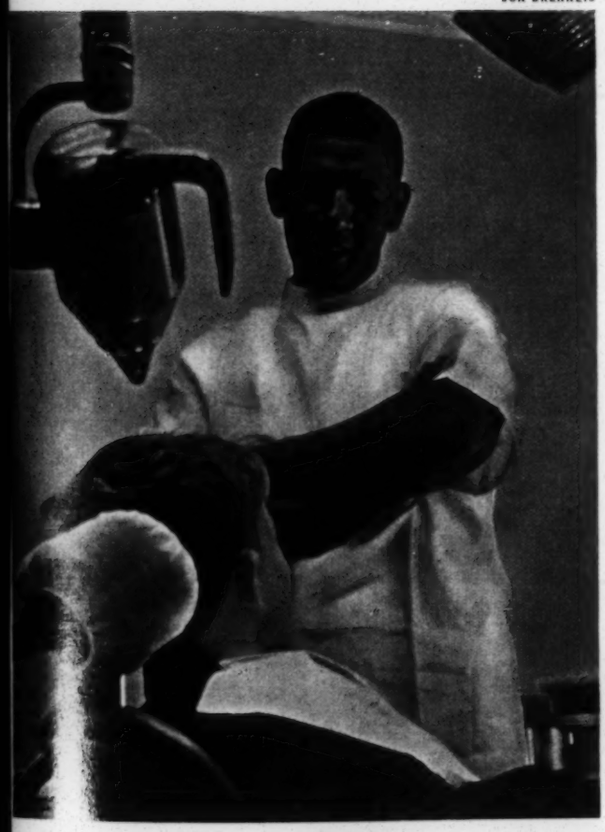


WERNER STOY

U.S. NAVY COMMANDER

Samuel L. Gravely Jr., 41, was first Negro skipper of a Navy warship, destroyer escort U.S.S. *Falgout*, is now at War College, Newport, R.I.

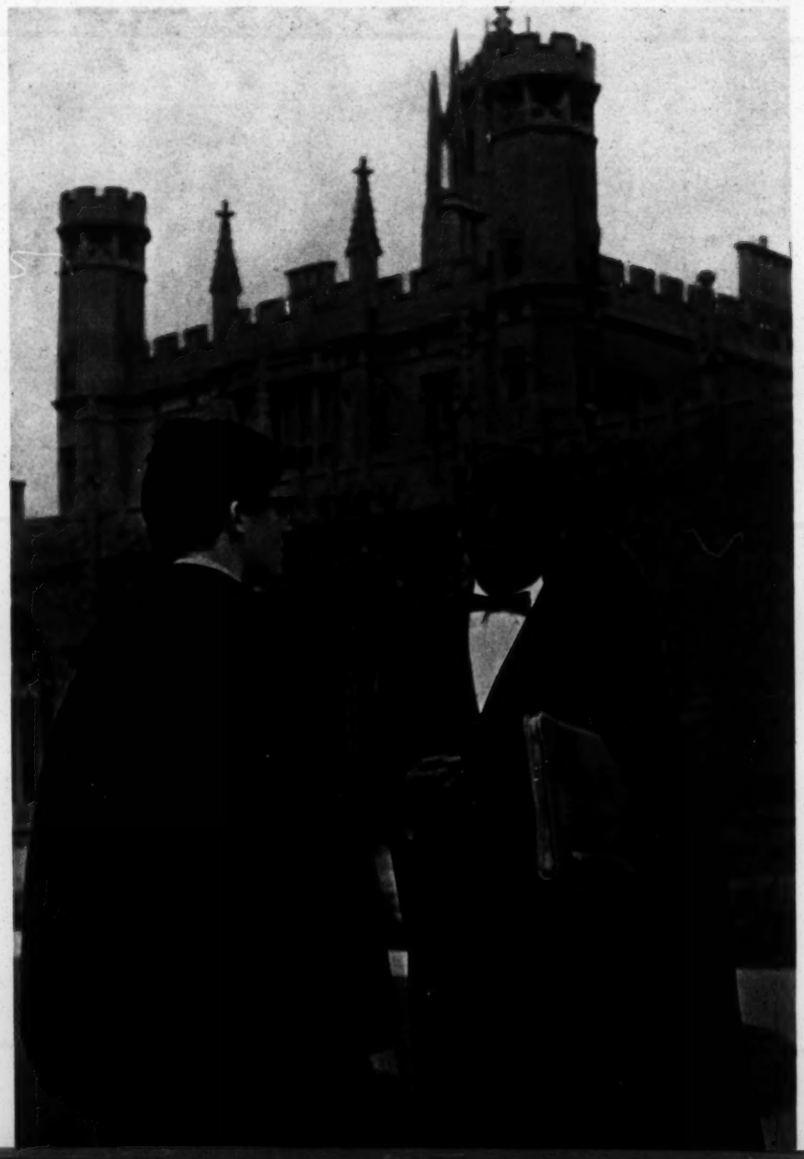
JON BRENNEIS



DENTIST

Dr. Daniel Collins, 47, dental pathologist, has mixed racial practice in San Francisco, also serves on state board of education.

DEREK BAYES

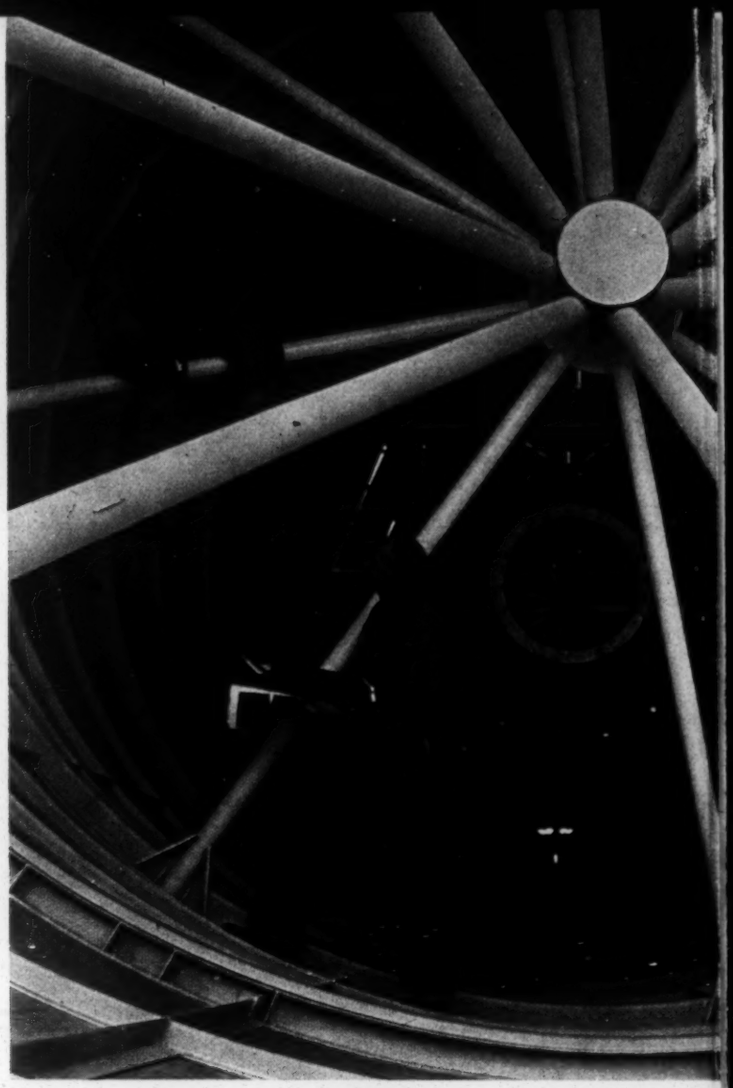


EDUCATOR

Historian John Hope Franklin, 48, lectured at Cambridge, England, this fall becomes professor at University of Chicago.

BILL LAZARUS

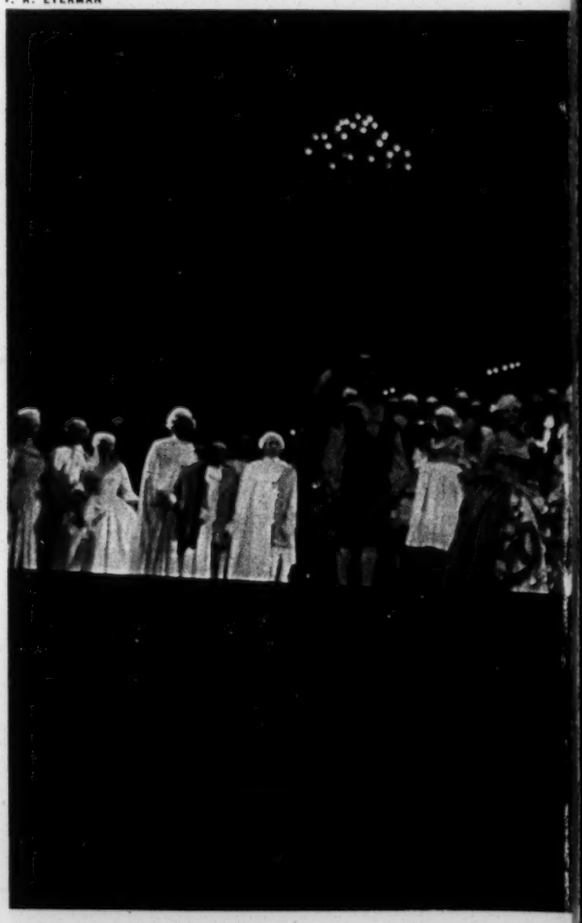
SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER
Hattie Mae White, 47, only Negro on Houston school board, was re-elected with white support.



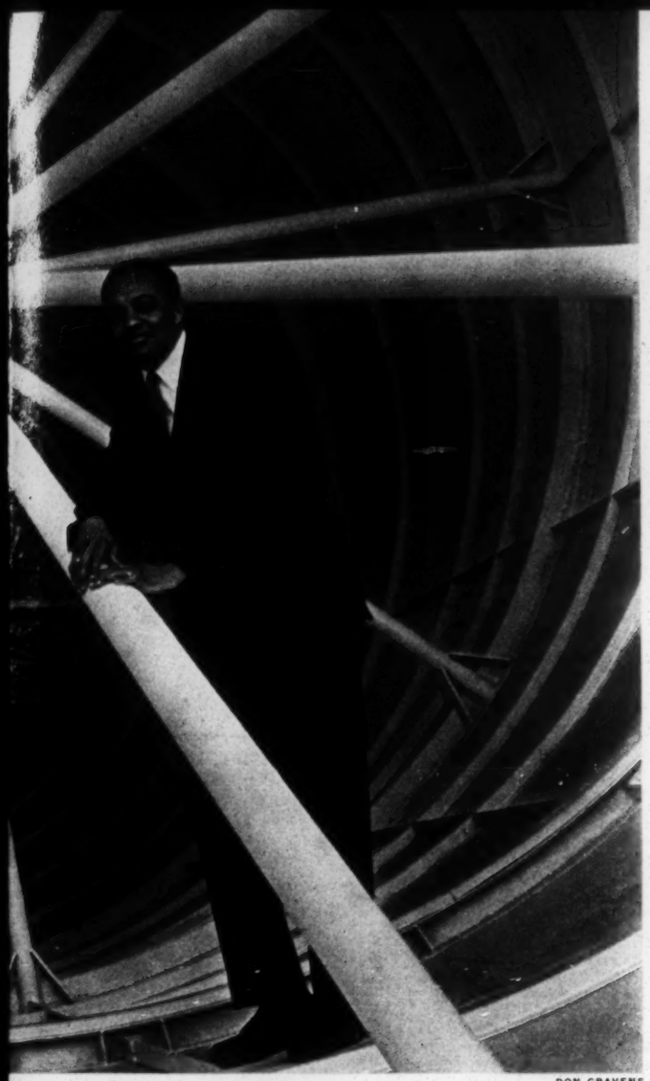
JIM MAHAN

FEDERAL JUDGE
William H. Hastie, 59, graduate of Amherst and Harvard Law, was first Negro federal judge. Onetime Governor of Virgin Islands, he has been mentioned for Supreme Court.

I. R. EYERMAN



CONDUCTOR
Henry Lewis, 31, shown conducting San Francisco Opera, is associate director of Los Angeles Philharmonic.



DON CRAVENS

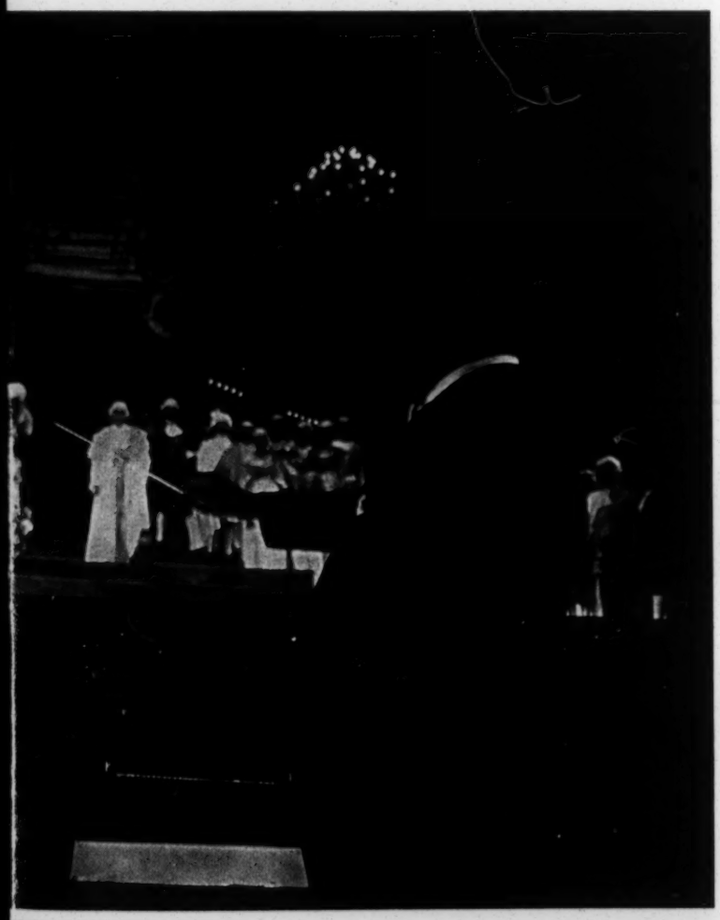
J. R. EYERMAN

SOCIAL PSYCHIATRIST

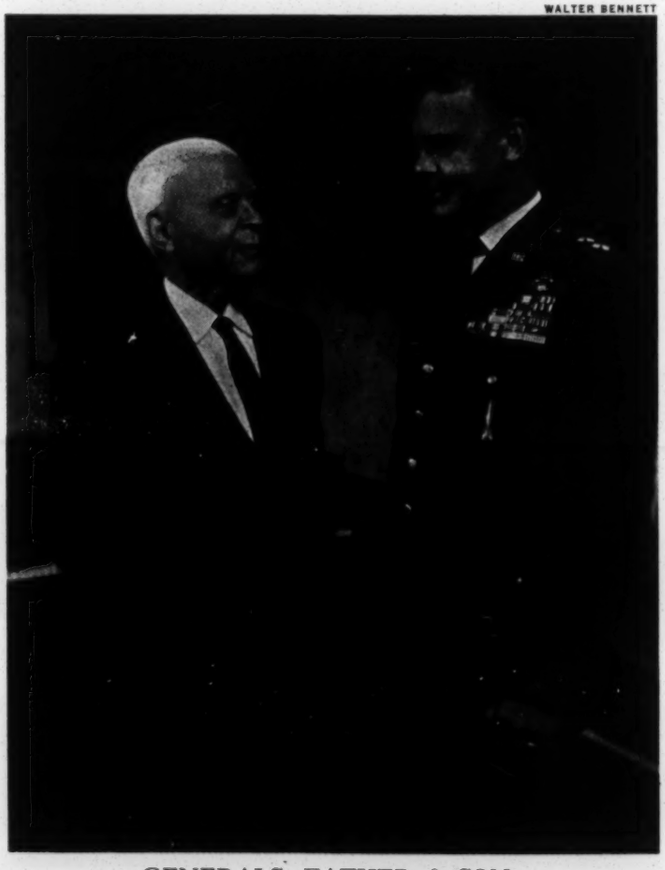
J. Alfred Cannon, M.D., 35, went through Columbia on a football scholarship, moved to California. His patients include whites.

SPACE ENGINEER

Spencer Robinson, 38, Cornell graduate, is head of Douglas Aircraft's Advanced Space Engineering Division, supervises 250 specialists and technicians.



WALTER BENNETT



GENERALS: FATHER & SON

Air Force Major General Benjamin O. Davis Jr., 51 (West Point '36), is the son of Army's first Negro general, 86.

Key to Progress: More & Better Jobs

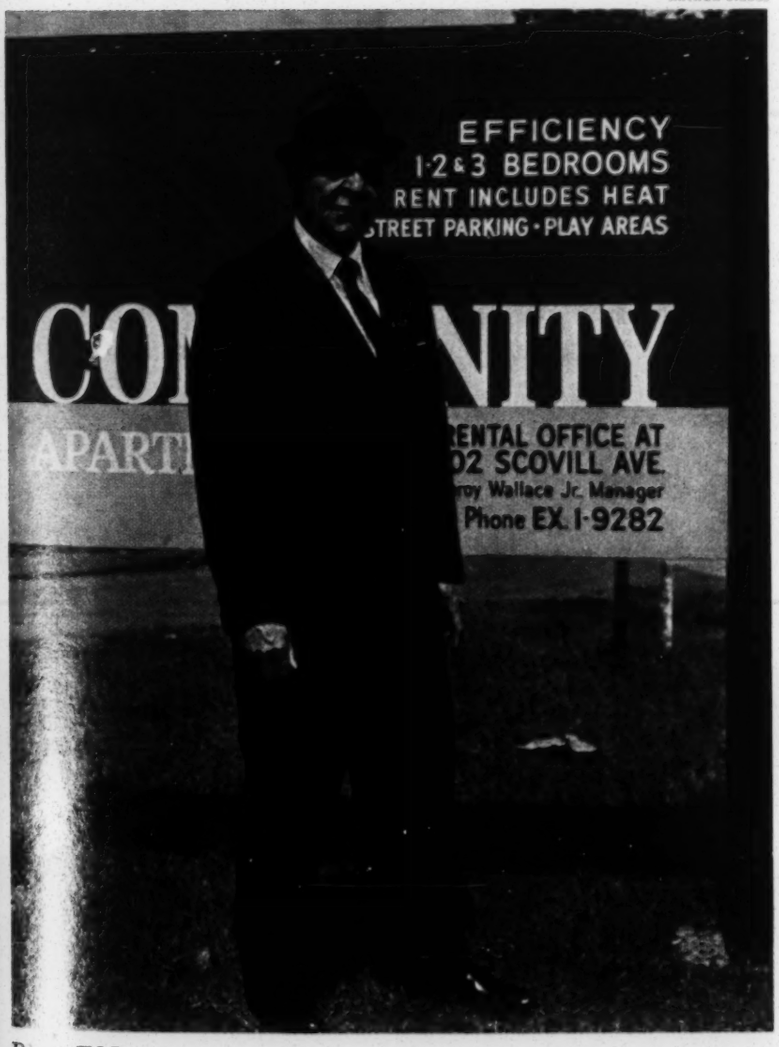
The main source of Negro discontent is economic hardship. Fortunately, this is the one area where progress seems most likely—more and better jobs for Negroes are on the way. Already, 115 firms have joined the Plans for Progress program backed by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Of 60,000 new employees they hired in the past three months, 25% were Negro. Under past practice the figure would have been only 3%.

At least 50 large firms are actively recruiting Negroes. They include A.T. & T., National Tea, IBM, Western Electric, General Electric, Standard Oil Co. (N.J.), RCA. Seven New York companies recently contributed $6,000 each to conduct an eleven-week course in grooming and confidence-building techniques to help Negro secretarial school graduates land jobs. Connecticut's Pitney-Bowes, manufacturers of mailing machines, announced a policy of preferential hiring for Negroes. In the South, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. built a new plant in Winston-Salem, N.C., uses Negroes in supervisory positions over whites. Such firms as Pepsi-Cola, Schenley Industries and McCann-Erickson have Negro vice presidents.

J. R. EYERMAN

SCIENTIST
Physicist Joseph G. Logan, 53, with Ph.D. from University of Buffalo, heads Aerospace Corp.'s research lab, currently at work on Titan III.

ARTHUR SIEGEL



R TOR
A o Wright, 65, came to Cleveland with 6¢, built
u ring of gas stations, is now a millionaire.

A WORD FROM TIME'S PUBLISHER

This gallery of Negro Americans first appeared in print in TIME's issue of January 3, 1964—the same issue that announced our editors' choice of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as TIME's Man of the Year.

We are reprinting it now, for distribution to the nation's schools and colleges, for two reasons.

First, we hope it will give all students who see it a better idea of the contribution Negroes are now making to virtually every branch of the U. S. economy.

Second, we hope it will serve as an inspiration to Negro school children everywhere to see how many colored Americans are already winning success in almost every field of man's endeavor—in Government and the military, in business and the professions.

Since this portfolio first appeared in TIME, it has been reported that Negro Americans in the nation's twenty biggest cities increased the number of this group's young people in colleges and professional schools from 124,000 to 233,000 between 1947 and 1961; that this same group multiplied the number of its wage-earners making more than $4,000 a year by ten to twenty times over the decade earlier.

This is closing the gap with impressive speed—a significant and dramatic fact that should be welcome news to all Americans.

BERNHARD M. AUER

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